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A STUDY OF DATTILAM

A STUDY OF DATTILAM

A Treatise on the Sacred Music of Ancient India

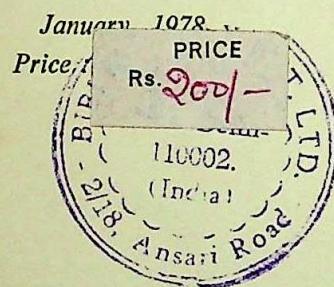
MUKUND LATH



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I thank the Berlin Institute (whose headquarters are now in Venice) and its director for having placed its well-stocked collection of manuscript copies of saṅgīta texts and other valuable works at my disposal.

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Goelji further deserves my thanks for having undertaken the publication of the work. He has contributed much to the final shape in which the book appears—not only as to format but also as to contents—for he is a fine scholar and writer as well as a publisher. He has spared the author days of painful proof-reading by taking on himself a large share of the taxing job.

I am grateful to my friend Vinay Jain for having helped in the long, dull task of index-making with cheerful patience and perseverance.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A. B. The *Abhinava Bhāratī* on the *Nātyaśāstra*, Gaekwad Oriental Series Edition.
- Ait. Br. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.
- A. V. *Atharva Veda*.
- B. B. The *Bharata Bhāṣya of Nānyadeva* (or Nānyabhūpāla), Chapters I-V edited by Chaitanya P. Desai. Published by Indira Kala Sangita Vidyalaya.
- B. B. (l) The *Bharata Bhāṣya of Nānyadeva*, copy of original ms. no. 312 belonging to the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, at the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation, West Berlin. We refer to chapters only, as verse numbers are uncertain.
- Br. The *Bṛhaddeśi of Mataṅga Muni* edited by K. Sambasiva Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
- Bh. Sang. Iti *Bhāratīya Saṅgīt Kā Itihās* (Hindi) by Dr. Sarat Chandra Paranjape.
- Bh. Sang. Iti (B) *Bhāratīya Saṅgītter Itihās* (Bengali) by Swami Prajnananand. Published in two volumes by Ramakrishna Vedanta Math.
- Datt. The *Dattilam of Dattilamuni*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 1930.
- G.O.S. Gaekwad Oriental Series.
- IICMSD International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation, West Berlin, Directed by Mr. Alain Danielou.
- Hist. of Ind. Lit. *History of Indian Literature* by Maurice Winternitz.
- J. M. A. *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras.
- Kalā The Commentary *Kalānidhi* on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* by Kallinātha. We refer to the Adyar edition of the text.
- MBh. The *Mahābhārata*. We refer to the Chitrasala edition, Poona, published with Nīlakantha's commentary.
- N. S. The *Nātyaśāstra* of Bharata. We refer to the G.O.S. edition published in four volumes with the *Abhinava Bhāratī* commentary unless otherwise stated.
- Puranic Record. *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* by Dr. R. C. Hazra.
- Ram. The *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Gita Press, Gorakhpur.

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- R. Kau The *Rasakaumudi* of *Śrīkaṇṭha* edited by Dr. A. N. Jani published in the G.O.S.
- R.V. *Rgveda*. Numerals refer to maṇḍala, sūkta, mantra.
- S.Br. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
- S.C. The *Saṅgitacintāmani* of *Vemabhūpāla*. We refer to the ms. copy no. 189 in the collection of IICMSD. The number and location of the original ms. is not indicated. The verse order is corrupt. We refer only to chapters and sections.
- S.R. The *Saṅgitaratnākara* of *Śāringadeva*. We refer to the Adyar edition published in four volumes.
- S.Raj The *Saṅgitarāja* of Rāṇā Kumbha. We refer to the Banaras Hindu University edition, edited by Dr. Premlata Sharma.
- S.S.S. *Saṅgīta Samaya Sāra* of *Pārśvadeva*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
- Sudhā. The *Sudhākara* commentary on *Saṅgitaratnākara* by *Siṃhabhūpāla*, Adyar edition.
- T. ed. Trivandrum edition.

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATIONS

<i>Devanāgarī</i>	<i>Roman</i>	<i>Devanāgarī</i>	<i>Roman</i>
अ	a	ऋ	jh
आ	ा	ञ	ñ
इ	i	ट	t
ई	ī	ठ	ṭh
उ	u	ड	d
ऊ	ū	ढ	ḍh
ऋ	ṛ	ण	ṇ
ॠ	ṝ	त	t
लू	l	थ	th
लृ	l̄	द	d
লু	l̄	ঘ	dh
এ	e	ন	n
়ে	ai	প	p
়ো	o	ফ	ph
়ৌ	au	ব	b
় (অনুস্বার)	m	ভ	bh
় (বিসর্গ)	়	ম	m
ক	k	য	y
খ	kh	ৱ	r
গ	g	ল	l
়	gh	ৱ	v
়	ñ	শ	ś
চ	c	ষ	s
়	ch	স	s
জ	j	হ	h

*To
Ma
who has devoted her life to the
promotion of Arts and Culture*

PREFACE

Authoritative studies of ancient Indian music are rare. Textual studies are rarer still. Yet such studies are needed if an authentic picture of ancient Indian music is to emerge. It is necessary that we study the important texts, relate them to other texts of that and other periods and try to analyse and sift forms, concepts, theories and ideas with a view to interpret and comparatively understand the changing and evolving traditions of music.

In a very fundamental and general way, musical culture in India has maintained a vital continuing link with the past. In form and spirit, our music remains true to the seeds sown in a very remote age. Witness, for example, the significant fact that the melodic features and formal principles (called the ten *jāti*-characteristics) which governed the early musical forms still govern our own *rāgas* in their salient features. A similar link with the past is to be found not only in music but also in other art forms with a living tradition.

At the same time, dynamic transformations or rather transitions have been as much a part of Indian musical history as its essential living continuity. This is bound to be so in any living tradition which has not become stagnant. Old forms in music which held sway for centuries, have given place to new. The ancient doctrinal scheme of interpreting musical structures has been transformed in many basic ways.

To form an idea of these changes we must turn primarily to the testimony of the texts. Not many ancient texts have survived. One of the earliest and perhaps one of the most eminent is the *Dattilam*, attributed to Dattila Muni.

The importance of *Dattilam* was realised as soon as it came to light and was published in 1930. But doubts still continue to abound regarding its status and indeed its very authenticity and originality as well as its completeness.

It has been our task, in this dissertation, to show through evidence both internal and external that the text is a work complete in itself and is both authentic and original. To this end we have examined the testimony, the logical plan and structure of the text itself which reveals it to be a self-contained fully-formed treatise and not a fragment or a partial work as alleged. We have also examined the text *vis à-vis* the chapters on music in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (of which the work has been alleged to be a derivative) and attempted to present data, which establishes the originality of Dattila and the *Dattilam*. We have also presented the testimony of much of the significant *sāṅgīta* literature from the *Bṛhaddeśī* of Mataṅga (Circa 7th Century A.D.) onward, which in references to and quotations from the *Dattilam* attests to the independent views, original stance and authentic stature of Dattila as an ancient teacher. We have collected together a string of passages quoted from the *Dattilam* in subsequent texts and have endeavoured to sift and review this data critically. It has helped us to reveal the authenticity of *Dattilam*.

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The whole testimony shows that Dattila was at least as ancient as Bharata and that the *Dattilam* is almost certainly his authentic creation.

Our study, further, tries to show that the impression of its being a fragmentary and incomplete treatise arises due to its confinement to only one area of ancient Indian music. It deals with a specific and well-defined corpus of musical forms which consisted of only a part, though a very significant part, of the entire body of ancient musical forms. This corpus was called 'gāndharva' and the *Dattilam* is avowedly about gāndharva. In our opinion, its author had deliberately and knowingly limited himself to this form.

Confusion arises regarding *Dattilam* because of the use of the term gāndharva by the author for defining its subject-matter. The word in ordinary usage has for centuries meant music in general or, in other words, all music. Yet the *Dattilam* does not deal with all contemporary music. We have reasoned at length that the term 'gāndharva' was also used in a restricted sense for a particular form of music which was ancient and sacrosanct and was governed by strict rules and regulations. *Dattilam*, we have argued, deals with this form.

The independent stature of gāndharva has been recognised by many scholars; but confusion remains as to its exact forms and extent. Scholars would assign to it many forms other than those expounded in *Dattilam*. The muddle is due largely to the fact that our present day notions regarding gāndharva are essentially derived from Śāṅgadeva and his successors who equate gāndharva with mārga. Swami Prajñānānanda, for example, has often spoken of gāndharva in his works. In *Rāga o Rūpa* (Bengali), following the cue of Śāṅgadeva and his commentators, he speaks of gāndharva as a form of sacred music and equates it with mārga (see pp. 94-100). In his introduction to *Saṅgīta Sāra Saṅgraha*¹ (pp. 13-15) he again speaks of gāndharva. In this introductory essay, he lists the very topics which Bharata in the 28th chapter of *Nātyaśāstra* names as definitive of gāndharva. This is a hint pointing at the direction that we have taken in our present study. But Swami Prajñānānanda again equates gāndharva with mārga.

A more pointed hint at the direction we have taken is to be found in Dr. Premlata Sharma's introduction to *Sahasarasa* (Hindi). She speaks of the distinction between gāndharva and gāna made by Abhinava and quotes passages from Abhinava, as well as Bharata, on the matter, citing briefly a few of the major traits that distinguished gāndharva from gāna, especially the different treatment of words in the two.² But she, too, seems to imply some equation between gāndharva and mārga.³ She has, moreover, merely touched the periphery of the matter.

Our own discussion of gāndharva is detailed. We have attempted to study the matter comprehensively on the basis of the thorough and masterly analysis of gāndharva made by Abhinava (in his commentary the *Abhinava Bhāratī* on the

¹ Published by Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta, 1956.

² *Sahasarasa*, Introduction, pp. 111-117. The work is published by the Saṅgīta Natak Akademy, Delhi.

³ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 111 fn.

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Nātyaśāstra). Abhinava's treatment vividly brings out the distinctness of gāndharva as a special corpus of musical forms.

The *Nātyaśāstra* in its chapters on music (collectively called the geyādhikāra) has also expounded gāndharva as does the *Dattilam*. But the *Nātyaśāstra* expounds other musical forms too. And though there are explicit hints here that point at the distinctness of gāndharva, these are easily overlooked without a study of Abhinava, who carefully sifts the gāndharva from the non-gāndharva. In the process, Abhinava reveals the scope, characteristic features, and the distinctive purpose and motivation of the gāndharva form.

Abhinava's analysis shows that gāndharva in a restricted sense was no more and no less than the body of music defined and expounded in the first three chapters of the geyādhikāra in the *Nātyaśāstra* (chs. 28-31), which gives the same extent of gāndharva and confines it to the same boundary as does the *Dattilam*.

Dattilam is thus revealed to be an independent treatise on a specific corpus of ancient Indian music.

Abhinava's valuable cue regarding the nature and extent of gāndharva has acted as our basic guide in judging the subject-matter of the *Dattilam*. We have then tried to show that a distinct body of manuals defining and expounding gāndharva was in existence before Bharata and Dattila and the tradition must have continued after these two authorities. These manuals are unfortunately lost now. But traces, in the form of names and references are found in *Dattilam* and to a greater extent in later saṅgīta literature, where quotations are sometimes found from ancient authorities other than Bharata and Dattila regarding forms which were the field of gāndharva.

Though early manuals of gāndharva, besides the *Dattilam* and the section on gāndharva in the *Nātyaśāstra*, have been mostly lost, awareness of gāndharva as a specific form can yet be gleaned from significant pre-Mataṅga (*i. e.*, pre 7th Century A.D.) literary testimony. This testimony is recorded in some of the earliest Purāṇas, where the subject of music has been discoursed upon. It is also recorded in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*. We have reviewed this testimony, too.

Much valuable material regarding gāndharva is also found in later post-Abhinava saṅgīta literature. In fact, any understanding of gāndharva forms is bound to lean greatly upon this later literature which is happily very thorough and extensive in its treatment of many aspects of ancient music. Without the help of this literature, much would remain obscure. Paradoxically, it is here that confusion sets in regarding gāndharva and its extent. This confusion begins, notably, with the *Sangītaratnākara*, and continues in later texts all of which have cumulatively contributed to it. We have analysed the nature of this confusion, its reason and its source. The term gāndharva has in later literature been equated with mārga—a term with a comparatively larger denotation. This has been the source of muddle regarding gāndharva. We have argued that mārga was not the same as gāndharva. Our analysis also aims to show that even though Śāringadeva has confounded gāndharva with mārga, he yet evinces a tacit awareness of the distinction between the two.

The importance of our analysis of gāndharva is, however, not only one of categorisation, classification and arrangement of musical forms. These are necessary for any analysis and they have been undertaken to show that *Dattilam* is a complete work and it completely (though concisely) describes the forms and extent of a specific corpus of music—the gāndharva.

But there is a deeper significance underlying our study of gāndharva. Gāndharva was not only a specific musical form, but also the form-supreme. Gāndharva was said to be born of sāma-music and was as sacrosanct as sāma. Like the older form, it was said to be 'revealed' (and therefore called *anādi*, i.e. existing from time immemorial); it was as well-defined and controlled as a body of Vedic ritual to which it was likened. Though in its origin, it might have been born of sāma, yet it contained much that was not in sāma. It emerges, in fact, as the first, the primal body of known music to which we can relate our own present-day musical forms. Indeed, gāndharva has been called the progenitor of all subsequent musical forms. The process of unfoldment and creative change which was initiated with gāndharva in our musical culture has continued over the centuries and is still alive in current music. Old links remain. Much that is distinctive of all post-gāndharva music is, in essence, existent in gāndharva.

The importance of gāndharva is thus two-fold.

Firstly, it gives us an example of a body of music which was pervaded by a transcendental significance not only in spirit but in every detail of its melodic and rhythmic (*tāla*) content. Every movement in gāndharva, whether of melody or of *tāla*, was sacrosanct and had to be rendered as prescribed by specific injunctions which spelled out each particular detail. Recording these prescriptions was the function of authoritative manuals like the *Dattilam*. Gāndharva was thus akin to religiously prescribed and liturgically regulated musical forms such as were known in ancient Egypt and other ancient cultures. It reflected the same tendency which has been preserved to a great extent in the Gregorian Chant of Europe. It was a body of music the like of which we no longer know in India.

We call our music 'spiritual' as opposed to Western music which is said to be 'profane'. Such appellations, however, reveal nothing about the nature of the music—neither its spirit nor its form. Though vaguely termed 'spiritual' in general, the same musical forms are today used for both profane and spiritual purposes. The same rāga can be sung to a devotional hymn and to a profane erotic lyric, without any formal 'musical' difference being noticeable. But apart from the lyrical content and of course, a general psychic attitude—which somewhat seeps into and formally moulds the music to some extent—there are no structural musical determinates separating a specific body of contemporary music as spiritual. It is a common occurrence that the same *ṭhumrī*-form sung to excessively amorous words is often utilised for a devotional song without any change of musical form. Gāndharva, however, was marked as 'spiritual' not only in its lyric but even in its musical structures down to every single detail. It was devoutly and diligently maintained as a distinct form. Being thus unique, it is worthy of close study.

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Secondly, a study of gāndharva has also a great historical importance. It can help in interpreting the history of musical forms in India and in understanding and placing such forms in a kind of relative chronology. Gāndharva, historically speaking, occupied a crucial position. It arose from sāma and in turn gave rise to those later forms which have come down to the present through transformations and transitions. To know gāndharva will thus help us to understand later musical forms in a historical perspective and will also provide a key to their links with tradition as well as a cue to the nature of change.

Gāndharva thus stands as a doorway between the now extinct sāma and subsequent musical forms. To know and distinguish gāndharva can provide many handy clues to a historian of music. We have pursued a few of these but only to a limited extent. We have not fully entered into historical implications as that would have been beyond the scope of our work.

Having analysed gāndharva as a distinct body of music, we have then presented the text of *Dattilam* with a translation and exposition. Since *Dattilam* is a work on gāndharva *per se*, the latter part of our work is in effect a study of the forms of gāndharva : the musical scheme to which they were related and the rules and injunctions which governed them. *Dattilam* is a methodological work and our study here follows it in all its contours.

In a short chapter, following the above, we have collected together some material relating to Dattila, including legends about him. We have also collected at this place some material covering Nārada, Kohala and Viśākhila, the ācāryas to whom Dattila makes references.

In interpreting *Dattilam*, we have often taken recourse to other texts, without which *Dattilam* is too recondite to be understood. We have compared Dattila's injunctions with those of others, especially Bharata and have discussed their agreement and also their divergence.

In our entire study, we have relied greatly upon Abhinava Gupta's masterly exposition of the theory and doctrine of music and his analysis of details pertaining to musical forms. The *Abhinava Bhāratī* has been a well studied text in so far as it concerns poetics, the problem of rasa and literary aesthetic experience. But its equally masterly study of music has been largely neglected and remains an unexplored field.

There is much that is obtuse in the *Abhinava Bhāratī* itself. Yet it greatly repays study and helps in clarifying many problems of ancient music. We hope our essay will arouse further interest in Abhinava's body of comments on music. More in-depth study of these will, we are sure, clarify many points where we have stumbled and will reveal details in areas still remaining unexplored.

A Hindi translation of *Dattilam* by Kalinda was published from Hathras a few years ago. The author has added some comments by way of short notes to the

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translation. This translation is rather literal, while the subject calls for a technical treatment. It does not, therefore, make much musical sense.

Another work on *Dattilam* has been published from the Netherlands. The work is entitled *Dattilam: A Compendium of Ancient Indian Music*. The author is Emmie Te Nijenhuis. This is certainly a close and erudite study of the text. (It became known to us when we had already worked out our major ideas). The reader will find that on some essential matters our conclusions differ. Nijenhuis believes that the *Dattilam* is an abridgement of a more extended earlier work, and the original as well as the abridged work were modelled on the *Nātyaśāstra* which belongs to a considerably earlier period. Nijenhuis also believes that gāndharva is not a specific and distinct corpus of music. Part of our own main task has been to establish a contrary thesis. This difference in basic conclusions pervades our treatment of minor points as well. It would have taken up too much space in an already lengthy work had we spelled out our stand *vis-a-vis* Nijenhuis at every step. We have, however, indicated our differences on a few sample points of detail concerning textual meaning and interpretation in Part III of our work.

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January, 1978
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PART I

*TEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS:
AUTHENCITY OF DATTILAM*

CHAPTER I

ORIGINALITY OF DATTILAM

Dattila has always been held as a great ācārya among students, scholars and musicians versed in the traditions of saṅgīta literature. He has been hailed as a compeer of Bharata and other ancient sages by numerous authorities on music over the centuries. Later writers have used the epithet 'muni' with his name as with Bharata and Nārada. Like other ancient Masters of music, he has passed into legend as a sage.

Dattila's work, the *Dattilam* was, however, lost to modern scholars until K. Sambasiva Sastri chanced upon a copy and published it in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in 1930. Unfortunately, only a single manuscript of the work was available and this, too, was "found almost neglected and left out to the care of insects" as Sambasiva Sastri puts it (Datt. Preface p. 3). No other manuscript of the work has since been found and the text stands on the basis of a single manuscript alone. The readings, fortunately, are coherent and only a few words here and there have been lost due to the tattered condition of the manuscript.

Dattilam is a very short treatise consisting of only 244 verses or kārikās and is written in a very terse and often obtuse language. It is natural that around this important ancient text—especially because there is such a dearth of manuscript material—many controversies have sprung up and its authenticity is questioned.

The original editor, K. Sambasiva Sastri, believed the work to be by Dattila. Examining the evidence then available to him, he found that Mataṅga in his *Brahddeśī* and Kṣirasvāmin in his commentary, *Amarakośodghāṭana* on the *Amarakośa*, have quoted kārikās from *Dattilam*. These are found to contain the same order of succession as they have in the extant *Dattilam* (samudhṛtānāṁ dattilakārikānāṁ paurvāparyabhāvamajahatināṁ tathaiva sanniveśadarśanam). Deducing the condition of the whole from a significant portion thereof, according to the maxim of sthālipulāka-nyāya, Sastri concluded that the work was authentic.¹

Subsequent scholars have, however, questioned this conclusion. The shortness of the treatise has led many to believe that it is incomplete or at best a later abridgement of a part of a much larger ancient treatise. The original treatise, some posit, must have dealt comprehensively with all the multiple aspects of ancient

¹ अत्र केचिदिम ग्रन्थम् “अकरोद दत्तिलः शास्त्रं गीतं दत्तिलसंज्ञितम् ।”

इति वचनात् स्यादन्यकृतो दत्तिलशास्त्रसंग्रहः इति संशिष्टिपुमलम् । परन्तु स्यालीपुलाकन्यायेन परीक्षायां श्रीमतंगमुनिना क्षीरस्वाम्याचार्येण च समद्धृतानां दत्तिलकारिकाणां पौरवीपर्याभावमजहतीनां तथैव सन्तिवेशदर्शनं विचक्षणानामसंशयमिदं शुद्धमेव दत्तिलं प्रत्याययात् ।

—Datt. Sanskrit preface, p. 3.

See also English preface, p. 2.

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music and probably also theatre. The extant *Dattilam* patently does not. It deals only with one small part of ancient music.

Dattila has been named as a son of Bharata. This has been understood by some as evidence that he was a teacher in the tradition of the *Nātyasāstra*. It is concluded, therefore, that he must have modelled his work upon that of Bharata and dealt comprehensively with music, dance and drama. Dr. Raghavan says that "Dattilam published now in the Trivandrum Series is only a very late fragmentary selection or condensation of the early original and big work which must have, like other early works, dealt with dance and dramaturgy. It must have been big. The Trivandrum text of Dattila is very poorly small even as regards music. It has no section on drama and dance. There is no denying the fact that Dattila's work treated of Nātya also".¹

Other scholars have arrived at similar views. Swami Prajñananand in his *History of Indian Music* (in Bengali) comments : "it is certain that he (Dattila) had written a large work dealing comprehensively with dance, music and drama and the present *Dattilam* is a condensed form of the saṅgīta aspect of the large compendium".² Dr. Premlata Sharma opines : "Dattilam, a work published in Anantasayana Sanskrit Series No. 102, is very small and briefly deals with a few topics of gīta alone. It appears to be an abridged version of a portion of gīta of the original work which must have dealt with gīta, vāyda, nṛtya and nātya, but is lost to us."³ Dr. Dharmavati Srivastava also concludes : "the work written exclusively on saṅgīta by Dattilamuni does not appear to be a complete treatise. It seems that the text is an abridged form of a much larger work by him."⁴

E. Wiesma Te. Nijenhuis in her recent work on *Dattilam* analyses the matter on the basis of textual data and strengthens a similar conclusion. Nijenhuis says : "the limited scope of this treatise and the conciseness of its style create the impression that it was written as an abridgement of a more extended work. The fact that the author himself announces in verse 44, that he will not discuss vīṇā-playing lest he make the treatise too extensive ('for fear of making this treatise too lengthy') supports this view. We might suppose that Dattila wrote a larger work on music, which also contained a chapter on rāgas, bhāṣās etc. Since he is referred to in the *Saṅgitarāja* of Rāṇā Kumbha 2, 2, 1, 93 and 2, 2, 3, 2 as an authority on bhāṣās and *Saṅgitarāja* 2, 1, 2, 37 in connection with the rāgas. The original work of Dattila may also have dealt with dramaturgy. According to K. Sambasiva Sastri, preface to *Dattilam* page 2f, two verses of Dattila referring to this subject are quoted by Sarvānanda in his commentary *Tikāsarvasva* on the *Amarakośa*.

"A very long quotation on the other hand which appears in *Bṛhaddeśī* of Mataṅga, 201-230 ab, 243 cd-248 and 250 cd, introduced by the words : 'tathā cāha bharata', 'Bharata said.....' a reading which does not occur in the Bombay and

¹ *The Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, Vol. III, p.18.

² Bh. Sang. Iti. (Bengali), Swami Prajñananand, Vol. II, p.360.

³ S. Raj. -ed. Dr. (Km.) Premlata Sharma, Vol. I, p. 663.

⁴ *Prācīna Bhārata men Saṅgīta* (Hindi), Dr. Dharmavati Srivastava, p. 222.

Baroda editions, but which may exist in some unedited manuscript of the *Nātyaśāstra*, suggests that Dattila borrowed some material from Bharata's work. Not only this quotation in connection with the jātis, but also the general structure, that is to say, the way in which the subjects are arranged and the order in which they are discussed, reminds me of Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra*.

"In my opinion we may assume not only that the *Dattilam* is closely connected with Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* but even suppose that this small treatise and quite possibly also the longer original work, which may have contained chapters on rāgas, instrumental music (*vādyā*), especially viṇā-playing (cf. *Dattilam* 44), and dramaturgy was modelled on the *Nātyaśāstra*.¹

Ancient texts on music are few. Tradition speaks of many teachers but most authorities exist for us as mere names or at best as few lines of stray quotations in later works. Apart from the *Nātyaśāstra* of which many manuscripts exist—and at least one masterly and comprehensive commentary is known²—the only other work was the *Nāradī Śikṣā* on sāmagāna till K. Sambasiva Sastri discovered a single manuscript of *Dattilam* and two incomplete manuscripts of the *Bṛhaddeśī* of Mataṅga—one extremely worn out and the other very fragmentary.³ Till mere manuscripts are discovered and other texts in the field are available, much will remain as mere conjecture regarding the nature, inter-relation and place in musical history of texts like the *Dattilam*.

However, we think that there are sufficient grounds to believe that the *Dattilam*, as extant, is a work complete in itself and is found in its original form; that it is of a fairly early date and represents a tradition independent of the *Nātyaśāstra* in many respects, though parallel to it. We shall in the following pages attempt to establish these points.

The conciseness of *Dattilam* alone should not lead us to believe that the work is an abridgement. The great sūtrakāras and kārikākāras of ancient Indian literature bear ample testimony that brevity is, indeed, the soul of wit and only a great master can be truly brief. It is, certainly, unfortunate for us that the *Dattilam* is so concise, since what we demand from an ancient work on the art and the science of ancient music is elucidation and not brevity, however intellectually commendable the latter might be—so scanty is our knowledge of the subject. Yet, brevity was much esteemed during ancient times and only great ācāryas were deemed as fit practitioners of this lofty art.

Concise, pithy works also served a great practical purpose during the early period both for students and teachers, since through them one could keep in mind

¹ *Dattilam—A Compendium of Ancient Indian Music* by Wiesma Te Nijenhuis, Introduction, pp. 2-3.

² The *Abhinava Bhāratī* of Abhinava Gupta (10th Cent. A.D.).

³ *Bṛhaddeśī* of Mataṅga, ed. K. Sambasiva Sastri, 1928, Preface, p. 2.

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the outlines of a subject in a precise yet authoritative and comprehensive form. Regarding details, one could refer to the more extensive works, many of which were then certainly current.

An examination in some detail of the internal evidence of the *Dattilam* itself and the available external evidence from other works will, we believe, reveal the originality and authenticity of *Dattilam*.

The *Dattilam* is a technical or a śāstric treatise. It is a manual dealing logically and scientifically with a single subject. In many ancient works of this nature, where the purpose was an organised theoretical delineation of a specific subject, it was customary to name and list the topics to be expounded and explained in the text. This initial enumeration of topics was technically termed *uddeśa*. It precisely outlined the subject under consideration. Abhinava Gupta commenting on the twenty-eighth chapter of the *Nātyaśāstra*, where a list of topics on music is contained, gives a definition of *uddeśa*. *Uddeśa*, he says, is a collection [of topics] from which a knowledge [of the whole] can be had in a concise form—"saṅkṣiprāvagamo yataḥ iti samavāya *uddeśah*"¹ (A.B. on N.S. 28, 13-15). To take a well known ancient example, the first sūtra of the *Nyāyasūtra* of Gautama enumerates sixteen padārthas (entities); these covered the entire subject matter of nyāya-philosophy.² This list was technically known as the *padārthoddeśa*. Subsequent sūtras of Gautama define, elucidate and discuss these padārthas.

The *uddeśa* has been defined by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa and other philosophers as a list containing a group of terms or *paribhāṣās* which outlined the entire subject and the contours of the formal treatment to follow.³ One could know the plan and scope of the entire subject under discussion in a treatise from its *uddeśa*. It was somewhat parallel to what in modern works appears as a list of contents.

The *Dattilam*, too, contains meticulously and methodically grouped *uddeśas*. It has two *uddeśas*—one pertaining to *svara* or the melodic aspect of music and subsequently another pertaining to *tāla* or broadly the rhythmic aspect of music. Like a true śāstric treatise, *Dattilam* follows a precise plan in dealing with its subject-matter. After the customary salutation to the deity (*vighnavighātāya viśiṣṭadevatā nama-skriyā*), Dattila broaches the object of his essay. He expressly declares his intention to be concise and says that he shall briefly delineate the essentials of the science of *gāndharva*⁴.

¹ तत्र वैणानं स्वराणां प्रकारानुद्दिशति स्वरा ग्रामावित्यादि । संक्षिप्तावगमो यतः इति समवाय उद्देशः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 13-15.

also

नाट्यस्य नाट्यविषयस्यार्थस्य संग्रहं संक्षिप्तं गृह्णते ज्ञेनेति तमुद्देशं वक्ष्यामि ।
—A.B. on N.S. 6, 9.

² *Nyāyasūtra* 1.

³ नामधेयेन पदार्थमिद्धानमुद्देशः: *Nyāyamañjari* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, p. 11 (Kasi Sanskrit Series No. 106).

Jayanta, further in the passage, says : तत्रोद्देशः प्रथममवश्यं कर्तव्यः अनुद्विष्टस्य लक्षणपरीक्षानुपत्तेः. *Lakṣaṇa* was the exposition of topics listed in *uddeśa*. In philosophical works a *parikṣā* or examination of the exposition was also undertaken ; this in a work like *Dattilam*, which is a technical manual, was unnecessary.

⁴ गान्धर्वशास्त्रसंक्षेपः सारतोऽयं मयोच्यते ।

—Datt. 1.

Gāndharva he defines as consisting of four elements : svara, tāla, pada and avadhāna. It is, he says, a group of notes (svara saṅghātah) well measured in tāla (tālena sumitah) and set to words (padasthah); these three, he adds, should be availed with due intentness (avadhāna).¹ Of these four elements he deliberately chooses only svara and tāla for detailed exposition. He gives reasons for this choice. The nature of pada, or words, he says, should be learnt from common usage and a study of grammar etc.; hence, he observes, there was no need for him to expound this in a work on music. Avadhāna, too, according to him needed no exposition for it was commonly understood and denoted a state of mind in which the intellect and other faculties were properly concentrated². It was, he implied, the inner composure or attentiveness demanded by any serious human activity and was thus not limited to the performance of gāndharva alone. Therefore, not considering it necessary to go into details regarding pada and avadhāna—especially since he wanted to be brief—Dattila announces that he will take up the other two viz. svara and tāla for exposition (dvayamanyadato vācyamiha saṅkṣepamicchatā. Datt. 5). He deals first with svara (tatra svaragatam pūrvam. Datt. 5).

Throughout his work, Dattila follows a methodical rationale in treating his subject and consequently his choice of svara before tāla, as the aspect of gāndharva to be taken up first, was not arbitrary. Details of svara, he says, are being expounded first because svara is the object to be measured (meyatvāt) : “tatra svaragatam pūrvam meyatvādūpadiśyate” (Datt. 5).

Music is a temporal (kālātmaka) art—it extends over time and is conceived in terms of a temporal relationship within its various elements : just as painting, sculpture and architecture are spatial (desātmaka) arts which extend over space in various ways. In music the svara aspect is rendered in certain patterns, which are often moulded to the framework of certain set and structured rhythmic measures. In Indian music, these are collectively termed tāla. Tāla sets and maintains the pattern in time over which svara extends. Svara has thus been called by Dattila “that which is to be measured (meya)”. The measure was tāla. Hence in defining gāndharva, Dattila had called it a group of svaras (svarasaṅghātah) properly measured by tāla (tālena sumitah).³ For this reason, Dattila takes up svara before tāla, for a measure has significance only in terms of the object to be measured.

Music is a science as well as an art. The morphology of music has to be understood in terms of a conceptual fabric with its own paribhāṣas or technical terms which are used as tools of analysis and delineation. This, broadly, is the theory or

1 पदस्थस्वरसंघातस्तालेन सुमितस्तथा ।
प्रयुक्तश्चाबधानेन गान्धर्वमस्मीयते ॥

—Datt. 3.

2 लोकाद् विद्यात्पदा (हीनं नीह) शब्दशास्त्राद्यनुग्रहात् ।
प्रसिद्धमवधानं तु सम्यक्बुद्ध्यादियोजनम् ।

—Datt. 4.

3 Abhinava also calls gāndharva—तालप्रमितस्वरप्रधान
—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

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śāstra of music. It stands in the same relation with musical forms as does grammar with language. Gāndharva śāstra (as Dattila calls his subject-matter) dealt with the theory or science of ancient music (of a particular aspect or corpus of it as we shall see) formulated during a certain period. Its theoretical vocabulary consisted of well-defined terms and ideas which had become quite well set by the time Dattila and Bharata, who also deals with gāndharava, wrote their descriptions.

The elements and considerations which governed svara-formulations in gāndharva ; the nature of musical sounds and how they arise ; the notes and pitches on which they should be fixed ; the octaves and the different ways of constructing them (as in the two grāmas) ; the range and gamut of svara-arrangements, patterns and structures—all were comprehended and denoted through certain given pāribhāsika terms and these together were listed in the svaroddeśa. Dattila's svaroddeśa follows his short preamble and is contained in two verses consisting of a list of 12 topics which together describe the svara-aspect of gāndharva (. śrutayotha svarā gramau...esa svaragatoddēśah. Datt. 5-7). He proceeds to expound them with the words : "I shall now authentically relate their nature" (saṅkṣepeṇātha nirṇayah. Datt. 7). The exposition is completed in precisely a 100 verses as he later asserts : "iti ślokaśatenedamuktaṁ svaragataṁ sphuṭam" (Datt. 109).

We notice that the exposition of the topics follows the same order in which they have been listed. The order itself is not haphazard but seems to follow a preconceived rational plan—one topic logically leading to the other.

The section on svara is followed by that on tāla (atha tālam pravakṣyāmi. Datt. 109). Here, too, after a few words regarding the nature of tāla in general, we have tāloddeśa where a list of topics constituting the tāla aspect of gāndharva is given (tatra jñeyāḥ kalāḥ pātāḥ.....ityuddesāḥ padārthānām jñeyastālagato budhaiḥ. Datt. 110-112). Again the description and explanations follow an ordered pattern as in the foregoing section and the work ends only after all the listed topics have been dealt with.

Dattilam thus presents a well-knit whole. The author follows a thoroughly organised plan, almost architectural in its layout. He completely covers the entire span of the subject he sets out to deal with and not a single topic is left out.

A comparison in depth between corresponding matter in the *Nātyaśāstra* and *Dattilam* also reveals the independent stance of Dattila.

The *Nātyaśāstra* is a large compendium dealing with many arts and sciences. One of these arts is gāndharva, which is accorded a full śāstric treatment. Bharata treats of gāndharva in the final section of the *Nātyaśāstra*, traditionally called the geyādhikāra, which begins at the 28th chapter of the text. In his treatment of gāndharva Bharata lists almost an identical set of topics as Dattila. However, the disposition of topics in the initial uddeśa list follows quite a different order. Moreover, the entire topics of gāndharva, pertaining to svara, tāla (and also pada as Bharata has a padoddeśa) are grouped at one place (N.S. 28, 13-20).

We do not have a complete description of gāndharva from any other early authority except Bharata and Dattila. Later authors have, however, spoken of and quoted some ācāryas besides these two. Evidence points out that the art of gāndharva conformed to strict rules of theory and practice. Its śāstra, too, followed a well-trodden path conforming to norms. Basic differences between authorities expounding the forms and statutes of gāndharva were absent; yet differences on points of structural detail, and conceptual nuances of theory seem to have abounded.

A comparison between *Dattilam* and *Nātyaśāstra* reveals such differences. Further, authentic testimony regarding the nature of these variant views can be gleaned from later saṅgīta-literature. Among later authorities Abhinava Gupta's discussion of gāndharva is the most detailed, scholarly and informed. In his commentary on gāndharva in the *Nātyaśāstra*, Abhinava introduces opinions of many other theorists besides Bharata. Among these, Dattila figures prominently. Abhinava has noted many points of disagreement as to doctrine and formal details between Bharata, Dattila and others on matters of varying importance. So have other authorities like Śārṅgadeva, Rāṇā Kumbha and others. Let us examine these differences, (with the help of Abhinava and the others), and we shall see that in the light of these, Dattila stands out as an independent ācārya on gāndharva with an acknowledged original stature and standpoint of his own.¹

In fact, a basic semantic and doctrinal difference is to be found in the very definition of gāndharva as given by Bharata, Dattila and by Viśākhila—another authority whom Abhinava quotes and often refers to. Abhinava has expounded the definitions of these three ācāryas and discussed their merits (A.B. on N.S. 28, 11-12).

Bharata defines gāndharva twice.

- (a) “gāndharvamiti tajñeyam svaratālapadātmakam : gāndharva is known as comprising svara, pada and tāla” (N.S. 8, 8).
- (b) The second definition is a slightly rephrased version of the first : “gāndharvam trividham̄ vidyātsvaratālapadātmakam” (N.S. 28, 11).

The use of the word 'trividham' in the second definition was not considered as very happy by many ancient theorists for it suggests that svara, tāla and pada are the three modes or varieties of gāndharva, whereas, in truth, gāndharva was formed by a fusion or conjunction of the three. Abhinava in an attempt to vindicate Bharata, refers to an ancient tradition regarding this point and explains 'vidhā' in 'trividha', not as 'mode' or 'manner' but as vidhāna or 'regulation'. The word vidhā, he says, here denotes a 'dependence' (āśritavācī vidhā śabdah); in other words svara, pada and tāla are the three elements on which gāndharva depends. He then quotes Viśākhilācārya who had unambiguously defined gāndharva as "svarapadatālasamavāye

¹ K.C. Pandey in his *Indian Aesthetics* (p. 538), which forms the first volume of his magnum opus, the duology called *Comparative Aesthetics*, opines : "Dattila seems to have been a contemporary of Bharata"—mainly on the basis of the numerous references found in the *Abhinava Bhāratī* from the *Dattilam* and the great authority accorded to Dattila by Abhinava.

tu gāndharvam : gāndharva is an inseparable concomitance (samavāya) of svara, pada and tāla".¹

Dattila's definition of *gāndharva*, besides implying a togetherness of *svara*, *pada* and *tāla* also suggests an heirarchical relationship between these elements, because he says "padasthasvarasaṅghātastālena sumitah": i.e. "*gāndharva* is a group of notes set to words and well-measured by *tāla*". *Svara*, here, has definitely been assigned the central position, since it is a group of *svaras*—set to words and sung to *tāla*—that forms *gāndharva*. *Abhinava* has, indeed, remarked that in defining *gāndharva*, it is not enough to state that *gāndharva* is a conglomeration of *svara*, *tāla* and *pada* because this implies an equal status for all three, whereas in actuality a hierarchy (*pradhānaguṇabhāva*) exists; *svara* is the dominant element, *tāla* second in importance: its function is to give an equipoise and equilibrium (*sāmya*) to *svara*; *pada* follows last in the hierarchy. *Bharata* unlike Dattila has not explicitly set forth this hierarchy. Though, according to *Abhinava*, he has implied it in listing the three elements of *gāndharva* serially as *svara*, *tāla* and *pada* (*svaratālapadātmakam*); *svara* being named first because it is foremost in importance, *tāla* following it and *pada* coming last. In thus interpreting *Bharata*, *Abhinava*, in support of his contention, approvingly cites the line from Dattila which contains the definition of *gāndharva*.²

A definition in a śāstric work should, ideally, be able to comprehend the object defined in all its possible aspects. Śāstrakāras, therefore, are very careful regarding their choice of words in a definition. Of the three available ancient definitions of *gāndharva* that we have cited, the one by Dattila is, in its wording, the most happy and exact. It explicitly implies both the necessary togetherness or fusion existing between the various aspects of *gāndharva* as well as their heirarchical inter-relationship. *Bharata*'s definition—inspite of *Abhinava*'s vindication—is obviously ambiguous on both counts while that of *Viśākhila* leaves out the heirarchical aspect.

Dattila's definition of *gāndharva* includes *avadhāna* as an element in its formation :

"padasthasvarasaṅghātastālena sumitastathā
prayuktaścāvadhānenā gāndharvamabhidhīyate" (Datt. 3).

Bharata and *Viśākhila*, evidently, considered *avadhāna* as superfluous. *Abhinava*, after appraising the relative importance of the elements, *svara*, *pada*, *tāla* and their inter-relations, remarks : "avadhāna is not manifest as an element deserving to be included as a facet (of *gāndharva*) like *svara*, *pada*, *tāla*. It should not, therefore, be

¹ गान्धवं त्रिविदं विद्यादिति । त्रिभ्यः स्वरादिभ्यः विद्यादिति । त्रिभ्यः स्वरादिभ्यः विद्या विद्यान् यस्य । आश्रितवाची विद्याशब्द इति चिरतनाः; न त्वत् विद्याशब्दः प्रकारार्थं एवं सति पृथ्यक्पृथगगान्वर्वव्यवहारो भवेत् । न चैवम्, तथा च विशाखिलाचार्यः स्वरपदतालसमवाये तु गान्धवंम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 11-12.

² इति कर्तव्योपयोगि हि तत्त्वं मिश्रीभावः प्रधानगुणभावेनैव भवति । तत्र पूर्वनिपातादेव प्राधान्यं सूचयति । तेन स्वरः प्रधानं, तालो नामात्मा तत्साम्येनोपकारकः; "तलं प्रतिष्ठाकरणे" इति तालं एवैतदाह । ततोऽपि दूरं पदं पदशब्देनैव तस्याधारतालाभः । तदुक्तं दत्तिलाचार्येण—“पदस्थः स्वरासाधातस्तालेन सुमितः”

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 11-12.

included in that group.”¹ For, he adds : “avadhāna means concentration (yogarūpam) and is not pertinent in this context.”²

Sīmhabhūpala, the famous commentator on *Saṅgitaratnākara*, quotes a definition of gāndharva attributed to Dakṣaprajāpati, along with that of Dattila. Dakṣaprajāpati not only included avadhāna as a part of gāndharva but considered it to be the determining factor. “It is avadhāna,” he says, “which forms gāndharva; svara, pada and others come after it. Without avadhāna the [other] three elements cannot be accomplished.”³

Dattila, on this point, appears to have taken a stand which lay in-between the one taken by Bharata and Viśakhila and that of Dakṣaprajāpati. He considered avadhāna a part of gāndharva, but, evidently, not an essential part, for he states that avadhāna was a commonly understood term; he did not think it important enough to be discussed or expounded.

Coming now to the list of topics or the uddeśa, we notice that the order of arrangement in Dattila is quite different from that noted by Bharata. This might appear as a superficial matter and a mere whim on the part of the two authorities. Such was not the case. The order of terms in a uddeśa was expected to follow a rational plan. Commentators like Abhinava—who was certainly not the only one to have done so—took pains to justify the order presented in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and to defend it against different uddeśakramas, that is, the order of arrangement accepted by other authorities like Dattila.

Let us compare the serial order of topics in the uddeśa relating to svara in Bharata and Dattila. In Bharata we have :

1. svara	8. sādhāraṇa
2. grāma	9. varṇa
3. mūrchanā	10. alaṅkāra
4. tāna	11. dhātu
5. sthāna	12. śruti
6. vṛtti	13. jāti ⁴
7. śuṣka	

(N.S. 28, 13-14)

Dattila, on the other hand, has :

1. śruti	7. vṛtti
2. svara	8. śuṣka
3. grāma	9. sādhāraṇa
4. mūrchanā	10. jāti
5. tāna	11. varṇa
6. sthāna	12. alaṅkāra

(Datt. 5-6)

1 न हि स्वरतालपदतुल्यतया इदं भागनिविष्टमवधानं भाति, येन समूहमध्ये गणेत ।—A.B. on N.S. 28, 11-12.

2 अवधानं योगहृष्ट तच्चात् नोपयोगि ।—ibid.

3 दत्तिलदक्षप्रजापत्यापदयोऽवधानं गांधर्वाङ्गत्वेनाङ्ग्यकार्यः । यदाह दत्तिलः—‘पदस्थः स्वरसंधातस्तालेन सुमितस्तथा । प्रयुक्तश्चात्मवधानेन गांधर्वमभिधीयते’ । इति । दक्षप्रजापतिरपि—‘अवधानाति गांधर्वं पश्चात्स्वरपदादयः । अवधानाति-तिरेकेण त्रिविधं नोपयते ॥’—Sudhā on S.R. 1, 3, 15-16.

4 The G.O.S. ed. reads ‘yatayah’—clearly a faulty reading, as yati was a topic in tāla and is listed and expounded as such. We accept the reading ‘jātayah’ which is appropriate here and noted as a variant reading.

We notice that there is quite a discrepancy in the order. We do not know of the details of the *uddeśa*-order noted by other authorities. Abhinava, however, remarks that Viśākhilacārya in his *uddeśa* places śruti after grāma : "viśākhilācāryo grāmānantaram śrutiruddiśati sma" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 22).

The position assigned to śruti vis-a-vis svara in the *uddeśa* seems to have been a matter of great doctrinal importance in ancient times.

Dattila has assigned śruti the first position, both in his *uddeśa* and in the exposition that follows. But in Bharata's list śruti is almost the last topic to be named. This discrepancy is not accidental. It is indicative of a major controversy in ancient times regarding the comparative status of svara and śruti. Dattila, expressly attributes to śruti a dominant position. He believed that svaras arose from the śrutis. The śrutis according to him were twenty-two specific sounds in the octave (dhvanivīśeṣāḥ), which the human ear could discriminate as distinct and separate (śravaṇācchrutisamjñitāḥ, Datt. 9). The śrutis in ancient times were twenty-two graded pitches into which the octave was divided. It was believed that these included all the musically significant microtones which could be differentiated one from the other.¹

Although within an octave twenty-two microtones were believed to be cognizable, not all of these were usable in gāndharva. Gāndharva forms were based on svara and not śruti, and its octave had only seven svaras (plus two intermediary or sādhāraṇa svaras which were not accorded in gāndharva the full status of svaras). In Dattila's view, certain specific śrutis out of the range of the twenty-two in an octave, had been selected and given the status of svara (Datt. 9-11). This made the svaras dependent upon śrutis, for śrutis came first and svaras were chosen out of them.

The grāma here poses a question, for in different grāmas different śrutis became svaras. The gāndharva seven-tone octave had a basic twofold division on the

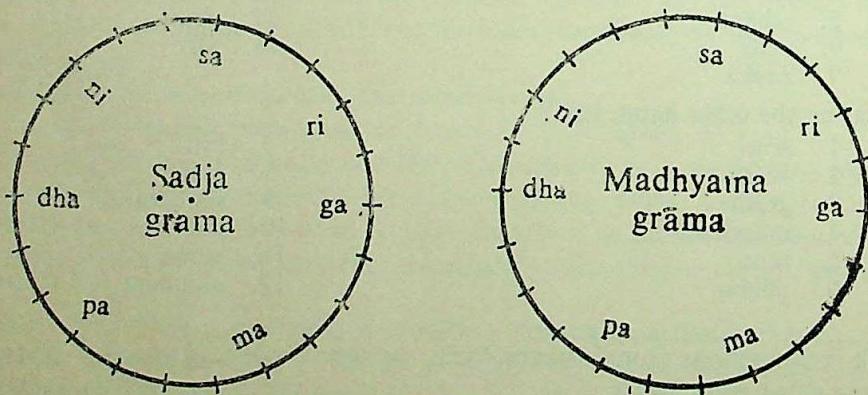


Fig. 1.

¹ Cf. प्राक्तनस्य ध्वनेवलक्षणं यावता हीनेनाधिकेन या तीव्रमन्दात्मना रूपेण लक्ष्यते सा श्रुतिरिति यावत् । यद्यापि परमाणुतोऽप्युत्कर्षापकर्षो वा भवेद् ध्वनिविशेषस्तथापि नासौ गृहीतुं पायते ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28.

basis of the somewhat different śrutis which, in each, attained the state of svaras. The two differing octaves were called the ṣadja-grāma and madhyama-grāma. The above circular maṇḍalas with twenty-two śruti-demarcations will illustrate the differing śrutis on which the seven notes were established in the two grāmas :

In each of these grāmas, as the maṇḍalas show, only certain specific śrutis, bearing a fixed śruti-interval with each other, became svaras. Thus, although somewhat different śrutis in one or two cases became svaras on the basis of the grāma division, the principle that certain fixed śrutis attained svara-hood remained unchanged. (See also topic 'grāma', Part III).

Bharata, contrary to Dattila, evidently believed that the śrutis were subservient to svaras. The very first topic he names and expounds is the topic svara. The nature of śruti and the number of śrutis in the svaras of the two grāmas are recounted after svara. His method of demonstrating the śruti-intervals between svaras, clearly indicates that he considered svara as self-revelatory and śrutis as secondary demarcations made within svaras. In outlining his method, he says that we first tune two viñās on the same seven svaras of the ṣadja-grāma: the correct pitches of these svaras were evidently to be arrived at by a musician through his ear alone as is commonly done in tuning instruments even today. So self-evident, in Bharata's view, were the positions of the accepted svaras in the octave that he did not consider it necessary to describe how they were to be arrived at. After identical svaras were tuned on two viñās, the position of the śrutis could be arrived at by an elaborate process of slightly lowering one of the two viñās through a number of steps. These steps helped in illustrating the number of śrutis contained in each of the svaras of the two grāmas. For, Bharata believed that the śrutis were revealed through the svaras (dvāvīṁśati śrutayah svaramaṇḍalasādhitāḥ. N.S. 28, 23). Viśākhila, too, evidently, gave svaras precedence over śrutis, because in his uddeśa śruti has been mentioned by Abhinava as following grāma and does not occur as the first topic. Grāma itself must have followed svara, for on no count can it be considered as preceding svara. Although Dattila had consulted Viśākhila's work on gāndharva (Datt. 177), yet he had an independent stand on the question of the relative importance of śruti and svara.

Abhinava vindicates the order followed by Bharata. He says (obviously pointing towards authorities like Dattila in whose uddeśa śruti precedes svara) : "Some have in this regard concluded that since svaras are revealed through the succession of śrutis (śrutikramābhivyaṅgyāḥ), they should therefore be named first. To this criticism the answer is : such would indeed have been the case had the śrutis, which are defined as definite sounds (dhvaninādasamjñitāḥ), themselves become svaras at fixed śruti intervals. But this is not so, and, indeed, it is on the basis of svara that the high or low position of the śrutis themselves is recognised."¹

Many commentators on Bharata, too, appear to have criticised him for not having placed śruti before svara. They, like Dattila, believed that śrutis were the basis

¹ अत केचित् चोद्यं प्रति समादध्यः—श्रुतिक्रमाभिव्यञ्जयाः स्वरा इति श्रुतय एवादौ वाच्या इति चोद्यम्, तत्रोत्तरं—भवेदेव, यदि ध्वनिनादसंज्ञिताः श्रुतय एव नियतश्रुत्यन्तरत्वेत गृह्यमाणा स्वरा (इति) । न हेव, श्रुतयो ह्युच्चनीचतया अपि स्वराश्रया एव प्रतीयन्ते ।—A.B. on N.S. 28, 21.

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of svaras and had voiced this objection : “śrutyapekṣṇah svarāḥ, tatkimakāṇḍe tā udīṣṭāḥ—svaras depend upon śrutis, why then have they been misplaced in the uddeśa?” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 16-20).

Abhinava has gone to great lengths in justifying the primacy of svara over śruti. He has adduced many arguments of a fundamental importance to music in defence of svara. He reminds us of the fact that musical notes are not arbitrarily determined intervals but are produced through an inexorable acoustic law of harmonics. Thus a true note can be recognised and experienced as such by anyone with a musical sensibility. Putting this in the philosophic language of his age, he remarks : “svaras are self luminous (svayam.....rājante) and are cognised as such in all musical forms. So inexorably effective are they by their very nature that they irresistably stamp their impress on the mind of the listener who experiences their aesthetic import spontaneously (hṛdayatātivāsat svatāmākṣipantah, svaviṣaye abhidhānam kurvataḥ svarā ityuktāḥ); on listening to a rightly sounded svara, the psyche of a listener is forcibly shaken away from his normal everyday consciousness and ascends to a new aesthetically moving state of being (cittavṛttimadhyasthatārūpasvāsthyaवास्थापर्याजानेनोपतापयन्तः).”¹ This is not true of the śrutis because these depend in their very position upon svaras : “śrutayo uccanīcatayā api svarāśrayā eva pratīyante” (A.B. on N.S. 23, 21).

Yet, though Abhinava considered śruti as subsidiary to svara, he did feel that the position of śruti so far down the *Nātyāśāstra* list (as no. 12) was not defensible. He, therefore, concludes that there is no point in endeavouring to justify Bharata's entire uddeśa-order : “tannātra kramasamarthanena prayasitavyah”.² Viśākhila had followed a more rational and defensible plan in placing śrutis immediately after grāma, since the form of each grāma depended upon the distinct śruti-arrangements of the seven svaras constituting it.³

On examining the detailed exposition of topics that follows the uddeśa in the *Nātyāśāstra*, we notice discrepancies between their serial position in the uddeśa and in

¹ तेन षट्स्वभावां चित्तवृत्तिमध्यस्थतारूपस्वास्थ्यावस्थापरित्याजनेनोपतापयन्तो हृदयतावशात् स्वतामाक्षिपन्तः स्वविषये अभिधानं कुर्वतः स्वरा इत्युक्ताः । वर्णसाम्यादपि निश्चितमाह स्वयं स्वेष्वेव जार्तिरागभाषाभेदेषु राजन्त इति स्वराः । —A.B. on N.S. 28, 21.

² We give here the whole relevant passage which has many points of interest : श्रृत्यपेक्षणः स्वराः तत्किमकाण्डे ता उहिष्टा इति चोदयित्वा यत्प्रयुक्तं शारीरापेक्षयै तु न दारव्यां ते स्वरा इति तदसंगतप्रायम् । एतावता हि दारव्यां नासति श्रुत्युपयोग इत्युक्तम् । तत्किं ताभिरुहिष्टाभिः ग्रामविभागाय ता इति चेत्तसविध एवोद्देश्या इत्यलम् , तन्नान्त्र क्रमसमर्थनेन प्रयसितव्यः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 16-20.

This may be rendered as : “Some raise the question—‘svaras depend upon śrutis, why then have the śrutis been misplaced in the uddeśa?’ They, then, answer this question by arguing that ‘only in relation to the śārīra vīṇā (*i.e.* singing) are the svaras dependent upon [śrutis] but not in the wooden vīṇā, śrutis do not serve any purpose. Why, then, at all include the śrutis in the uddeśa? If it be answered that ‘the śruts help to differentiate’ the grāmas, then they should occupy a place adjacent to grāma in the uddeśa. Enough, however, of this—there is no point in endeavouring further to justify the uddeśa-order.”

³ ग्रामविभागार्थमेव भ्रूतिकीर्तनं तद्गतसंवादादिविवेचनं कथं तद्गतेषु रागेषु नैव स्वराणां नियतोऽर्वादिकमनया शरीरसाम्यं भवतीति दर्शयितुमिति श्रुतयः स्वरेभ्योऽनन्तरमुक्ताः , एतदाश्रयणेव विशाखिलाचार्यो ग्रामानन्तरं श्रुतिरुद्दिशति स्म ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 21.

the lakṣaṇa or exposition. Bharata does not expound the topics in the sequence in which he lists them. Though, śruti is named twelfth in the uddeśa list, it occurs as third following grāma in the lakṣaṇa (N.S. 28, 24); sādhāraṇa, eighth in the uddeśa, follows sthāna which is the fifth topic to be expounded (N.S. 28, 34); jāti which is at the end of the uddeśa list, follows sādhāraṇa (N.S. 28, 37). Besides this jumbling up of the uddeśa-order in expounding the topics we also find that gīti, a topic included in the tāloddeśa (N.S. 28, 19), is expounded in the svara section (N.S. 28, 44) along with svara topics, without any justification being offered.

Dattila on the other hand follows an orderly course in his exposition, keeping strictly to the uddeśa-krama. At points he even justifies the order he accepts, by hinting at the dependence of a topic which follows upon the one which precedes. We have already noted that he has based svaras upon śrutis. He states so expressly. After describing śruti, which in his exposition is the first topic, he describes svara, stating : "of these (śrutis) some are selected and sung in all the gītis. Among these śrutis those that attain the state of a note (svaratva) are esteemed as the seven svaras, beginning with ṣadja."¹ Again, having described svara and grāma, Dattila deduces the mūrchanās and their serial numbers as a natural consequence from these (Datt. 21). Similarly, in describing tāna, he shows their dependence on mūrchanās, the preceding topic : "these fore-mentioned mūrchanās", he says, "[when formed] with five notes and with six notes have been declared by the wise as the tānas".² Describing alaṅkāras after varṇas, he notes : "the alaṅkāras should be known as based upon the varṇas".³

Other disagreements, too, are observable between Bharata and Dattila. These are more basic, as they pertain to the nature of the exposition itself. Let us examine some of these.

1. Ancient music recognised two grāmas on the basis of two different arrangements of śruti-intervals accorded to the seven svaras of an octave. Each of these grāmas could result in seven mūrchanās which were the seven notes of the octave in a serially ascending order ; each new mūrchanā beginning on a new and successively lower note. These mūrchanās were numbered serially and each had a distinct denomination. The first mūrchanā of the ṣadja grāma was : sa ri ga ma pa dha ni, and was called uttaramandrā. The second was : ni sa ri ga ma pa dha, and was called rājanī. The third was : dha ni sa ri ga ma pa, and was called uttarāyafā.

¹ इति ध्वनिं(वि)शेषापास्ते श्रवणाच्छ्रुतिसंज्ञिताः । तेष्यः काचिदुपादाय गीयते सर्वंगीतिषु ।
आद्रियन्ते च ये तेषु स्वरस्वमुपलभ्य ते ।

—Datt. 9-10.

² पञ्चस्वराः पद्मस्वराश्च मूर्छना याः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
(तनाना ? ताना) चतुरशीतिस्तु ता एषान्यैरुदाहृताः ॥

—Datt. 30.

³ वर्णश्रियास्तु विज्ञेया अलङ्कारास्त्रमोदश ।

—Datt. 91.

Thus beginning with each of the seven notes there were seven mürchanās in the ṣadja-grāma.

Similarly, seven mürchanās were formed in the madhyama-grāma also: these, too, had their specified serial order and denomination. The first mürchanā in this grāma began on madhyama : ma pa dha ni sa ri ga and was called sauvīrī. The second began on ga, a note lower : ga ma pa dha ni sa ri ; this was called hariṇāśvā. Observation will readily reveal that given any mürchanā of any particular grāma, say, dha ni sa ri ga ma pa, of the ṣadja-grāma, one could easily tell its serial number by locating the position of 'sa' or ṣadja in it. The mürchanā noted here is thus the third mürchanā of the ṣadja grāma, the uttarāyatā, as 'sa' occupies the third place. The same applied to madhyama-grāma. To take an illustration : the mürchanā, ni sa ri ga ma pa dha of the madhyama-grāma is easily recognisable as the fifth mürchanā by noting that 'ma' or madhyama occupies the fifth serial position in it. In this manner any mürchanā of either grāma—provided we know the grāma to which it belongs—can be placed serially, simply by locating the serial position of the notes ṣadja and madhyama.

Dattila has delineated this process concisely in a single kārikā. He also draws an important conclusion from the process : "ṣadja and madhyama by their different serially displaced positions in the two grāmas give the serial number of the mürchanās in them; and it is for this very reason that the two grāmas are called ṣadja-grāma and madhyama-grāma".¹

Bharata gives no such rule-of-the-thumb method for arriving at the serial position of a mürchanā in the two grāmas, nor does he provide any reason as to why the two grāmas have been given the names they bear. Abhinava, quoting Dattila's kārikā (translated above), dismisses this process as insignificant and of no practical use. "Dattilācārya", he remarks, "has described how the mürchanās can be numbered as the first and so on beginning with ṣadja and madhyama, but, this [process] is of almost no value because the counting [of mürchanās] as the first and so on serves no purpose anywhere and is of mere bookish importance (āgamamātrasāratva) ; moreover, the importance given to serial numbering in this process tends to make one mürchanā more important than the other merely on the basis of number, implying an interdependence, which, in fact, does not exist."²

Though Abhinava thus dismisses Dattila's process as pointless, later authors eagerly adopted it. Śāringadeva—slightly rephrasing Dattila's kārikā—describes the process, almost claiming it as his own.³ Śrīkaṇṭha, in his *Rasakaumudī*, follows Śāringadeva (R. Kau. 1,71). Other writers like Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala and Raghunātha-

¹ स्वरी यावतिथो स्यातां ग्रामयोः पद्जमध्यमो । मूर्छना तावतिथ्येव तद्ग्रामावत एव तो ॥
—Datt. 21.

² दत्तिलाचार्यस्तु मूर्छनानां पद्जस्त्रवरप्राधान्येन च प्रथमादिव्यपदेशलाभात पहुङ्गमध्यमयोर्ध्यंपदेशहेतुत्वमाह—स्वरी यावतिथो स्यातां ग्रामयोः पद्जमध्यमो । मूर्छना तावतिथ्येव तद्ग्रामावत एव तो ॥ इति । एतत् फलगुप्रायं प्रथमादिव्यपदेशस्व कुवचिदप्यनुपयोगागममावसारवात्प्राधान्यम्, गणनादित्वाच्च प्राधान्यादितरतारात्रयापत्तेः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 24.

³ यस्यां यावतिथो पद्जमध्यमो ग्रामयोः क्रमात् । मूर्छना तावतिथ्येव सा निःशङ्केन कीर्तिता ॥
—S.R. 1, 4, 18. Nihśāṅka was a title of honour accorded to Śāringadeva.

prasāda also mention the process,¹ Rāṇā Kumbha, however, criticises Dattila on this point, evidently following Abhinava's argument (S. Raj. 2, 1, 1, 304-307).

2. There was an ancient decree concerning the dropping of notes in the two grāmas when forming tānas from mūrchanās and in rendering the melodic structures of jātis, śādava (hexatonic) or auḍuvita (pentatonic).

Dattila has said : "pañcama in the madhyama-grāma, dhaivata in the śadja-grāma and madhyama in both the grāmas (sarvatraiva) should be known as indispensable [notes]" (Datt. 20).

Bharata expressly mentions the indispensability of only the madhyama : "anāśitvātmadhyamasya" (N.S. 28, 33 ; also 28, 65). He is silent about the other notes. Abhinava in this context quotes Dattila's kārikā, Datt. 20, and remarks : "some theoreticians here believe that [Bharata] muni was not in favour of the view expressed by Dattila and similar thinkers ; he considered only madhyama as indispensable".² In another passage Abhinava reiterates this statement, noting that Viśākhila, too, like Dattila, believed in the indispensability of dhaivata and pañcama in the two grāmas respectively.³

3. A kūṭa-tāna has been defined as a mūrchanā in which the serial order of notes is disarrayed (Datt. 38). For example : ni dha ma sa ga ri pa ; dha sa ma ni ga pa ri etc. Such tānas can be both pūrṇa—containing all seven notes—and apūrṇa—containing fewer than seven notes. Dattila gives the number of all possible pūrṇa kūṭatānas as 5033.⁴ He also gives a method for arriving at their number. This was much the same as the process of naṣṭoddiṣṭa, akin to the mathematical method of computing permutations, which later authors took such care and pains to expound.⁵ In Bharata we find no indication of this process. Abhinava quotes a long passage describing it but he has taken it from another authority (A.B. on N.S. 28, 34). He gives a reason for its absence in the *Nātyasāstra* : "these (kūṭatānas) are not described here because [Bharata] muni has included them all (sarvamgarbhikṛtya) in a general statement where he says that 'there is a [great] variety in tāna and mūrchanā for the pleasure of the performer and the listener'."⁶

1 यस्यां यावतिथः पञ्जस्तावतिथ्येव मूर्छना :—

Rāgamāla of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhalā 1, 30 ; ms. No. 1985 in Oriental Institute, Baroda. The same line with many scribal errors is quoted (at 1, 43) in a work ascribed to Raghunātha-prasāda. The colophon calls the work *Bhāratīśvarasāmīvāda* ; ms. no. B66431/D10669, Tanjore Library.

We consulted copies of the above mss. at the library of I.I.C.M.S.D., West Berlin.

2 अन्ये तु दत्तिलादिमतं मुनेनेष्ट मध्यम एवालोप्योऽस्य मध्यम इत्याचक्षते ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 34.

3 अन्ये तु धीवतपंचमयोग्रीविभागेन यदनाशित्वं विशाखिलाचार्यमिदिभिरुक्तं नानुमन्यत्वे मुनेर्मध्यम एवाविनाशी मत इत्याद्बुः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 65-65.

4 पूर्णः पञ्चसहस्राणि त्रयस्त्रिंशच्चयसंख्यया ।

—Datt. 39.

Note that the total number of possible permutations is 5040. Dattila, however, does not include the seven mūrchanās, as they are not kūṭatānas but have the seven notes in a serial order.

5 See S.R. 1, 4 and S. Raj. 2, 1, 1, etc.

6 ते चेह न दशिता इति सर्वं गर्भीकृत्य मुनिः साधारणं वचनमाह "प्रयोक्तः श्रोतुमुखार्थं च मूर्छनाताननानात्वमिति ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 34.

This deduction on the part of Abhinava is, however, quite far-fetched. To assume that merely by using the term 'variety' (*nānātva*) to qualify mūrchanās and tānas, Bharata implied the entire process of reckoning the number of kūṭatānas, does not stand to reason.

There seems to have been a definite textual tradition of describing the process of reckoning kūṭatānas since quite early times. Abhinava, as we have noted, quotes verses from an unnamed ancient authority. The *Vṛtti* on *Brhaddesi*, too, describes the process in detail, basing its account upon Datt. 39-40. It quotes these Dattila kārikās and expounds them in detail (*Vṛtti* on Br. 117). Later authors like Nānyabhūpāla in *Bharatabhāṣya* (B.B. 4,68-70), Śārṅgadeva in his *Saigītaratnākara*,¹ Rāṇā Kumbha in his *Saigītarāja* (S. Raj, 2, 1, 1, 495), Śrīkanṭha in his *Rasakaumudi* (R. Kau. 1,74-80), Śubhaṅkara in his *Saigītadāmodara* (ch. 3) and numerous other authors have all deliberated upon the process to a greater or lesser extent. This evidence is very suggestive. It implies that if not Dattila himself, then the tradition of theorists to which he belonged initiated this process of enumeration, and in doing this they included in their works a theoretical aspect of gāndharva missing from Bharata's account.

Bharata's *uddeśa*-list contains thirteen topics whereas Dattila has only twelve. The topic dhātu is absent from the *Dattilam*. Dhātu was a term relating to the technique of playing instruments, especially the vīṇā. Bharata describes it as : "dhātavo jñeyā vāditrakaraṇāśrayāḥ" (N.S. 29, 50). Vāditra denoted both fingers and external devices such as plectrums used for making strokes on the vīṇā (vāditramaṅgulikonādi. A.B. on above). Karaṇa (literally, the act of making, doing, producing, effecting etc.), stood for the technique of making various strokes on the vīṇā or the methods of playing it (karaṇāṇ prayatnāḥ. A.B. *ibid*). Bharata, evidently, considered dhātu an important topic and has described it at length (N.S. 29, 50-70). It is curious, then, to find that Dattila makes no mention at all of dhātu. In fact, in regard to the entire matter connected with the details of vīṇā and other instrumental playing Dattila refers us to other ācāryas who had expounded the subject in detail. In Datt. 44 he says : "In apprehension of making the treatise lengthy, I shall refrain from expounding the characteristics of vīṇā and other instrumental [playing] in [various] vṛttis as laid down by ācāryas."

What could be the reason for Dattila's exclusion of dhātu ? On no other point, in spite of his desire for brevity, does he refer us totally to the works of others. It seems probable that he considered vīṇā and instrumental techniques as of subsidiary importance in describing the scheme of gāndharva. His intention, avowedly, was to deal only with the essentials : "sāratoyam mayocaye", he says in the very first verse. Dhātu embraced a matter concerning instrumental techniques alone, and matters of technique in his view do not seem to have been of much substance regarding essentials, that is, the formal and conceptual structure of gāndharva. Dattila engaged himself in delineating the principles, codes, patterns, mores and other fundamental matters underlying and governing the forms constituting gāndharva. He left

¹ S.R. 1, 4, 32-36 ; note also the commentary of Simhabhūpāla who quotes Datt. 39.

out dhātu as irrelevant. Being a logical and painstaking theorist, he entirely omitted the term dhātu from his uddeśa-list as he did not intend to take the topic up for exposition.

Bharata, on the contrary, lays a great and basic stress upon the vīṇā. Not only does he describe its techniques at length, he also arranges the topics in his svaroddeśa in relation to the vīṇā. We find in his uddeśa a double arrangement of the svara topics. He says :

dvyadhiṣṭhanāḥ svarā vaiṇāḥ śārīrāśca prakīrtitāḥ
eteśāṁ sampravakṣyāmi vidhānam lakṣaṇānvitam (N.S. 28, 12).

“Svara is described as having a twofold basis: relating to the vīṇā and to the voice (śārīrāḥ). These I shall expound, along with the precepts [governing them].”

This statement is followed by two verses listing the thirteen topics contained in his svaroddeśa. Bharata concludes the list with the remark : “this group [of topics] pertaining to svara is considered as connected with the wooden vīṇā”.¹ A few of these very topics are then listed again with the announcement, “here is the saṅgraha (i.e.: uddeśa) relating to the śārīra vīṇā”,² that is, to the svaras as produced through the human body. The śārīra list is much shorter and contains only seven of the thirteen topics. These in succession are :

- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. svara | 5. sthāna |
| 2. grāma | 6. jāti |
| 3. alaṅkāra | 7. sādhāraṇa |
| 4. varṇa | |

Abhinava comments that “vīṇā-playing is of primary importance and therefore topics pertaining to it have been listed first : vaiṇānām prādhanyātpūrvamuddeśah” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 11-12). He also gives reasons for the exclusion of certain topics from the śārīra list. His remarks are interesting. “Tāna”, he says, “though renderable through the śārīra vīṇā, should not be thus rendered as the effect is not happy. When for sake of practising, tāna is rendered through the voice, then, too, this can be accomplished only with the help of the vīṇā, which is capable of producing exactly the required notes—neither more nor less than necessary. Thus, one who cannot produce the notes through his voice, due to being unable to comprehend a particular note in his mind, can easily render these notes on the vīṇā”.³

¹ स्वरा ग्रामी मूँठनाश्च तानाः स्यानानि बृत्यः । शुक्षं साधारणे वर्णा ह्यलङ्काराश्च धातवः ॥
श्रुतयो यतयश्चैव नित्यं स्वरगतात्मकाः । दारब्धां समवायस्तु वीणायां समुदाहृतः ॥

—N.S. 28, 13-14.

² स्वरा ग्रामावलङ्कारा वर्णाः स्यानानि जातयः । साधारणे च शारीरीं वीणाप्यमेष संप्रहः ॥
—ibid. 28, 15.

(regarding śārīra vīṇā as denoting the human voice see Part III).

³ तानं तु शारीरीं सम्भवदिपि न प्रयोगार्थमसुखावहत्वात् । अभ्यासार्थं च तत्प्रयोगेष्वन्युनाधिकवैष्णस्वरवशेनैव तत्सिद्धेः ।
अत एव शारीररस्वरप्रयोगाशक्तोऽपि हृदयापरिगृहीतस्वरविशेषः शक्तोति वैष्णस्वरान् प्रयोक्तुम् ।

—A. B. on N. S. 28, 13-15.

Giving a reason for omitting śruti from the śārīra list, he says : "śruti can be demonstrated only on the vīṇā, because śrutis are revealed through sāraṇā (a method of tuning) which in turn depends upon loosening and tightening of strings : śrutayaśca vīṇāyāmevopayoginyah sāraṇāyāstantryutkarṣaṇāprakarsanasya tanmūlatvācca." (A.B. on N.S. 28, 13-15).

Regarding vṛtti, dhātu and suṣka—also omitted from the sārīra-list—Abhinava remarks : "the vṛttis form an helpful base for the dhātus (which, we have seen, was a term specific to the vīṇā) and the suṣkas ; and these latter two can be pleasantly rendered only on the vīṇā : vṛttayaśca dhātūnāṁ suṣkasya vānugrāhak-ādhārah dhātuśuṣkaprayogaśca vīṇāyāmeva sukhāvah." (A.B. on N.S. 28, 13-15).

Dattila makes no division of the topics pertaining to svara into the two compartments of vīṇā and song. He gives only a single list of topics pertaining to svara without entering into an allocation on the basis of instruments or the voice. Brevity certainly must have been one reason for disregarding a two-fold list. Another, a more potent reason, seems to have been that he was basically interested in the delineation of musical forms and not in techniques of playing. These techniques had only a practical importance in rendering musical forms. Abhinava in giving reasons why Bharata allocates only a few topics to the voice in contrast to the vīṇā, says : "the vīṇā is appropriate for both practising and rendering all the various modes of svara, for it has a naturally pleasing tone : vīṇādhīnaṁ samastasya svaragatasya prakārasyābhyaśe prayoge copayogitvam tatra saṅkrāntasya cāruttvāt." (A.B. on N.S. 28, 13-15). These remarks show that Bharata's two-fold distribution of the svaroddeśa was based upon a practical rather than a theoretical consideration.

We do not know what relative importance Dattila placed upon the vīṇā in comparison to the voice when it came to practical demonstrations. His treatment of gāndharva is too brief for us to indulge in any valid speculation on this point. His description of the location of śrutis in the human body and the vīṇā does not, apparently, make any distinction between the two as means for producing the śrutis, since he describes the śrutis as distributed in the same way in both the human and vīṇā frames (Datt. 8-9). But later in the text we find him referring to experts¹ and their instrumental tuning (sāraṇā) in connection with the determination of mūrchanās, which suggests that the mūrchanā, according to him, could be better demonstrated on the vīṇā (Datt. 29). But paucity of evidence bars us from any fruitful conjecture. Yet it is apparent that Dattila as a theorist did not accord vīṇā the great importance in his scheme which Bharata evidently did.

1. इत्येता मूर्च्छनाः प्रोक्ता: सारणाश्चैव वैशिकः ।

The text here has 'vaisīka', literally, 'expert in the manners of courtesans (veśa)', hence a sophisticated person, an expert. A more happy reading could be 'vaiṇīka'—'vīṇā-player.', a term more befitting the context.

Let us now compare the exposition of alaṅkāras in the *Nātyāśāstra* and the *Dattilam*. We notice that their number is different in the two texts. Dattila recounts thirteen alaṅkāras (alaṅkārāstrayodaśa. Datt. 99), whereas the number is much greater in Bharata (N.S. 28, 19-26).

This is suggestive. An increase in alaṅkāras usually points towards greater elaboration and complexity and is often considered a proof of a later stage in the history of an art-form. This is testified by the accumulating number of alaṅkāras during the later development of Sanskrit poetry and poetics. True, this fact alone is not a strong enough basis for concluding the historical priority of *Dattilam* over the *Nātyāśāstra*. But it does show that Dattila was voicing a very early tradition.

More interesting is the fact that Bharata makes a double classification of alaṅkāras. Having described alaṅkāras in gāndharva,¹ he warns that "not all of these could be employed in dhruvā : "naite sarve dhruvāsviṣṭa" (N.S. 29, 26).

Dhruvās were songs sung during the stage-acting of ancient plays and they formed an essential part of the plot. The poetic content of a dhruvā song was its mainstay and a clear enunciation of the words sung was of the greatest importance. Incorporation of melodic figures was secondary and subservient to the primary consideration of communicating the meaning of words. Certain alaṅkāras could so split the letters of a word that its meaning could be entirely lost to the audience. Such alaṅkāras were to be avoided when singing dhruvās.²

Bharata has enjoined : "too great a splitting of letters is not desirable in dhruvās, for then they cannot be properly rendered".³ In singing certain alaṅkāras, a syllable within a word was dragged for so long that when the next syllable was pronounced, the link between the two was lost to the listener.⁴ This Bharata calls : śrotūvarṇapra-karṣaṇa (N.S. 29, 26). This was undesirable in dhruvā since it interfered with the

¹ The description of gāndharva-alaṅkāras in the text closes with the words :

सप्तरूपगता तेया अलङ्कारा वृष्टिरिमे । N.S. 29. 26.

Saptarūpa was another name for the seven gitakas of gāndharva described in the tāla-section. Here the word is representative of gāndharva as opposed to dhruvā : remark Nānyadeva's comments on the above line from N.S. :

तत्र सप्तरूपशब्दः सकलगानवर्णजात्युपलक्षणस्तथा हि सप्तरूपगता ह्येवेति नियमादेव ध्रुवास्वलङ्कारनिषेधः सिद्ध एव करोति, तन्निषेधं च न नियोजया ध्रुवास्विति ह्यतिवर्णप्रकर्षणादित्येतदेवोपलक्षणे कारणमिति ।

—B.B. 5, 17.

² Cf. ननु चाऽस्यैव हि तत्र प्राधान्यम् । वर्णे चालङ्कारबलेन प्रकल्प्यमानार्थं प्रतीतिविघटितेऽप्यतीतेष्वक्षरेष्वनुसन्धानम-सम्भावि ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 26.

³ न हि वर्णप्रकर्षस्तु ध्रुवाणां सिद्धिरिष्यते ।
—N.S. 29, 27.

⁴ Abhinava has indicated this in his comments quoted in fn 2. Ancient poets and philosophers have made interesting reflections on the role of time-lapse in pronouncing different words (padas) forming a sentence. Without āsatti or a properly close interval of utterance, two padas in a sentence could not become related into a single unitary whole in the mind of a hearer : thus if we pronounce 'Rāma' right now and 'is coming' a few hours later, the sentence will not make sense. The same principle of āsatti clearly extends to individual syllables forming single padas within a sentence. For āsatti see *Sahityadarpana* of Visvanātha, 2, 1, and other standard works.

goal of dramatic display : the arousal of rasa (*rasaniṣpatti*) in the spectator, mainly through the words of the play-wright. Abhinava remarks that the aesthetic process consisting in the presentation of vibhava etc. leading to sādharaṇikaraṇa and the resulting relish of rasa, could only be initiated if meanings could be communicated.¹ Hence the omission of alaṅkāras unfit for this purpose.

Dattila was dealing with gāndharva alone. Its application to drama and the resulting adaptations to be made were outside his field. He, therefore, makes no classification of the alaṅkāras on the basis of their suitability to dramatic songs.

Speaking of gīti—an exposition of which follows alaṅkāra—Bharata again relates the topic to dhruvā. Gītis, he enjoins, were not to be formed within dhruvā songs; they were to be restricted to gāndharva. His injunction is : “The gītis should be known as inapplicable to dhruvā and are to be employed only in gāndharva by the experts who render songs.”² Dattila here makes no mention of dhruvā. In fact, he does not speak of it in any connection.

Related to this point is another significant omission in *Dattilam*. Bharata, after describing the jātis (which were elaborate svara-structures in gāndharva somewhat parallel to the modern rāgas), speaks of their relation to rasas (moods).³

Let us take some examples :

The two jātis named ṣaḍjodīcyavatī and ṣaḍjamadhyā are enjoined in the rasas, hāsyā and śringāra (laughter and love); ṣāḍjī and āṛśabhbī are promulgated for the rasas, vīra (heroic), raudra (fierce), and adbhuṭa (wonderous); naiṣadī and ṣaḍjakaiśīkī are laid down for the karuṇā rasa (the sentiment of compassion). Similar injunctions are given for other jātis on the basis of the notes that predominate in them. The guiding rule was : musical forms where ṣaḍja or ṣaṣṭha were profusely used were to be employed in karuṇā; those with an abundance of madhyama and pañcama were suitable for śringāra and hāsyā; and forms with an exuberance of dhaivata were to be used in vībhatsa (repulsive) and bhayānaka (terrible) (N.S. 29, 1-12).

Dattila makes no mention of any ulterior application or utility of the jātis or their suitability for certain rasas. His concern is only with delineating the formal elements of jātis. Even if, for the sake of argument, we were to posit that in writing his manual of gāndharva he had the *Nātyaśāstra* before him as the model from which he made his own brief digest, yet it must be admitted that he has done so with a remarkable sense of selectivity. We have remarked upon the organic and orderly grasp he displays of his subject-matter. Another proof, in his work, of a great unity of conception and execution is the preclusion of elements extraneous to the scope of the topics he was describing. His exposition covers all the topics that he

¹ अर्थवदोऽपि(?)हि तु सामाजिकानां तत्प्रतीतिसिद्धये प्रकृतिभेदो विभावादिभ्यस्ततः साधारणीभूतस्तयावगतो रससम्पत्युपयोगी भवतीति यावत् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 29.

² एतास्तु गीतयो ज्ञेया ध्रुवायोगं विनेब हि । गान्धर्व एव योज्यास्तु नित्यं गानप्रयोक्तृभिः ॥

—N.S. 29, 49.

³ एवमेता वृद्धज्ञेया जातयो दशलक्षणाः । यथा यस्मिन् रसे याश्च गदतो मे निवीधत ॥

—N.S. 28, 141.

lists as forming gāndharva and each one of them is satisfactorily defined and described; what he leaves out are matters not strictly pertaining to gāndharva.

It was not a desire for brevity alone which restrained Dattila from dwelling upon the rasa aspect of jātis. The reason was more fundamental and concerns the very nature of the two texts, the *Dattilam* and the *Nātyasāsira* and their approach towards gāndharva. Indications of this can be discovered in the latter text in the light of Abhinava's interpretation.

Bharata, in concluding his description of the rasas compatible to the various jātis, states : "thus the wise know the jātis as associated with nātya (drama)." (N.S. 29, 13). Abhinava's comments are worth dwelling upon. He raises the basic question as to why at all the rasa aspect of jātis was elaborated upon by Bharata. He asks: "after suggesting that jātis have no ulterior use, why does [Bharata] lay down their connection with rasas, as this aspect is not at all included in the uddeśa?" Abhinava then suggests an explanation : "it is to answer this (above) criticism that [Bharata] says : "evametā budhairjñeyā jātayo nātyasamśrayāḥ" (thus the wise know the jātis as associated with nātya): the purport is that these jātis are only thus (evam) applicable in the nātya, not on their own but by way of their utility in dhruvā singing".¹

Dhruvās, we have observed, formed an inherent part of ancient theatre which incorporated many operatic elements in its presentation. Bharata significantly says of his theatre that "gīta vādyā, and nātya, which depend upon different factors, should be so interwoven as to make a unitary whole". An expressive phrase he uses is that, gīta, vādyā and nātya should be like the alāta-cakra : a burning log which when skilfully rotated in a circle made a single unbroken circular band of fire. Abhinava's comments are revealing. He first points out the difference between gīta, vādyā and nātya. He argues that these arts depend upon quite different factors in their formation (yasmādvividhāśrayam) : that is, gīta depends upon the human voice, vādyā upon musical instruments and nātya upon gestures, mime and such like. Their rendering, too, consequently, requires quite distinct skills. So different, he says, are these arts from each other that their perception requires different human sense-organs (bhinnendriyagrāhyavividhakriyārūpam) : gīta and vādyā are perceived through the ear while nātya is perceived mainly through the eye. To combine gīta, vādyā and nātya in such a way that a spectator may experience the whole as a single presentation requires great artistic skill and finesse (tasmādyatnenāsyaikatā tatsampādyā yenaikabuddhivिशयतासामाजिकस्यa gacchet). Just as the alāta (the burning torch), which consists of a single flame, appears like a complete circle of unbroken fire through the skill and effort of an acrobat, similarly a theatrical presentation should be exhibited as a single unitary whole.²

¹ जातीनां नान्योपयोगं कथयत् रसादियोगो जातीनामनुद्दिष्ट एव किमिति कथित इत्याशङ्कां शमयति । "एवमेता वुघैजे या जातयो नाट्यसंश्रयाः" ॥ इति इत्यमेता नाट्योपयोगिन्यो ध्रुवागानोपयोगदिशेत्पर्वः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 29, 13.

² यस्माद्द्विविधाश्रयं भिन्नेन्द्रियग्राह्यविधिक्रियारूपं, तस्माद्यत्नेनास्यैकता तत्संपाद्या, येनैकबुद्धिविषयता सामाजिकस्य गच्छेत् । अलाततेजःकणो हि न वस्तुतो युगपदनेकदेशसम्बन्धी, लाघवयत्नेन तु तथातया साम्यमापादितम् । एवं प्रयोगोऽपि तथापि नैकक्रियात्मा साम्यापादनाय.....
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 7.

Bharata, for this reason, treats of music with a constant eye towards the theoretic whole of which music constituted only a part. Being an independent art, music needed a separate and independent delineation; yet Bharata constantly keeps relating music to theatre, wherever such a relation is due.

The *Nātyaśāstra* is a work on theatre with sections not only on music but on many other ancient arts and sciences. Bharata deals with architecture, dance and mime as well as ritual and prosody at quite some length. But whatever he treats of is directly or indirectly related to contemporary theatre and a proper presentation of plays. Thus architecture finds a place in his work in describing auditoriums and how to construct them; dance he describes in detail for it played a very basic role in ancient dramas. Similarly, the other arts he describes have a bearing upon theatre, his fundamental theme.

In describing gāndharva, and its jātis too, he speaks of their affinity with the different rasas (sentiments) portrayed on the stage. True, such a description entailed a deviation from a strict adherence to the topics constituting gāndharva and their proper scope, yet it concerned something important from the viewpoint of theatre; therefore it was included.

Dattila had no such ulterior purpose in mind. He treats of gāndharva as gāndharva alone and scrupulously keeps within the confines of his subject.

The exposition of svara-topics in *Dattilam* is followed by that of tāla, the second aspect of gāndharva that Dattila expounds. Before describing tāla in detail, Dattila in a short sentence defines the relevance and significance of tāla in gāndharva. "Tāla" he says, "results in sāmya ('equipoise', 'equanimity', 'balance') and only through sāmya can gāndharva be truly rendered: "tālāt sāmyam bhavet sāmyādiha siddhih" (Datt. 110). We have remarked that Dattila considered svara in gāndharva as the element which needed measure (meya). Tāla had the function of according measure to svara (Datt. 3). Patterns created by svara extend over time and tāla in Dattila's period (as it still does in Indian music) constituted the time-measures which rhythmically demarcated, organised and distributed these patterns. Tāla-measures accompanied svara-patterns and gave them a balance and an equipoise of properly distributed and arranged structural formations. By giving them a strict measure, they restrained svara-structures from being loosely formed and being distorted out of proper shape and in this manner imparted sāmya to gāndharva. (for further discussion on sāmya see ch. 5).

Having defined tāla and its function in gāndharva, Dattila sets forth the tāloddeśa : the list of paribhāṣas or terms relating to and comprehending the entire span of tāla. Let us compare his tāloddeśa with that of Bharata.

Bharata has a list of 21 topics : "ekavimśatvidham jñeyam tālagataṁ budhaiḥ" (N.S. 28, 20). The topics are successively named as :

- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. dhruva | 5. praveśana |
| 2. āvāpa | 6. śamyā |
| 3. niṣkrāma | 7. tāla |
| 4. vikṣepa | 8. sannipāta |

9.	parivarta	15.	yati
10.	vastu	16.	laya
11.	mātrā	17.	gīti
12.	prakaraṇa	18.	avayava
13.	aṅga	19.	mārga
14.	vidārī	20.	pādabhāga ¹
21.	pāṇi		

(N.S. 28, 18, 20)

The list in *Dattilam* is :

1.	kalā	8.	aṅga
2.	pāta	9.	laya
3.	pādabhāga	10.	pāṇi
4.	mātrā	11.	yati
5.	parivarta	12.	prakaraṇa
6.	vastu	13.	avayava
7.	vidārī	14.	gīti ²
15.	mārga		

(Datt. 110-112)

We notice quite a discrepancy between the two lists. In the first place, the difference in the number of topics is quite conspicuous.

The first eight terms in Bharata's list : dhruva, āvāpa, niṣkrāma, vikṣepa, praveśana, śamyā, tāla and sannipāta were names of various beats used to form tāla. They are absent from Dattila's list, which names kalā and pāta as the first two terms. These two, in turn, are missing from Bharata's list. However, kalā in Dattila is a generic term and it denotes all the beats which Bharata has listed singly.

Yet there is a difference : the number of beats themselves in Dattila's account are only seven; he does not name dhruva as one of the beats. The others are the same as in Bharata. The exclusion of dhruva by Dattila indicates a major disagreement between him and Bharata. Bharata names dhruva as the very first term in his tāloddeśa (N.S. 28, 18). It occurs foremost in his list, because—as Abhinava comments—it was, according to him, the fundamental beat : “tatra dhruvapātasya mūlabhūtatvam samjñādhyāyoddeśe prāthamyāddarśitam” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 38).

In *Dattilam* we do not find any mention of the dhruva beat. Vemabhūpāla, author of the *Saṅgitacintāmaṇi*, has noted the absence of dhruva in Dattila. He states : “some like Dattila do not accept the dhruva beat. According to them kalā (time) in tāla is demarcated through only seven beats.”³

¹ N.S. 28, 19 reads ‘pādamārgah’. *Dattilam* always reads the word as pādmārgah—Datt. 110. 131, 132 etc. Bharata, too, gives the word as pādabhāga in the exposition of the topic at N.S. 31, 52. Later authors also read the word as pādabhāga.

² There are lacunae in the text here. However, the missing topics can be inferred from the expositional section and a comparison with other texts.

³ अव केचिद्दत्तिलाद्या (दयः) ध्रुवपातं न मन्वते । तन्मते तु कला सप्त ताभिस्तालमितिभवेत् ॥

—S.C. ch. 1 in the section on vādaya.

The copy of the ms. in the IICMSD consulted by us is incomplete. No indication is given about the source of the original ms. The copy is no. 189 of the IICMSD ms. collection. The work is copied in two parts and begins with :

अथ वेममहीपालो लक्ष्यलक्षणकोविदः । लक्षणं तत्वाद्यस्य प्रतिपादयति स्फुटम् ॥

it ends abruptly with :

अव कन्तुकनूतं च मत्तल्लीतर्तनं तथा । प्रस्तुततार्थानुसारेण नाद्ये चाप्युप.....॥

These beats—seven according to Dattila, eight according to Bharata—were divided in two classes: *nihśabda* and *saśabda*. Āvāpa, niṣkrāma, vikṣepa and praveśa were the unsounded (*nihśabda*) beats (N.S. 31, 30); śamyā, tāla and sannipāta—plus dhruva according to Bharata—were the sounded (*saśabda*) beats proper and presumably consisted of various strokes, perhaps on instruments of the cymbal type.¹ They have been called pāta by Dattila; the term is second in his uddeśa. Though the function of all beats—whether sounded or unsounded—was to measure time in tāla and so they were collectively called kalā, yet sounded beats were quite distinct from the unsounded; therefore the term pāta is used by Dattila to classify them separately (Datt. 120, 121). Bharata, too, uses the term pāta to denote the sounded beats (N.S. 31, 36) but he does not include the term in his uddeśa.

Bharata, unlike Dattila, does not use the term kalā to denote beats in general. But he does use the term in expounding tāla in gāndharva and it stands in his work for a very important concept.

Kalā in Bharata denotes a specific unit of time which formed the basis for measuring rhythm in tāla (N.S. 31, 2-4). Dattila also uses kalā in this additional sense (Datt. 114). By kalā, Dattila denotes both the beats which demarcated the time-measures in tāla and the measure or unit of time which was thus demarcated. The beats and the time-units that they measured, were, according to Dattila's conception, two sides of the same coin which he calls kalā. Bharata, on the other hand, uses kalā to denote units of time only and not the beats which formed them. Abhinava's comments reflect the notion, clearly implicit in Dattila, according to which kalā was defined both as the time to be measured and the specific beats which measured time. At one point Abhinava describes kalā as the unit of time in tāla : "time demarcated through beats like āvāpa etc. is called kalā : kālah paricchidyate āvapādikriyā, sā kalā" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 1). Concomitantly,—as he remarks at another place—the beats which define and demarcate time-units may also be called kalā (and Abhinava here significantly echoes Dattila's classification of beats as seven) : "the word kalā denotes the seven beats in tāla, niṣkrāma etc. : kalā śabdena ca saptavidhā tālakalā niṣkrāmādirucyate" (A.B. on N.S. 5, 5-7).

The ancient beat system had many elements quite alien to modern practice. Notions parallel in Hindustani musical usage to the ancient sounded and unsounded beats are the khālī and bharī. The modern khālī, however, is not a totally unsounded beat. In percussion-playing the difference between khālī and bharī is a difference only of accent and stress—the khālī having a weaker sound in comparison to bharī : but neither khālī nor bharī is really quite unsounded (*nihśabda*). Only when tāla is indicated with a hand or a palm movement alone in order to keep time in the absence of percussion-playing or to demarcate the structure of specific tāla-cycles, is the khālī commonly formed as totally unsounded. But the hand-gesture for the khālī too, in

¹ Bharata mentions ghana, metallic instruments, and connects them with the beats and time-units in gāndharva-tāla in the very first verse of his chapter on tāla :

वाचं तु यद्घनं प्रोक्तं कलापातलयान्वितम् । कालस्तस्य प्रमाणं हि विज्ञेयं तालयोगतः ॥

—(N.S. 31, 1)

truth, is just a convenient gesture signifying a lack of stress rather than total soundlessness and has no mandatory or prescribed hand-movement.

The sounded beats or pātas of the ancient gāndharva can, in principle, be understood from available descriptions : one was formed with the left hand (this was tāla), the other with the right hand (śamyā), the third with both hands simultaneously (sannipāta) ; and dhruva apparently was an ever-accompanying rhythmic snapping of the fingers before striking any beat.

Apart from the sounded beats, four quite distinct unsounded beats also existed. This fact is difficult to comprehend, since silence can be shown by a single indication or, indeed, through an absence of any indication at all.

What, then, was the purpose of the four silent beats ? Scrutinising the descriptions, we curiously mark that these unsounded beats were formed with very specific mudrā-like movements of the palm and fingers : āvāpa was formed by putting the palm face upwards and drawing in the fingers ; niṣkrāma was formed with the palm facing downwards and stretching out the fingers; and when, along with the āvāpa gesture, the hand was also tossed to the right, the movement was called vikṣepa; praveśa was drawing in of the fingers stretched during niṣkrāma. Such elaborate gestures were certainly not for merely indicating or marking time during tāla movements, for which purpose these complex movements are obviously quite pointless. The reason for forming them was that beats in gāndharva had, besides the musical, a definite ritualistic significance which aimed at transcendental merit or adṛṣṭa.¹ Abhinava points out: "although to indicate time, whether fast or slow, any method can, in truth, be adopted, but a ritualistic rule is followed because the aim is to attain transcendental merit : tatra ciraśīgratādau kriyā yadyapi yā kācidapypayastathā niyamādṛṣṭaphalasiddhaye viśiṣṭahastāṅgulakriyāivopayoginī" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 372).

This makes the absence of the dhruvapāta from the *Dattilam* worthy of notice : since its absence denotes a divergence of not a merely technical nature but concerns a fundamental matter of ritual and spiritual merit. One cogent explanation could be that Dattila belonged to a school or tradition of theorists differing on this matter with the tradition represented in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: such divergences, we know, were not uncommon even between two sākhās regarding the same sacrificial ritual. Another reason could be—as suggested in the *Abhinava Bhāratī*—that dhruva is, in truth, implicitly included by Dattila though not expressly expounded. Quoting Datt. 199—with a reading varying from that in the available text—Abhinava says that Dattila here has the dhruva in mind.² If Abhinava is right, then the inference would be that Dattila took dhruva so much for granted that he did not feel the need for

¹ यद्गांधवे कुत्रित् परिच्छेदे परिच्छेदविधेयस्य साम्येऽपि आकुञ्जनाद्यन्तमा कात्रिदेव क्रिया कस्मिन्चिदेव अङ्गूष्यादिप्रदेशे वर्तमाना परिच्छेदहेतुत्वेनाश्रीयते तथैवादृष्टसिद्धेः(....)

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 1,

² ध्रुवत्वे यत्र गच्छति तदध्युवे(वर्भि)यादि च वदन्ति । दत्तिलाचार्योणापि 'उपोहनत्वाद्वैतस्याः (न च तत्त्वाद्य) स्मृतं ताल(चार्य) विवर्जितम्' (Datt. 199) इत्युक्तम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 38.

See also S.R. 5, 141 and Kalā.

either naming or expounding it. But howsoever we might explain his neglect of dhruva, Dattila clearly did not attach the same importance to it as Bharata.

Apart from kalā and pāta which are absent in Bharata's uddeśa, the other topics are common between him and Dattila; though again we notice a divergence in their serial order. Dattila in his exposition of tāla topics, as in those of svara, follows a logical step-by-step manner of delineation. His lakṣaṇa or exposition maintains the same order as his uddeśa. He, evidently, had arranged the topics in uddeśa after due deliberation and forethought. The exposition in the *Nātyaśāstra* is disorderly. The topics are not expounded in the order that they have been listed : kalā, not even listed in the uddeśa, is the first term that is discussed, followed by laya which is sixteenth in the list. Laya is followed by mārga, which is nineteenth,¹ and is in turn followed by a description of the process of forming pādabhāgas without, however, a prior definition or exposition of pādabhāgas being made (N.S. 31, 3-29). A description of sounded and unsounded beats, enumerated at the very beginning of the uddeśa, comes next. Then follows pādabhāga again (here the pādabhāga is defined). After pādabhāga is the mātrā. After mātrā, vardhamāna, also called vardhamānaka, is described in great detail (N.S. 31, 54-188).

Vardhamānaka was a complex tāla-structure built of many smaller tāla units.² Songs were sung in accompaniment to it and were, evidently, composed to the jātis described in the svara section. On occasion, as in the pūrva-raṅga, that is, the prologue of the ancient theatre, vardhamānaka was also accompanied by a specific dance (N.S. 4, 271-291). Dattila describes vardhamānaka after prakarana and, evidently, as an appendix to it. Prakaraṇa was a name given to the seven gītakas of gāndharva which were also collectively called the saptarūpa. These gītakas, too, were complex tāla-structures. The simpler tāla-components which the gītakas were composed of, are described by Dattila before he describes gītakas themselves. The vardhamānaka was formed on principles similar to the gītakas, and with like components. It seems to have been composed largely of patterns taken from of the gītakas, but arranged in a different and perhaps an even more complex formation. Abhinava notes that "Dattila and others have expounded it (the vardhamānaka) after having first described the gītakas : since between the two exists a difference that exists between the parts and the whole : dattildibhīstu gītakalakṣanāntaram tallakṣanāmuktamavayavayavibhedatvāditi." (A.B. on N.S. 31, 55). Indeed, clarity in describing a complex structure lies in describing simpler structures first.

What, then, is the reason for the abrupt and out-of-context description of the vardhamānaka in the *Nātyaśāstra*, without logically leading up to it as does Dattila ? Apart from the fact that Bharata does not really appear to have taken pains to impart an organic build-up to his subject-matter in delineating gāndharva, Abhinava suggests another reason. He recalls Bharata's statement in chapter five of the *Nātyaś-*

¹ This is according to the reading followed by Abhinava. According to another reading mārga followed kalā as the second topic in the exposition.
—N.S. 31, 3-4.

² For details see 'vardhamānaka', Part III.

āstra to the effect that *vardhamānaka* was a necessary ingredient of the *pūrvavaranga* in ancient theatre and that without *vardhamānaka* the ritualistic *tāṇḍava* dance in the *pūrvvaraṅga* remained incomplete, and argues that the relevance of *vardhamānaka* to the theoretic context is the reason why Bharata describes it before its true place.¹ Bharata was writing a manual mainly for theatre and, therefore, *vardhamānaka* drew his attention more urgently than other facets of *tāla* in *gāndharva*. Contrary to Bharata, Dattila was describing *vardhamānaka* from the point of view of *gāndharva* alone. He does not even hint at any theoretic use that *vardhamānaka* could be put to. He accorded *vardhamānaka* its proper place in his exposition : describing it after the components on which it was based.

Vardhamānaka in Bharata's exposition is followed by *aṅga* (N.S. 31, 190); after which *prakaraṇa*, that is, the *gītakas* are described (N.S. 31, 200). In Bharata's *uddeśa*, *prakaraṇa* precedes the *aṅga* : "prakaraṇāṅgāni vidārī yatayo..." (N.S. 28, 19). But this order is not kept in the exposition where *aṅga* precedes *prakaraṇa*. Justifying the precedence of *aṅga* in the exposition, Abhinava argues : "although in the *uddeśa*-list *aṅga*, *vidārī* etc. are named after *prakaraṇa* as they are of use in it; still, in the *lakṣaṇa*-section, propriety really demands that the whole (*aṅgi*) i.e. the *prakaraṇa* should be delineated after the parts (*aṅgāḥ*), i.e. components like, *vidārī* etc., have been described. Therefore its description (meaning, that of the component *aṅga*) is given before [that of *prakaraṇa*]—yadyapi coddeśavidhau 'vidārī yatayo layah' iti prakaraṇopayogāt tadantaramāṅgānām vidāryādeścoddeśah tathāpi lakṣaṇāvasare'ṅganirūpaṇa pūrvamaṅgīnirūpaṇam vaktavyamiti proktam tannirūpaṇam." (A.B. on N.S. 31, 190, 191).

In classifying *aṅgas*, *Nāṭyaśāstra* again differs with the *Dattilam*. Bharata recounts three kinds of *aṅgas*—*vividha*, *ekaka* and *vṛttta* (N.S. 31, 190). Dattila—whose statement is quoted by Abhinava in this context²—recounts four : *ekaka*, *avagādha*, *pravṛttta* and *vividha*. Dattila does not name *vṛttta* as an *aṅga*; instead he has *pravṛttta* and *avagādha*, which in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are named as two sub-classes of the *vṛttta*.³

Prakaraṇa, the topic under which name *gītakas* were described, was the central topic in *tāla*. The other topics were helpful in formulating the *prakaraṇa* and were

¹ ननु नृत्योपयोगे प्राधान्याद् यदुद्देशेन लक्षणं तद् वर्धमानस्यैव प्रथमलक्षणं वाच्यम् ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 69.

also : तत्र 'ताण्डवे'(व) यत्र युज्यते' (भ०ना० ५, १३) इति वर्धमानप्रयोगस्य प्राधान्यात् तदुपयोग्यासारितलक्षणं पूर्वमिह वक्तव्यम् ।

—ibid. 31, 55.

² तथा च दत्तिलाचार्योक्तम्—वक्ष्यमाणमुखाद्यज्ञं विशेषं तच्चतुर्विधम् (Datt. 143) इति
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 190-191.

Rāṇā Kumbha notes the differences in the two classifications—those of Dattila and of Bharata—explicitly :

गीताज्ञानि तिथा चात्र चतुर्धा दत्तिलोऽब्रवीत्

—S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 38.

³ प्रवृत्तमवगाढं च द्विविधं वृत्तमुच्यते ।

—N.S. 31, 195.

subservient to it. In the *Dattilam*, prakarana is the twelfth topic in tāla. The topics preceding prakarana include elements with which the structure of the gītakas was built. Dattila, after describing kalā, pāta, pādabhāga, mātrā, parivarta and other elements necessary for rendering or formulating the prakarana, takes up the seven gītakas one by one. Their serial order in the *Dattilam* is :

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1. madraka | 5. oveṇaka |
| 2. aparāntaka | 6. rovindaka |
| 3. ullopyaka | 7. uttara |
| 4. prakarī | |
- (Datt. 160-221)

The order followed in the *Nātyaśāstra*, in naming the gītaka, is different :

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1. madraka | 5. oveṇaka |
| 2. ullopyaka | 6. rovindaka |
| 3. aparāntaka | 7. uttara |
| 4. prakarī | |
- (N.S. 31, 200-201)

In the *Nātyaśāstra* these gītakas are at first not described separately but taken up all at once. Their differences and correspondences are pointed out on the basis of similar or dissimilar 'aṅgas' formed in them (N.S. 31, 200-229; for 'aṅga' see ch. 9). Then the gītakas are taken up one by one and further details of each gītaka are described singly and separately. They are described in the order in which gītakas are listed but with one deviation : aparāntaka precedes the ullopyaka instead of following it as in the list.

The gītakas (the tāla-structures) in gāndharva appear to have been time-honoured forms. They followed strict codes of formation like their reciprocal svara-forms, the jātis. Descriptions of gītakas in different ancient texts—reports of, and quotations from which are available—are all essentially the same. This is, largely and in all fundamental respects, true of the *Dattilam* and the *Nātyaśāstra* too. But in spite of a correspondence regarding over-all patterns and primary structures, many differences regarding details exist. Abhinava, with the thoroughness of an erudite commentator, records many differences occurring between Bharata and other authorities. In recounting these divergent views, he refers to the authorities differing with Bharata as 'some' 'others' etc. : 'anye', 'apare', 'kecit'.¹ He also speaks of 'ācāryas

¹ अन्ये तु वस्तुनिवद्ध पश्चिमे समाते पश्चभूतामेव पट्कलां तालिकामाहुः
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 251.

अन्ये त्वेकस्याभेदत्वात् स्थितत्वमित्येकक्रमयुक्तमित्याहुः
—ibid. 31, 261.

एषा च माता द्वैकलमद्रकतालः पष्ठमात्रास्थाने कार्येति केचित् । अन्ये त्ववस्तुनि सप्तम्येवं मात्रेति मन्यन्ते ...
—ibid. 31, 282.

अत केचिदाहुः । कदाचिद् पूर्वाधे कदाचित् पश्चिमाधे ।

अन्ये तु मापवातस्य पट्कलामु तेरेवान्तरैरन्याः पट्कलाः पञ्चपाणिगतज्ञुतादिविभागेन गेयाः ।

अपरे त्वाहुः । सन्तिष्ठावदेककले न पञ्चपाणिना कार्यः
—ibid. 31, 286.

अन्ये तु पञ्चपाणिग्रहणं नानुवर्त्यन्यति

—ibid. 31, 295.

अन्ये त्वेकमेव शीर्षकं तथा कार्यं यथा

—ibid. 31, 312. and etc.

other than Bharata' and their views (ācāryāntaramata. A.B. on N.S. 31, 296-298); but of these ācāryas he mentions only Dattila and Viśākhila by name. Viśākhila is named only once : in the context of the prakaraṇa (A.B. on N.S. 31, 252). But Dattila is often spoken of and discussed ; quotations from him,—all traceable to the available *Dattilam*—abound (for details see chart, ch. 2). Abhinava mentions a number of points on which the *Dattilam* differs with the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Some of these we are pointing out in short ; the details, along with further instances, will emerge when the gītakas are described at length (Part III).

- (i) In the gītaka, aparāntaka, Dattila (Datt. 172-173) has described a certain beat-formation in its pādabhāgas (groups of beats and time-units into which tāla-structures were analysed), that quite differs from the account in Bharata.¹
- (ii) In oveṇaka, Dattila's description concerning a matter of tāla-formation again disagrees with Bharata.²
- (iii) In rovindaka a similar disparity is noted.³
- (iv) In uttara, some commentators on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, following Dattila, had interpreted a certain formation in accordance with his alien description.⁴

The entire saṅgīta literature of the medieval period bases itself fundamentally upon the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in expounding ancient music. This work had acquired an almost canonic authority in the field of music as in that of several other arts. But other ācāryas are also spoken of and their views are often quoted in support of Bharata. Differing views, too, are noted with due deference.

Nānyadeva, author of the *Bharatabhāṣya*, flourished somewhat after Abhinava. His work is a free exposition of the geyādhikāra (section on music) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In his discussion of topics constituting gāndharva, he leans greatly upon the *Dattilam*, and quotes many passages and lines from it : all to be found in the present text. Like Abhinava, he too, records a few cases of divergence between Bharata and Dattila in this context.

¹ दत्तिलादयस्तु द्वितीयं पादविभागं आनिविशरूपं चतुर्थं आनिविप्रहृष्टमाहुः । “अष्टमी विशिका चैव द्वे शम्ये पारिकीर्तिते द्वादशाष्टादशो तालावेकविशस्तथैव च ॥” (Datt. 172-173) इति वदन्तः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 251.

² अन्ये तु पञ्चवापिग्रहणं नानुवर्तयन्ति । तत्राद्यपादद्वितीयार्धतालमुपपातं प्राहुः । आनिविता आताविश तानिविश उपपातः । तदुक्तं दत्तिलाचार्येण—उपपातद्वितीयस्तु तालः कैश्चिदुदाहृतः (Datt. 208) इति । ‘द्वितीय’ इहान्यपादद्वितीयार्यं-निविष्ट इत्यर्थः ।

—*Ibid.* 31, 295.

³ आचार्यन्तरमतानुसारेण व्याख्या चेति यत् टीकाकारेण कल्पितं तालोऽधौऽन्ते चान्यासां शम्याऽधौऽन्ते न तुर्यस्यां तालोऽधौऽन्ते पञ्चम्याभिति तदुपेक्ष्यमेव तथा हि दत्तिलाचार्यः “तथाऽधौऽन्ते च मात्राणां तालः शम्ये यथाक्रमम्” ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 296-298.

⁴ अन्ये तु दत्तिलाद्यनुसारिणो व्याचक्षते । शाखाप्रतिशाखात्मान्तः पृथग्भूतः सन्नियतः ।
—*ibid.* 31, 312.

Later authors like Śāringadeva and Rāṇā Kumbha (author of the encyclopaedic *Saṅgītarāja*), had also studied and deliberated upon the *Dattilam*. Śāringadeva often refers to the views of Dattila and notes instances where Dattila's descriptions clash with those of Bharata. In his section on the gītakas, Śāringadeva speaks of many views and opinions expressed by authorities other than Bharata but recounts only two such authorities by name : Dattila and Viśākhila.¹ Of these, Dattila figures more prominently.² Śāringadeva has often closely followed Abhinava, especially in matters relating to ancient music, but his remarks on various points of difference between the *Nātyaśāstra* and the *Dattilam* testify that he had, indeed, made an independent study of the *Dattilam* ; this he, in fact, claims (S.R. 1, 1, 15-20). He has often compared views of Dattila and Bharata on points where Abhinava is silent.

Kumbha wrote much later than Śāringadeva, whose work he had studied thoroughly, along with all the commentaries written upon it.³ Kumbha's is the last extant work on music which treats of the subject comprehensively in all its multiple facets, both ancient and contemporary. The work is based to a great extent upon a study of many ancient texts in the original, as Kumbha himself points out (S. Raj. 2, 4, 1, 187). Dattila⁴ and Viśākhila⁵ are often spoken of and among these Dattila's name stands out more prominently.

We note below pertinent references made by Nānyadeva, Śāringadeva and Rāṇā Kumbha to some decrees in the *Dattilam* concerning matters of tāla where they found this text enjoining forms different from those in the *Nātyaśāstra*. The present *Dattilam* testifies to the truth of these observations and shows that the above authors had this very work in mind :

- (i) In the gītaka called madraka, Dattila has enjoined a component called the dvaigeyaka (Datt. 168), but the *Nātyaśāstra* does not mention it. Kumbha has recorded that an injunction regarding the formation of dvaigeyaka occurs in Dattila's account.⁶
- (ii) In aparāntaka, a certain tāla-formation has been described differently by Bharata and Dattila. Nānyadeva, like Abhinava, has noted Dattila's view⁷ (Datt. 172A-173B); Śāringadeva also records this view but does not

¹ Viśākhila is mentioned at : S.R. 5, 90 ; 5, 111.

² Dattila named at : S.R. 5, 74 ; 5, 100 ; 5, 119 ; 5, 141.

³ यः श्रुत्वा भरतं चतुर्भिरविलंभाप्येष्व रत्नाकरम् . . .
—S. Raj 1, 1, 39.

⁴ Dattila is mentioned at : S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 29 ; 2, 4, 1, 31 ; 2, 4, 1, 38 ; 2, 4, 1, 54 ; 2, 4, 1, 97 ; 2, 4, 1, 124 ; 2, 4, 1, 161.

⁵ Viśākhila is named at: S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 58 ; 2, 4, 1, 103 ; 2, 4, 1, 188 ; 2, 4, 1, 248.

⁶ द्वैगेयकाञ्चयो विविधस्तातर्गीयकस्य वरतुनः । प्रान्ते गीतविदा कायौ दं(द)त्तिलादिमतादिह ॥
—S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 97.

⁷ तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः—बण्टमी विशतिका चैव द्वे शम्ये परिकीर्तिते ।
द्वादशाष्टदशोवला (ताली) एकविशस्तयैव च ॥ इति

—B.B. (I) ch. VIII section on aparāntaka.

explicitly name its propounder and refers to it as the view of 'others': 'anye'.¹

- (iii) The arrangement of aṅgas (a component) in the aparāntaka has not been decreed by Bharata : he is silent on the point. Abhinava, his commentator, too, makes no specifications. Dattila, however, has enjoined : "the aṅgas in aparāntaka should be the vividha and ekaka" (Datt. 179A). Noting Bharata's silence in this matter, Śāringadeva says : "Bharata has enjoined no rule regarding aṅga in aparāntaka, but Dattila names ekaka and vividha as the aṅgas to be applied".² Kumbha has construed Bharata's silence to indicate an absence of any rule : "Bharata", he says, "lays down the application of aṅga in this gītaka according to the choice or desire of the performers ; but Dattila has here spoken of the two aṅgas, vividha and ekaka".³
- (iv) In the gītaka, ullopyaka, Bharata describes a certain part as being rendered first in duple time (N.S. 31, 261), but according to Dattila it was first formed in triple time (Datt. 186). Abhinava has not commented upon this disagreement, but Śāringadeva and Kumbha have noted it.⁴
- (v) Vidārī was a method in gāndharva of dividing songs and their accompanying tāla into parts or sections. Bharata enumerates the total number of vidārīs that could be formed in a gītaka (N.S. 31, 197-198 and A.B.). Dattila has no rule regarding the number of vidārīs to be formed. This difference was noted by Śāringadeva and Kumbha : "Bharata" Śāringadeva says, "lays down a rule regarding the number of vidārīs to be formed while Dattila mentions no such rule".⁵ Kumbha, too, notes Dattila's silence, but interprets it to mean that according to him any number of vidārīs could be formed : "etāḥ punarasaṅkhyātā dattiladyai-rudahṛitāḥ." (S. Raj. 2, 4, 1, 31).

¹ शतालप्रान्प्राहुरन्येऽष्टमद्वादशप्तोऽशान्।
—S.R. 5,104.

See also the two commentaries. Abhinava on N.S. 31, 251, notes this view, ascribing it to Dattila.

² एकं विविधं चात्र गीताङ्गं दत्तिलोऽत्रवीत् । गीताङ्गनियमं कठिचन्नात्रूत भगवान्मूलिः ॥
—S.R. 5, 100.

³ अताचार्यमते तावदञ्जकल्पनमिच्छया । अञ्जद्वयमभाषिष्ठ दत्तिलो विविधेकके ॥
—S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 124.

⁴ Śāringadeva say : युग्मोऽन्तः प्रथमस्तेषां त्वयश्च इत्याह दत्तिलः—S.R. 5, 118. Note Kalā : युग्मोऽन्तः प्रथम इति भरतादिमतेनेति शेषः । दत्तिलस्तु त्वयश्च : प्रथम इत्याह । त्वयशोऽन्तः । Kumbha states : तेषां प्रथमतः शद्वचतुरश्चनिनिमितः । त्वयशोऽन्तः : प्रथमस्तेषां दत्तिलोक्ते : प्रतीयते ॥
—S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 161.

(चतुरश्च is the same as युग्म)

⁵ संघानियममेतासां नावोचदत्तिलादयः ॥ भगवान्भरतस्त्वासां संघानियममध्यधात् ।
—S.R. 5, 73-74. See also Kalā and Sudhā.

Before proceeding, we, note further points of disagreement between Dattila and Bharat to strengthen our argument:

1. After delineating the gītakas and the modes or mores of their formations, Bharata incorporates a long passage on a matter which is again extraneous to gāndharva. He expounds the lāsyā form of dance and the technique of rendering it (N.S. 31, 330-367). He says: "I have already spoken to you of lāsyā; now I shall describe its lakṣaṇa and its application (prayoga) in due order".¹ Gāndharva was explicitly defined as containing three elements: svara, pada and tāla; nṛtta or nṛtya did not form a part of it by definition. Yet Bharata describes lāsyā as part of his exposition of gāndharava because its musical accompaniment was, evidently, formed with elements of gāndharva. Strictly and logically speaking, lāsyā had no place in an exposition of gāndharva, and Dattila, indeed, makes no mention of it. Lāsyā is not included within the scope of any of the topics listed under gāndharva or even remotely suggested by them. Bharata's chief interest, however, lay in theatre of which lāsyā formed an integral part.

Abhinava, following Bharata, classifies dramas into two main classes, the uddhata drama and the sukumāra drama: "idaṁ dvividhaṁ hi nāṭyam, uddhatam sukumāram ca" (A.B. on N.S. 31,332). In uddhata plays, the masculine—virile and robust—sentiments predominated while in sukumāra plays the ruling ethos was one of femmine tenderness and softness. Accordingly, in the pūrvvaraṅga of the uddhata drama the dance corresponded with the dominating ethos: it was rendered with the vigorous Śiva-born tāṇḍava. In sukumāra dramas, on the other hand, the typical dance for the pūrvvaraṅga was lāsyā, a dance rendered with delicate movements, said to be created by Devī, the consort of Śiva.

Quoting an injunction made by Bharata in the fourth chapter, Abhinava comments: "vīra (heroic) and sṛṅgāra (love) are the two principle emotions that govern the actions of dramatic heroes in their pursuit of puruṣārtha: achievement of the desired aim. In dramas where vīra predominates, the pūrvvaraṅga should be rendered in the samuddhata (*i.e.* uddhata) mode, consisting of movements created by Śiva: vīrasṛṅgārayoreva nāyakagatayorāśeṣapuruṣārthasiddhiṣu vyāpārāt tatra prathame samudya(ddha)tah pūrvvaraṅgo māheśvarairāṅgahārairuddhatairiti" (A.B. on N.S.31, 332). In dramas where sṛṅgāra governed the action, the pūrvvaraṅga, as Bharata had earlier indicated, was to be rendered as sukumāra with delicate lāsyā motions: "sṛṅgārapradhāne tu nāṭye sukumāra eva pūrvvaraṅgo yadi hi prāyeṇa pañcāme lāsyam sūcītam" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 332).²

¹ लास्यमित्येव यत् पूर्वं मया वः परिकीर्तितम् । लक्षणं तस्य वक्ष्यामि प्रयोगं च यथाक्रमम् ॥
—N.S. 31, 330.

² The indication in Bharata to which Abhinava refers, is found towards the end of the fourth chapter of N.S. where Bharata describes two types of dances, the uddhata dance rendered with Māheśvara gestures (*i.e.*, the tāṇḍava) and the lalita (*i.e.* sukumāra) dance rendered with gestures created by Devi :

देवस्तुत्याश्रयकृतं यदज्ञं तु भवेदय । माहेश्वरैरङ्गहारैरुद्धतैस्तत्रयोजयेत् ॥
यत् शृङ्गारसम्बद्धं गानं स्त्रीपुरुषाश्रयम् । देवीकृतैरङ्गहारलिलैतरतत्रयोजयेत् ॥
—N. S. 4, 311-312. See also *ibid* 302-303.

The word 'pañcāme' occurring in the A.B. text, seems a scribal error ; it should be 'caturthe'.

Tāṇḍava was danced chiefly to the accompaniment of vardhamānaka : "vardhamānamathāpihā tāṇḍavam yatra yujyate" (N.S. 5, 13). The dance-movements forming tāṇḍava, as performed during the pūrvvaraṅga, have been described by Bharata in the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (N.S. 4, 269-291). The musical formations of the vardhamāna (its tāla and pada structures) are described in the tāla section of gāndharva. The lāsyā as danced in the pūrvvaraṅga had not been described earlier, either in its dance-form or its accompanying patterns of tāla. Therefore, after having described the gītakas which formed the basis of tāla in lāsyā, Bharata proceeds to describe this dance-form in detail.¹

2. The exposition of lāsyā in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is followed by some general observations on tāla and then come the three topics: laya, yati and pāṇi.² Laya is here taken up for a second time; it had already been dealt with in the beginning of the tāla-lakṣaṇa (N.S. 31, 5-6). Abhinava gives a reason for taking up the topic again: "laya", he says, "had been classified into its various modes earlier; here in this latter-end of the tāla-section, it is being defined and expounded".³ However justifiable the reason for this repetition, it does evince an haphazard arrangement of ideas, happily missing from the *Dattilam*.

3. After laya and yati, Bharata describes pāṇi. Pāṇi constituted three different ways of syncopation between the svara-forms (in song or on the vīṇā) and the accompanying tāla.

The exposition of pāṇi in Bharata and Dattila is almost identical. But Bharata does not define pāṇi while Dattila gives a characteristically short definition : pāṇi and tāla, he declares, are the same : "tatra tālam [ca] pāṇīm ca prāhurekam" (Datt. 153). Abhinava quotes this definition⁴ (as he also does Dattila's exposition of pāṇi⁵) and discusses its implications. He notes the absence of any definition of-

¹ Abhinava in commenting on N. S. 31, 322, recalls a previous verse relating to tāṇḍava (N. S. 5, 13), and says that tāṇḍava which is connected with uddhata drama, has been described earlier; lāsyā the sukumāra form is being described now in the 31st chapter :

गीतानामिति श्लोके (भ०ना० ५, १३) । 'इह' समुद्रते गीतकं वर्धमानं तत्र सुकुमारमिति दर्शयितुं 'मिहे' त्युक्तम् । तेन साधारणं चारीमहाचार्योः निरूपणेनद्वयं च वर्धमानादिप्रयोगेण पूर्वरङ्गस्य पञ्चमे निरूपितम् । तदुपर्योगी चाङ्गसार्थं तत्र तनिरूपणे निर्गीतः । अधुना सुकुमारोपयोग दर्शयितुं ग्रन्थ्यान्तरमिति ।

—A. B. on N. S. 31, 332.

² अङ्गभूता हि तालस्य यतिपाणिलयाः स्मृताः

—N. S. 31, 368-369.

The exposition of these three follows in 31, 370-377.

³ उक्तो विभागो लयस्य लक्षणं (ज्ञ) त्वान्न (त्वत्) ।

—A. B. on N. S. 31, 370-377. The classification of laya is noted in N. S. 31, 5
तयो लयास्तु विज्ञेया द्रुतमध्यविलम्बिताः ।

A proper definition occurs at N. S. 31, 370-371 :

⁴ छन्दोऽक्षरपदानां हि समत्वं यत् प्रकीर्तितम् कलाकालान्तरकृतः स लयो मान (नाम) संज्ञितः ॥
तदाह दत्तिलः "तत्र तालं (च) पाणि च प्राहुरेकमिति" । (Datt. 153)

—A. B. on N. S. 31, 372.

⁵ यथाह दत्तिलाचार्यः । समं वोपरि वा तस्य यद्वाघः संस्थितं भवेत् ॥ वादं पदानि पाणी वा तदेवमिधीयते ।
(Datt. 153-154)
—ibid. 31, 374.

pāṇi in Bharata and gives a reason for this, which from his remarks, can be inferred to be somewhat as follows:

Tāla, says Abhinava, consists of a well-defined interval of time and is manifested through the formation of various sounded and unsounded beats; its function is to properly divide and demarcate the total measure of a song.¹ In gāndharva, we have seen, tāla was rendered through beats like āvāpa etc. Pāṇi (literally, 'the hand', with which the beats were formed) in its pāribhaśic sense denoted the various ways in which the demarcation of time in tāla could be related to the accompanying svara formations. Hence pāṇi was identical with tāla, because both terms, in the last analysis, denoted the actions which manifested tāla.

It is with these considerations in mind that Abhinava explains the absence of a definition of pāṇi in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He argues: pāṇi—as Dattila has observed—is the same as tāla, for it denotes all the specific acts or actions (*kriyā*) which demarcate and define the tempo with which tāla itself is formulated. Such actions also define the measure in a melody rendered on instruments such as the vīṇā. Bharata has elsewhere described various hand-movements relating to gāndharva tāla and to vīṇā and other instruments. This is why he did not consider it necessary to include either a general or a particular definition of pāṇi in his exposition.²

Kallinātha, the commentator on Śāringadeva, too, perhaps with Dattila's definition of pāṇi in mind, equates pāṇi with tāla : "atra pāṇīśabdena tāla lakṣyate tadvyāpareṇa tasyābhivyaktatvāt : the word pāṇi here indicates tāla, because the functions of pāṇi taken together constitute tāla in its entirety" (Kalā on S. R. 5, 50-52).

4. Bharata closes his description of gāndharva with the topic pāṇi and initiates a new section dealing with dhruvā.³ Looking back, we notice that some more topics in tāla (besides those already mentioned), which have been named in the uddeśa, have not been properly defined or described by Bharata. Vastu and parivarta (topics 9 and 10 in Bharata's uddeśa), were evidently important elements of tāla and Bharata, indeed, makes repeated use of these terms.⁴ But nowhere does he define them or describe their lakṣaṇa, their nature and function. Dattila, on the contrary, takes these topics up in their due order and expounds them in his neatly terse and concise manner.

¹ Cf. तालेन भाविना शम्यादिसंवदावापादितःशब्दक्रियाविशेषयोगेन सति यस्तालः परिच्छित्यात्मककालखण्डे क्रियारूपो द्रव्यात्मा स एव गीतक्रियाप्रमाणपरिच्छेदोपायः ।
—ibid. 31, 1.

² तदाहु दत्तिलः । तत्र तालं (च) पाणिं च प्रादुरेकमिति । तदगतया क्रियया क्रियान्तरमपि वीणापुष्करवादनादि स्वीक्रियते । तेन विशिष्टक्रियापरिच्छेदो यदविच्छिन्नो लयस्ताल इति गान्धर्वीयताललक्षणादेर्वीणावाद्यादेश्च क्रियायाः प्रदेशान्तरे लक्षितादिह न पाणे: सामान्यलक्षणं कृतं विशेषलक्षणं वा ।
—A. B. on N. S. 31, 372.

³ The last line of Chapter 31 reads :
अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि ध्रुवाणामञ्ज कल्पनम् ।
—N. S. 31, 378.

⁴ Vastu : N. S. 31 ; 127, 189, 190, 191, 202, 229, 240, 248, 275, 279, 280 etc.
Parivarta : N. S. 31 ; 98, 265, 269, 335, 336, 337 etc.

Sārīngadeva and Vemabhūpāla (author of the *Saṅgitacintāmaṇi*), not finding an appropriate discussion in Bharata, drew upon the *Dattilam* in expounding the topic parivarta.¹ Other authors like Nānyadeva and Kumbha seem to have been influenced by Dattila in their delineation of vastu.²

5. Another topic Bharata lists but does not expound is avayava (18th in Bharata's *uddeśa*). Dattila considered avayava an important aspect of gāndharva. A gitaka could be rendered as short or long by forming a permissibly lesser or greater number of the parts (avayavas) ordained in it. These were two distinct ways of rendering gitakas. They have been indicated by Dattila after prakaraṇa (Datt. 223).

6. In addition to the fact that exposition of some topics is missing from the *Nātyasāstra*, others have been misplaced and described out of the *uddeśa* context : gīti listed as a topic in tāla, is described in the section on svara (N. S. 44-49) and vidārī, another tāla topic is taken up in the section on dhruvā (N. S. 32, 17-18).

Our survey here is not exhaustive. But we hope that it is ample enough to indicate the significant position of *Dattilam* as an independent text in saṅgīta tradition. It was known and studied as an authoritative text propounding an independent view, often divergent from the more esteemed *Nātyasāstra*, on many topics. Other renowned ancient teachers like Viśākhila—and to lesser extent Kambala, Durgaśakti etc.—were also studied by later authors, but it was the *Dattilam* which figures more prominently wherever the subject comes within the scope and range of the topics this concise treatise has delineated.

We have dwelt upon features where Dattila diverges from Bharata. They are tokens of his originality. We shall discuss still others when we study the text in detail. Matter, where the two authorities were in agreement, has also been cited by later writers because the *Dattilam* was often referred to in support of and as complimentary to Bharata's contention ; this, too, we will dwell upon. For the present, let us study the quotations and incorporations abounding in other texts from *Dattilam*, for proofs of its authenticity.

¹ S.R. 5. 43 ; S.C. ch. 1 in the section on vādyā, defines parivarta as :
पादभागस्य मात्रायाः तालस्य सकलस्य वा । आवर्तनंतु यद्गीते परिचर्तः स उच्यते ॥

Compare this with Datt. 138.

² S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 19-20 ; B. B. (I) Ch VIII. For details see 'vastu', Part III.

CHAPTER II

TESTIMONY CONCERNING *DATTILAM* FROM QUOTATIONS

We have observed that many *sāṅgīta*-writers evince a direct knowledge of Dattila's opinions. As late an authority as Kumbha claims to have read his works. Śimhabhūpāla appears to speak from direct knowledge when, justifying the contemporary need for a work like Śārṅgadeva's *Saṅgitaratnākara*, he says : "the ancient *sāṅgītaśāstras* of Bharata, Dattila, Kohala and others are full of mysteries difficult to unravel. Śārṅgadeva has therefore written his *Saṅgitaratnākara*, incorporating the quintessence of *sāṅgīta* in a single treatise for the convenience of modern readers."¹ Śārṅgadeva, himself names Dattila among prominent ancient writers 'the ocean of whose opinions' he had 'churned' in order to produce his own compendium.²

To take other passing examples, Pārvadeva, author of the *Saṅgīta-Samaya-Sāra*, who was perhaps a contemporary of Śārṅgadeva, speaks of Dattila as an authority on tāla : "śrī someśvaradattilaprabhṛtibhistālasvarūpaṇi purā proktām sarvajagadhitāya..." (S.S.S. 9,2). Pārvadeva, has, in fact, incorporated a few ślokas from *Dattilam* into his work in describing certain tāla-topics, as we shall see. Even a very late author, Raghunāthabhūpa, writing in the 18th century, claims, in his *Saṅgitasudhā*, to have 'repeatedly deliberated' upon the writings of Dattila, among other authorities : "mataṅgaśārdūlakadattilādyaiḥ praṇītaśāstrāṇi muhurvicārya."³ The testimony of *sāṅgīta* literature, from the *Bṛhaddeśī* (c. 7th century A.D.) to the 18th century, shows that Dattila was a much honoured authority.⁴

1 The full passage reads :

भरतदत्तिलकोहलादिप्रणीतानि संगीतशास्त्राणि भूतलवर्तिभिविरलप्रज्ञदुर्बवदोधरहस्यानीति मत्वा परमकारणिकः शिशिर-
किरणाभरणचरणपङ्कजप्रवणमानसः शाङ्कदेवः संगीतरत्नाकराण्डं संगीतसारं लोकोपकाराय चिकीपुर्निष्ठत्यूहपरिसमाप्तये
शिष्यप्रशिष्यद्वारा प्रचयगमनाय च सदाचारानुभितस्मृत्यनुभितथ्रुतिविहितं विशिष्टदेवतानमस्काराण्डं मङ्गलमाचरन्प्र-
सङ्कादमिष्टेयप्रयोजनसंबद्धांश्चैकेनश्लोकेन कथयति ।

—Sudhā on S. R. 1, 1, 1.

2 S. R. 1, 1, 15-21, esp. :

अगाधोधमन्थेन तेषां मतपगोनिधिम् । निर्मम्य श्रीशाङ्कदेवः सारोद्धारमभिव्यधात् ॥

3 Quoted by K. Sambsiva Sastri, Datt. Sanskrit preface p. 2; he also quotes another verse from the *Saṅgitasudhā* where Dattila is named along with ancient authorities of repute : शक्तिश्च शादूलकोहलो च समीरणः काश्यपमास्ती च । रमभाजुनीनारदत्पूरुषं च पौलस्त्यविश्वावसुदत्तिलाश्व ॥

4 Besides those named above many other works mention Dattila with reverence. To take a few examples :

(i) Sudhākalaśa, author of the *Saṅgītopaniṣadsāroddhāra* (composed in 1350 A. D.), claims to have studied Dattila :

शैलात्मजाकोहलदत्तिलाद्यैर्यैश्च भोजप्रमुखैः प्रणीतान् ।

सद्ग्रन्थसाथानि परिपेक्षं सम्यग वितन्यते स्वानुभवं च किञ्चित्

—*Saṅgītopaniṣadsāroddhāra*, 1, 4.

(Continued on next page)

Not only was Dattila studied with due respect, he with also copiously quoted by major writers. His *Dattilam* is a work of only 243½ verses or 487 lines; of these almost 200 lines occur in other texts : 92 lines occur with an explicit acknowledgment of Dattila as the source ; 10 lines are quoted in contexts which makes Dattila the obvious, though implicit, source, for they occur in works where Dattila is often quoted by name and are placed in proximity to acknowledged quotations. Other 97 lines have been borrowed from the *Dattilam* without naming Dattila and are incorporated in the body of their texts by later authors. 12 more lines occur as quotations where an authority other than Dattila (namely Bharata) is mentioned as the source.

It is worth noting that when a string of lines from the *Dattilam* on a single topic is reproduced in any later text, it usually occurs in the same serial order as found in the *Dattilam*. And, significantly enough, we do not find any material or opinion or quotation ascribed to Dattila, concerning any of the topics described in the *Dattilam*, which is not to be found in the extant text.

Before deliberating upon the testimony of these quotations—acknowledged or unacknowledged—we are presenting it in the form of a chart for the sake of clarity and easy reference. The chart follows the serial verse-order of the *Dattilam*: each line can thus be graphically placed as to its occurrence and also as to whether it is acknowledged or unacknowledged or occurs in both the ways, in different texts or at different junctures in the same text. Many lines, we shall see, are quoted by more than one authority. Some lines are unacknowledged as Dattila's by one or more writers but another text makes a specific mention naming Dattila as the source, thus according a strong basis for their authenticity.

(Continued from previous page)

- (ii) Govinda in his *Saṅgrahacūḍāmanī*, bows to Dattila among others in introducing his work (see 1, 6).
 - (iii) Jagadekamalla, a predecessor of Sāṅgadeva, mentions Dattila in his *Saṅgitacūḍāmanī* (1, 59) in connection with yati :
- लयानं यतिः सम्यक् कथिता दत्तिलादिभिः ।
समा स्रोतोवहाव्या च गोपुच्छा चेति सा त्रिधा ॥
- Comparing this verse with Datt. 154B-155A, reveals that Jagadakamalla had indeed consulted *Dattilam* on this point.

THE CHART
Showing Dattilam in Quotations

<i>Dattila Kārikā</i>	<i>Works in which quoted. Ascribed to Dattila</i>	<i>Works in which quoted. Not ascribed to Dattila</i>
A : first line	2	3
3.	(a) A.B. on N.S. 31,11. (quotes 3A).	S. Raj. 1,2,3,48.
	(b) Sudhā on S.R. 1,4, 15-16.	
8.	(a) Kśīrasvāmin in his <i>Amara-kośodghāṭana</i> on the <i>Amarakośa</i> (nātyavarga). (b) B. B. (I) ch. 6.	
9.		<i>Nātyacūḍāmaṇi</i> of Somanārya (copy of ms. at I.I.C.M.S.D. No. 12998 at the Gaekwad Oriental Institute Library).
11B.		B.B. 3, 55 (quotes parts of 11B). It is wrongly ascribed to Nārada ('tathā ca nāradah'). The editor of B.B. has correct- ed 'nāradah' to 'dattilah'.
12. }	(a) A.B. on N.S. 28, 21 (quotes 12A).	
13. }	(b) Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 15-16 quotes all five lines in the same order.	
14A. }		
16. }	(a) B.B. 3, 152 quotes Datt. 16.	
17. }	(b) B.B. (I) ch. 7, also quotes Datt. 16. (c) Sudhā on S.R. 1,3,51 quotes all four lines in the same order.	

Testimony Concerning Dattilam from Quotations 39

1	2	3
18.	(a) B.B. 5, 129-130.	
19A	(b) B.B. (I) ch. 7 (quotes 18A at two separate places).	
	(c) Sudhā on S.R. 1, 3, 46-56 (quotes 18B).	
20.	(a) A.B. on N.S. 28, 33. (b) Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 6. (c) B.B. 4, 58.	
21.	(a) A.B. on N.S. 28, 24. (b) S. Raj 2, 1, 1, 304-305. (c) Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 18-26	R. Kau. 1, 71 is the same as Datt. 21 with a slight modification. The point dealt in the verse does not occur in the N.S. and is, in fact, criticised as 'phalgu-prāya' by Abhinava (A.B. on N. S. 28, 24). It is thus likely that Śrīkaṇṭha, author of R. Kau, had bodily lifted the verse from <i>Dattilam</i> after slightly rephrasing it.
22.		<i>Vāyupurāṇa</i> 86, 18 (a three-line verse) is the same as Datt. 22-23A ; these three lines occur in the same order as in Datt.
23A.		
24.		<i>Vāyupurāṇa</i> 86, 16-17A is the same as 24-25A ; these three lines again occur in the same order.
25A.		
25B.	Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 18-26.	
26.		
27.	Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 15 quotes these six lines in the same order.	
28.		
36.	(a) Br. Vṛtti on 117. (b) Kalā on S.R. 1, 4, 17. (c) Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 29-31.	

1	2	3
37.	(a) Br. Vṛtti on 117. (b) A.B. on N.S. 28, 34.	
39.	(a) Br. Vṛtti on 117. (b) Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 32-36 (quotes it within a larger quotation of a passage from Br. Vṛtti on 117).	
40.	Br. Vṛitti on 117.	
43.	A.B. on N.S. 29, 70-71.	
46.	(a) B.B. 3, 151. (b) B.B. (I) ch. 7.	
48.	B. B. (I) ch. 7.	
49.		
50.		
51.		
52.		
53.		
54.		
55.		
56.		
57A.	(a) B.B. (I) ch. 6. (b) B.B. (I) ch. 7.	Br. 195B-197A, incorporates these four lines within text.
58A.	B.B. (I) ch. 7.	
58B.	B.B. (I) ch. 7.	

Testimony Concerning Dattilam from Quotations 41

1	2	3
60A.	(a) A.B. on N.S. 28, 73 quotes part of line 60A.	
61.	(b) B. B. (I) ch. 6 quotes 60A with 61B.	
	(c) B. B. (I) ch. 7 quotes 60A.	Br. Vṛtti on 251 quotes Datt. 61A.
62.	(d) B. B. (I) ch. 7 quotes 61B-64. Order of lines as in Datt.	Br. 251 same as Datt. 62.
63.	(e) B. B. (I) ch. 6.	Br. 201-230A is the same as Datt. 63-91A. These 58 lines occur in the same order as in Datt.
64.	&	
65.	(f) <i>ibid</i> (quotes 62 twice).	
66.		
67.	(g) B. B. (I) ch. 7 quotes 62 with 48.	
68.		
69.		
70.	(h) B. B. (I) ch. 6 quotes 65 (<i>Dattilam</i> here is quoted as an authoritative text supporting N. S. 28, 98, which is quoted as 'sūtra').	
71.		
72.		
73.		
74.		
75.		
76.		
77.		
78.	(i) B. B. (I) ch. 6, quotes 66 as authoritative text supporting N. S. 28, 120-122.	
79.		

1	2	3
80.	(j) B. B. (I) ch. 6 quotes 67, again as parallel authoritative text supporting N. S. 28, 102-103.	
81.		
82.		
83.		
84.		
85.		
86.	(k) B. B. (I) ch. 6 quotes 78 as parallel text supporting N. S. 28, 120-122 which is quoted as 'sūtra'.	
87.		
88.		
89.		
90.	(l) B. B. (I) ch. 6 quotes 80-81 and 83B as parallel text supporting N. S. 28, 125B-126.	
91A.		
91B.		
92.		
93.		Br. 244-248 same as Datt. 91B-95,
94.		
95.		
96A.		Br. 250B same as Datt. 96A.
96B.	A. B. on N. S. 28,140.	
97A.	B. B. (I) ch. 7.	
97B.		
98.		
99.		
100.		S. S. S. 1, 42-46 same as Datt. 97B-102A.
101.		
102A.		

Testimony Concerning Dattilam from Quotations

43

1	2	3
113B.		
114A.		
118B.		S. S. S. 7, 6B-10A same as these lines.
119.		
120.		
121A.		
116B.		S. S. S. 7, 14B-15A same as Datt. 116B-117A.
117A.		
130B.	A. B. on N. S. 31, 40.	
134B.	A. B. on N. S. 31, 51.	
135B.	(a) A. B. on N. S. 4, 315 quotes there in the same order.	
136.	(b) A. B. on N. S. 31, 40-50 again quotes these three lines in the same order.	
143B.	A. B. on N. S. 31, 190-191.	
147B.	A. B. on N. S. 31, 196-197.	
148A.		
148B.		B. B. (I) ch. 8 quotes Datt. without explicitly naming Dattila. Order of these five lines same as in Datt. Context shows that Dattila is evidently meant as the source, though not avowed as such.
149.		
150.		
153A.	(a) A. B. on N. S. 31, 26 quotes 153A, which is cited again at A. B. on N. S. 31, 372.	
154B.	(b) A. B. on N. S. 31, 374 quotes 153A-154B.	

1	2	3
159.		A. B. on N. S. 31,316 names the source as 'anye' which, evidently, seems here to refer to Dattila.
165A.	A. B. on N. S. 31, 240.	
172B. }	(a) A. B. on N. S. 31, 251.	
173A. }	(b) B. B. (I) ch. 8.	
174A.	B. B. (I) ch. 8 quotes in part.	
175A.	B. B. (I) ch. 8 quotes in part (in the same passage where Datt. 174A is partially quoted).	
197B.	B. B. (I) ch. 8	A. B. on N. S. 31, 280 (quotes part of the line).
198A.	B. B. (I) ch. 8.	
199A.	B. B. (I) ch. 8.	
199B.	(a) B. B. (I) ch. 8. (b) A. B. on N. S. 31, 280.	
201B. }	(a) A. B. on N. S. 31, 281-282.	
202A. }	(b) B. B. (I) ch. 8 quotes 201A.	
203A.	A. B. on N. S. 31, 207.	
205A.		S. R. 5, 150A almost same as Datt. 205A.
207B.		A. B. on N. S. 31, 294, quotes the line 207B saying it occurs in 'tantrāntare' (i.e. another text).
208A.	(a) A. B. on N. S. 31, 294. (b) B. B. (I) ch. 8.	
211B.	A. B. on N. S. 31, 296-298.	
240B.	A. B. on N. S. 31,39.	

(For fuller details of the text of these quotations and the musical context to which they pertain, see Part III where the text of *Dattilam* has been discussed).

In making this chart we have been able to consult only the major works of saṅgīta literature that have been published. Of these the *Bharatabhāṣya* of Nānyadeva has been published only partly by the University of Music at Khairagarh, and contains only chapters 1-5. Fortunately, we were able to consult the rest of the work in manuscript form. This, as the chart shows, proved fruitful. The *Saṅgītarāja* often refers to Dattila and quotes him. A part of this lengthy treatise is still unpublished, viz. the vādyabhāga, where some topics of gāndharva tāla have surely been described and this may be found to contain further reference to Dattila. Unfortunately, in this case, we were not able to avail of any copy of the necessary manuscript. Other unpublished texts, too, may contain references to Dattila but they have, so far, remained beyond our reach.

The chart bears ample testimony to the fact that the *Dattilam*, as we know it, has been known in the same form since at least the days of Mataṅga and his *Bṛhaddeśī* (ca. 7th cent. A.D.), where two long passages occur with the same verse order as in the *Dattilam*.

Earlier incorporations occur in the *Vāyupurāṇa*. The *Vāyupurāṇa* is perhaps the oldest of the extant Purāṇas.¹ Portions of it have been dated to the third century A.D. This, however, cannot be asserted of the entire available Purāṇic text, which may, like the other Purāṇas, have undergone many changes, editions, re-editions and insertions of new material over the centuries. The definite period when its two chapters on music, the 86th and the 87th, were written is unknown, but they certainly belong to an early age. The exposition of music in the *Vāyupurāṇa* comprises of elements borrowed from established works on music. Many passages must have been lifted bodily from existing works of renown. Sources are not cited since a Purāṇa presents itself as a supreme canon in no need to consult other works. We do not know of the different sources from which the *Vāyupurāṇa* drew its material on music, but the *Dattilam* was certainly one, since six lines from it occur in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, and they occur, moreover, in the same verse-order as in the *Dattilam*.

The *Bṛhaddeśī* contains many verses in common with the *Dattilam*. Two such long passages are introduced with the words: "tathā cāha bharataḥ". This has led some scholars like E. Wiesma-Te. Nijenhuis to conclude that Dattila borrowed some material from Bharata's work. However, none of these passages can actually be traced to any of the extant recensions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.² Nijenhuis argues that they 'may exist in some unedited manuscript' of the work.

This argument cannot really be settled till more recensions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are forthcoming; but we can, meanwhile, examine the matter from other angles and considerations. One reason which leads Nijenhuis to believe that the *Dattilam* is based upon the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is 'the general structure that is to say, the way in which

¹ *Studies in the Puranic Records*—R.C. Hazra, p. 13.

² We should, in this context, keep in mind the observation made by M.R. Kavi who edited the G.O.S. edition of the N.S. after consulting numerous manuscripts and variant readings. He was of the opinion that basically different recensions of texts like the N.S. are, by the very nature of their subject-matter—which is scientific rather than legendary or mythical—quite unlikely. See his preface to the second edition of N.S., Vol. I, p. 11.

the subjects are arranged and the order in which they are discussed'; this she says : "reminds me of *Nātyaśāstra*". This judgment regarding the *Dattilam* seems to have been current since M. Krishnamachariar wrote his encyclopaedic *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (first published in 1937, only a few years after the *Dattilam* was published). Krishnamachariar remarks : "Dattila was a devout follower of Bharata and never differed from him in his expositions, so that, when later writers wanted anything to support Bharata they invariably invoked Dattila."¹ Our examination has shown that this is definitely not so, and that beyond an agreement as to the general scope of the subject-matter and its topics, the structure, the layout and the intent behind the plan of the two works, *Dattilam* and *Nātyaśāstra*, is quite different. The similarity of treatment that does occur, is explained by the sameness of the subject-matter.

We have noted divergences regarding detailed delineation of specific topics in the two works : a fact which has been recognised at least since the days of Abhinava, and since Abhinava himself was writing within a long tradition of commentators, it is quite likely that his predecessors, too, had commented upon the divergence to be found between the *Nātyaśāstra* and other ancient treatises dealing with the same topics, among which the *Dattilam* must surely have figured. Abhinava, in fact (commenting on the gītaka named *uttara*), makes mention of writers who had interpreted the details of gītaka-formation given by Bharata in accordance with the alien views propounded by Dattila and others : "anye tu dattilādyanusāriṇo vyācakṣate, śākhāpratiśākhātmāntah pṛthagbhūtaḥ sanniyataḥ." (A.B. on N.S. 31, 312).

It would here repay to examine the *Bṛhaddeśī* evidence. The *Bṛhaddeśī* contains many verses from the *Dattilam* and seemingly ascribes them to Bharata. The extant *Bṛhaddeśī* is an incomplete work. It ends with the description of prabandhas; with the author's promise that he will next take up a discussion on vādyas: "idānīṁ kathayiśyāmi vādyasya nirṇayo yathā." (Br. 511).

The number of verses contained in the *Bṛhaddeśī* are 511, and their order throughout the extant text continues unbroken inspite of chapter-endings or section-endings. The colophon at the end states : "iti mataṅgamuniviracitabṛhaddeśyām prabandhādhyāyah ṣaṣṭhah." This colophon leads us to deduce that the available portion of the work contains six adhyāyas or chapters. But, actually, besides the sixth adhyāya, noted in the colophon, at which the available texts ends, we find only two other adhyāya-endings. The fifth adhyāya ends after verse 375 with : "iti mataṅgamuniviracitabṛhaddeśyām bhāṣālakṣaṇādhyāyo nāma pañcamah samāptah."

Another adhyāya-ending occurs at page 133 of the published text. It is obviously not an adhyāya-ending in the *Bṛhaddeśī*, but in a long quotation from another work which is incorporated in the *Bṛhaddeśī* at this juncture. The colophon reads : "sarvāgamasamṛhitāyām yāṣṭikapramukhabhāṣālakṣaṇādhyāyah caturthah." Clearly it is a chapter-ending within a work called *Sarvāgamasamṛhitā* which was a compilation of opinions regarding musical forms like bhāṣās, ascribed to Yāṣṭika and others

¹ See p. 822, para 957 of this work.

(yāṣṭikapramukha). A long portion of this *Samhitā* occurs within the *Bṛhaddeśī*, and contains no less than 175 verses, which unlike those in the actual *Bṛhaddeśī* text, are unnumbered.

There are other pauses in the *Bṛhaddeśī* scheme besides these three, but none of them are adhyāya-endings. The only other major ending is at page 104 and is a lakṣaṇa-ending, or in other words, the ending of a topic or section within a chapter : "iti mataigamuniviracitabṛhaddeśyām rāgalakṣaṇam tṛīyam." After this lakṣaṇa-ending, the delineation of bhāṣās begins with : "atha bhāṣālakṣaṇam", and then after verse 366 we have : "iti bhāṣālakṣaṇam." Still other endings may be observed, but these too are quite minor sectional endings occurring after the elucidation of specific topics or sections : after the verse 15 we have : "iti deśīlakṣaṇam"; and only three verses preceding this, that is after verse 12 occurs, "iti deśyotpattiparkaraṇam". Thus—not counting the ending included in the long interpolation from the *Sarvāgamasamhitā*—we have eight endings in all. Of these there are only two major adhyāya-endings at the end of the fifth and sixth adhyāyas. The other endings are clearly minor topic-endings or at best section or prakaraṇa endings which occur within adhyāyas.

We do not know how the adhyāyas were really distributed in the original work. Scribes who had no knowledge of the subject and were not careful enough, may be responsible for the present state of affairs. We notice, in fact, many instances of scribal error (lekhaka-pramāda-doṣa) in the *Bṛhaddeśī*. The learned editor of the text has cited some of these in his footnotes :

- (a) before verse 64 some lines describing auduva etc., are obviously missing;¹
- (b) after verse 99 again some lines have clearly been dropped;²
- (c) verse 173 is misplaced and should have preceded verse 171;³
- (d) another lekhaka-doṣa has been noticed on page 136.⁴

¹ The editor notes :

इति ओडुवादिनिरूपणपरः कियोश्चिद् ग्रन्थपातः सम्भाव्यते ।

—fn. by Sambasiva Sastri, Br. p. 18.

² The editor notes :

इह पूर्वप्रदर्शितमध्यमग्राममूर्च्छनामण्डलानुसारेण गान्धारनामनिर्देशान्तरम् ऋषभनामादर्शनाद् आदर्शे तद्वाचकस्य ग्रन्थस्य लोपः सम्भाव्यते ।

—fn. on Br. p. 24.

³ The editor notes :

अस्यानस्थमिदं पद्यं 'दक्षिणो अतीतः' उत्यतः पूर्वं निवेशनीयमिति भाति ।

—ibid. p. 49.

⁴ The editor puts a string of notations (svaralipi) and a verse within brackets as they are obviously out of context; he remarks :

वलयान्तर्गतं वाक्यजातं लेखकप्रमादात् प्रक्रिप्तमिति भाति ।

—fn. on Br. p. 136.

The editor also points to passages obviously dropped by scribes on pp. 137 and 138. Again, in the section on prabandha, he notes many missing verses :

अत्र प्रकरणे उद्दिष्टेषु केषाचिल्लक्षणादर्शनं , लक्षितेषु च केषाचिदनुद्देशः, उद्देशलक्षणवाक्येषु नामभेदश्च वर्तते ।

—fn. on Br. p. 142.

Besides these errors noted by K. Sambasiva Sastri, we note others, too. For example, the Vṛtti following 27A introduces two verses with: "tathā cāha caturah". No authority known as Catura is known in sangita literature which otherwise abounds in names of ancient authors. The same two verses have, however, been quoted by Kallinātha in his commentary on *Saṅgitaratnākara*, 5, 3, 10-16. He ascribes them to Tumburu—'tathā cāha tumburuh'. This ascription is quite plausible. It also appears likely that Kallinātha had borrowed this quotation from the *Brhaddeśī* itself, which work he knew well, and since no other quotation from Tumburu is to be found in Kallinātha on the subject of music.

Besides scribal errors and other irregularities noted above, the *Brhaddeśī* also contains many major lacunae:

- (a) Verses 201-251 describe the eighteen jātis of gāndharva. This description is followed by a long prose Vṛtti (Br. pp. 69-74). Verses 252-276 describe the jātis a second time; this time in a different language and style. This second description is interspersed with prose passages of the Vṛtti. Also, the description this time is incomplete, since after eight jātis have been described, a sudden break occurs in the text at verse 276, and a new verse, entirely out of context, expounding the etymology of the word 'bharata', is abruptly introduced (verse 277).¹
- (b) The very next verse, 278, is again abrupt and has no continuity or pūrvāparasambandha with the preceding matter. Verse 278 formulates a question regarding the nature of rāgas and the etymology of the word rāga.² The answer to the question follows, and is introduced with the words 'Mataṅga said'—'mataṅga uvāca'. Quite a number of verses have obviously been dropped between verse 276 and 277 and again between verse 277 and 278.
- (c) Another significant break in the continuity of the *Brhaddeśī* occurs after verse 366A. Heretofore, the work was in the form of a Purāṇa-like dialogue, between Nārada and Mataṅga : Nārada asking questions, Mataṅga answering them (Br. 2, 4, etc.). But after verse 366A, the two characters of the dialogue suddenly change, and without any prior indication, Kaśyapa becomes the questioner and Yāṣṭika, the answerer. A long passage follows (pages 104-141 of the printed text) containing 175 verses which, unlike the verses of the *Brhaddeśī* text proper, are unnumbered. This passage is the interpolation from the *Sarvāgamasaṃhitā* discussed above. It breaks off as abruptly as it was introduced and the

¹ Verse 276 forms part of the description of the jāti nāndayanti; it reads :

हृथ्यना(का) मूर्च्छना तालः पूर्ववद् द्विगुणा कलाः । चिनियोगो ध्रुवागाने प्रथमप्रेक्षणे भवेत् ॥

This is followed by the Vṛtti which gives notations of the jāti-structure. Nāndayanti should have been followed by further description of other jātis, 10 of which had yet to be described. But verse 277 reads :

भं ज्योतिस्तद्रतो हस्तस्मात् तं भरतं विदुः । तद्भ(वं) भरतज्ञानं तद्भवा भारती शुभा ॥

² Verse 278 has no discernible relation with the previous verse; it reads :

किमुच्यते रागशब्देन कि वा रागस्य लक्षणम् । व्युत्पत्तिलक्षणं तस्य यथावद् वक्तुमर्हसि ॥

verse numbers of the *Bṛhaddeśī* are resumed at page 141 with verse 366B. But in spite of the unbroken numerical order in the verses, a wide gap in the subject-matter remains obvious. This gap had probably occurred at an early date in the history of the available manuscript and some scribe-editor obviously filled it up with similar material borrowed from the *Sarvāgamasaṃhitā*. The gap-filling, however, was done in an inadequate manner without any attempt at smoothing the joints and putting up at least a facade of textual continuity by numbering the borrowed verses in continuance with the original text and by obliterating or changing the colophon of the interpolated passage.

- (d) Another break occurs after verse 368A. In verse 368A, Mataṅga promises that he will next deal with deśī rāgas: “atāḥ param pravakṣyāmi deśīrāgakadambakam”. Testimony reveals that this line was originally followed by further explanatory lines regarding the nature of the contents to follow. Śimhabhūpāla quotes these lines introducing them with the words: “adunāprasiddhānām rāgāṅgādīnām lakṣaṇamuktaṁ mataṅgena”. His quotation reads:

ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi deśīrāgakadambakam
lakṣyalakṣaṇasamyuktam trividham cāpi samyutam
rāgāṅgam caiva bhāsāṅgam kriyāṅgam ca tṛtīyakam
pratyekam lakṣaṇam caiśām pravakṣyāmyanupūrvasaḥ
uktānām grāmarāgānām chāyāmātram bhajanti hi
gitajñaiḥ kathitāḥ sarve rāgāṅgāstena hetunā
bhāsāchāyāśritā yena jāyante sadṛśāḥ kila
bhāsāṅgāstena kathyante gāyakaiḥ stutitatparaiḥ
śokotsāhakaruṇādīdīpakaṭtmakriyādītaḥ
jāyante ca yato nāma kriyāṅgāstenahetunā”

(Sudhā on S.R. 2, 2, 9-10; part of passage also quoted by Kalā, giving it as Mataṅga's: Kalā on S.R. 2, 2, 1).

The quotation clearly shows that a large section describing desī rāgas, bhāṣāṅgas etc., existed in the original text. As the text exists, verse 368A is followed abruptly by seven verses describing only six rāgas. Then, after verse 375, follows a colophon which states that the fifth chapter on bhāṣāṅgas ends here. The new chapter, the sixth, takes up a new subject, namely, prabandha.

Obviously, the extant material on desī-rāgas is incomplete and fragmentary. Only six rāgas are expounded where actually there were many more, as is attested to by Śāringadeva, Rāṇā Kumbha and others, who based their own accounts of rāgas and other related forms on authorities like Mataṅga. Śimhabhūpāla, after quoting the passage from Mataṅga cited above, in fact, comments that rāgas are altogether 268 in number.

There is also not much room for thinking that Simhabhūpāla was not quoting from *Bṛhaddeśī* but from another text which may also have been ascribed

to Mataṅga, since verses relating to definitions of bhāṣas, grāma-rāgas, gītis, etc. that he quotes from Mataṅga, are, indeed, traceable to the *Bṛhaddeśī*.¹

The 511 verses comprising the *Bṛhaddeśī* are interspersed with passages of an explanatory Vṛtti. The Vṛtti is mainly in prose but it also contains a few verses, quoted from renowned authorities. We do not know whether the author of the Vṛtti was the same as the author of the main body of verses. The two are unlikely to have been identical. It is true that it was not uncommon for authors of śāstric works to compose their own Vṛtti, but the *Bṛhaddeśī* assumes a Purāṇic tone and sets forth the text as a dialogue between two ḥsis of authority in a canonic style. A simultaneously composed and published Vṛtti of the nature of a gloss or explanatory notes would have been incongruous with this tone. It is, therefore, quite likely that the Vṛtti was composed only after the work became established in authority.

A clear distinction is observed in the *Bṛhaddeśī* text between the original verses and the Vṛtti upon them. Verses quoted or incorporated from other texts in the *Bṛhaddeśī* have been numbered but those occurring in the Vṛtti are unnumbered and stand out as quite separate from the original *Bṛhaddeśī* verses.

This distinction appears to have escaped Nijenhuis's notice. The long passage of about sixty lines which the *Bṛhaddeśī* has in common with the *Dattilam* begins at verse 201 (Br.). Preceding this is the Vṛtti on verses 199-200, where Bharata is quoted with the words 'tathā cāha bharataḥ'. The quoted verse is in fact a statement clearly traceable to Bharata: it is N.S. 28, 72. This verse from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is unnumbered like other verses quoted in the Vṛtti. The verse is then followed by a short line in prose: "daśavidhajātilakṣaṇamiti"—indicating that the Vṛttikāra herewith ends his explanation or notes regarding jātilakṣaṇas. Then the main *Bṛhaddeśī* text is resumed and the verses are again numbered (as 201 etc).

It thus cannot be said that the numbered verses following the verse quoted by the Vṛttikāra from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* have been ascribed to Bharata by Mataṅga or even by the Vṛttikāra, since the Vṛtti ends with a single verse from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.² Verses 201-230 of the *Bṛhaddeśī* are the same as *Dattilam* 63-91: they form part of the *Bṛhaddeśī* and are not acknowledged as borrowed from any author. From the testimony of the *Bṛhaddeśī* alone these verses cannot unambiguously be ascribed to Dattila; but Nānyadeva who was evidently very familiar with the *Dattilam*—as his frequent quotations from this work testify—clearly ascribes many of these verses to Dattila, as can be seen from the chart. Nānyadeva's citations also reveal that Dattila's verses in this context were quite distinct from those of Bharata. He quotes Dattila's lines in support of the descriptions in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (referred to as sūtra), as forming a parallel and yet a distinct testimony from a reputed authority. The long passage describing the jātis, thus appears evidently to have been borrowed from the *Dattilam* by Mataṅga.

¹ Sudhā on S.R. 2, 1, 2-5 quotes 5 verses from Mataṅga with the words: "mataṅgenāpyuktam"; these are nos. 293-297 in Br. The same passage in Sudhā also quotes Br. 285-286. Again Sudhā on S.R. 1, 6-7 quotes two verses from Mataṅga introducing them with: "lakṣaṇasamuuccayaścokto mataṅgena"; these are verses 302-303 of the Br.

² K. Sambasiva Sastri has indeed enclosed this single verse between inverted commas to distinguish it from the verses that follow.

Testimony Concerning *Dattilam* from Quotations 51

Besides these, a few other stray lines have also been borrowed from Dattila and incorporated in the body of the *Bṛhaddeśī* (as distinct from its Vṛtti). The *Bṛhaddeśī* has similarly incorporated verses from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* also, without acknowledging their author: Br. 189-195A corresponds exactly with N.S. 28, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, and 54. These incorporations have not been alleged to prove anything against the authenticity of the original text.

The author of the Vṛtti on the *Bṛhaddeśī* also quotes Dattila, but he does so with due acknowledgment (see chart). A group of six verses from the *Dattilam* (49-54), however, has been quoted in the Vṛtti (on Br. 197) with the source mentioned as Bharata: "tathā cāha bharataḥ". The quotation includes a total of eight verses : the first two are, indeed, from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; they are N.S. 28, 46-47 ; but the next six are found only in the *Dattilam*—and in the same order as quoted. Is this proof enough of *Dattilam*'s textual indebtedness to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*? We think not. Firstly, as we have observed, the available *Bṛhaddeśī* is full of lacunae, scribal errors, irregularities and textual confusions. It is, therefore, not improbable that a line or lines are missing from the Vṛtti at this point where Dattila's name might have been cited by the Vṛttikāra. Secondly, in view of the many convincing evidences that we have adduced regarding Dattila's independent stature as an ancient authority of repute, and of the authenticity of the *Dattilam* text itself, it is unlikely that Dattila would have bodily lifted portions of another work in order to pass them off as his own. It is, we think, quite imaginable that with the discovery and study of more works on saṅgīta, these verses, too, will be found in citations unambiguously ascribed to Dattila: as we have seen in the case of the long passage from the *Dattilam* occurring unacknowledged in the *Bṛhaddeśī*, but proved to be unquestionably from the *Dattilam* through Nānyadeva's citations.

These remarks are not made to assert that Dattila was quite free from indebtedness to others. In fact he explicitly acknowledges his debt to his predecessors. In concluding his work, he humbly states that what he has written "is a mere pointer towards the system (mata) propounded by preceding teachers" (pūrvācāryamatasyaitad diñmātram samudāhṛtam. Datt. 242) and invites the 'virtuous' readers to study their views and make amendments in his work, if necessary (Datt. 243).

Throughout his work Dattila often refers to preceding ācāryas (Datt. 66, 80, 197) as authorities on whom his exposition is based.¹ Yet his indebtedness to his

¹ यद्वृत्तिपूक्तमाचार्यः वीणावाद्यादिलक्षणम्
—Datt. 44.
नित्यं पूर्णस्वरा चेयमाचार्यः परिकीर्तिता
—Datt. 69.
तृतीयमाहुराचार्यः परिवर्तसमाप्तिकम्
—Datt. 169.
धैवत्यां गुरुभिः प्रोक्तावंशावृपभप्तचमी
—Datt. 80.
ताला गृहभिराख्याताः पोडण्डादशाष्टमा:
—Datt. 197

predecessors appears to have been of a general nature : it was the kind of debt any author writing on a specific subject owes to the authorities who have preceded him.

Dattila refers to only three of his predecessors by name : Nārada (Datt. 2, 31), Viśākhila (Datt. 177) and Kohala (Datt. 128); the name of Bharata is conspicuously absent. Nārada is mentioned twice : the first reference, in the second verse, appears to be to Nārada, the Purānic figure who brought gāndharva from heaven to the earth; but the second reference (in Datt. 31) is certainly to Nārada, a very early theorist on music.¹ Kohala and Viśākhila are mentioned in connection with matters of formal detail pertaining to tāla. These two predecessors of Dattila had apparently written works on gāndharva and had become established authorities by the time the *Dattilam* was composed.

Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* has been the most honoured work on dramaturgy, poetics, nṛtya, music and others related arts, over the centuries. Many commentaries of great originality and immense scholarship were written on it by numerous luminaries during the classical epoch. The work had almost come to occupy the position of a sacred text. It acclaims itself as an additional Veda, created out of the established four, by Brahmā Himself (N.S.1, 11-20), for it is related that Brahmā taught the Nātyaveda to Bharata, who epitomised it in the *Nātyaśāstra*. Bharata then taught it to his hundred sons: Kohala and Dattila are among the first four to be listed : "sāṇḍilyam caiva vatsam ca kohalam dattilam taithā." (N.S.1, 26). Significantly enough these four sons—and these four alone—are again mentioned by name as prominent ācāryas in the last chapter,² the name of Dattila, in this latter case, occurring in a corrupt form, as Dhūrtita.³ The *Nātyaśāstra* has adopted a canonical and scriptural tone in teaching the subject of nātya and related arts, and hardly refers to preceding authorities except those who were so ancient as to have become mythical personalities. Yet individual works on the arts and the sciences that have been delineated in the *Nātyaśāstra* must certainly have existed prior to it. These must have included manuals and codes on gāndharva which were certainly studied by Bharata as they were by Dattila.

The hundred authorities mentioned in the *Nātyaśāstra* as sons of Bharata are relegated to the future in the Purānic fashion. These sons of Bharata, it is said, will write on nātya, music and related arts in order to popularise them; of these

¹ Nārada, Dattila says, was responsible for the nomenclature of the 84 auḍuva and śāḍava tānā� :

अभिनष्टोमादिनामानस्त उक्ता नारदादिभिः । देवाराधनयोगेन तत्पुण्योत्पादका यतः ॥
—Datt. 31.

See also *Dattilam—A Compendium of Ancient Indian Music* by E.T. Nijenhuis, p. 70, where this author also makes a similar observation. The first Nārada, Nijenhuis thinks, was mythical and the second historical.

² कोहलादिभिरेवं तु वत्सशाण्डल्यधूर्तितैः । मत्यर्थमत्रियायुक्तैः कञ्चत् कालमवस्थितैः ॥
एतच्छास्त्रं प्रशीत हि नराणां बुद्धिवर्धनम् ।

—N.S. 37, 24-25

³ Dattila has been called Dantila by Kumbha and Dāmodaragupta. Dhūrtita also appears to be a corrupt form of his name. Dhūrtita is another. The reference clearly seems to be to Dattila, because of the four recurring names; the other three are unquestionably common; the fourth, presumably, is also the same.

Testimony Concerning Dattilam from Quotations 53

Dattila will be one. But the authorities named must have flourished prior to the *Nātyaśāstra* where they are named. This would place the *Dattilam*—where Bharata is nowhere mentioned—in a period predating the more honoured *Nātyaśāstra*.

However, the first and last chapters of *Nātyaśāstra* can be taken as later interpolations (a possibility also supported by tradition : Abhinava, though he comments upon 37 chapters, says at two places that Bharata's work consists of 36 chapters).¹ Still the indebtedness of Dattila to Bharata cannot be established upon known evidence. Had Dattila drawn directly upon Bharata, he would surely have mentioned his name, for Dattila does not appear to have been shy in the matter of acknowledging previous authorities. Nor in the face of the immense, almost superhuman, authority assigned to Bharata, is it likely that Dattila has in fact referred to him but has done so without explicitly naming him; that, in other words, Bharata is one of the prominent gurus or pūrvācāryas hailed by Dattila, though not named.

On the question of vīṇā and other instrumental techniques, Dattila has referred us totally to preceding ācāryas. This has been interpreted as a reference mainly to Bharata who has, in fact, in his *Nātyaśāstra*, described vīṇā, flute, and other instrumental techniques in detail. Dattila, however, has in this case referred us not to a single unnamed ācārya, but as elsewhere, to a plurality of them “yadvṛttiśūktamācāryaiḥ vīṇāvādyādilakṣaṇam....” (Datt. 44) indicating a whole body of literature on the subject and not a single work alone. Even if we interpret this reference as being to a specific author or authors and their works, inference should lead us to Viśākhila and Kohala whose names do occur in the *Dattilam*. We know that these two authorities also wrote on gāndharva: references to their opinions and quotations from their works on many gāndharva topics are to be found in works on music. Viśākhila's treatise, evidently, contained an elucidation of instrumental technique. A line from Viśākhila regarding instrumental technique has, indeed, been quoted by Abhinava while commenting on vīṇā-playing. It is quoted as a 'pramāṇa' or supporting evidence from a work parallel to the *Nātyaśāstra*: a 'sāstrāntara', on the subject.² Abhinava also quotes Viśākhila regarding the flute ('vamśa'. A.B. on N.S. 30, 3).

Another hypothesis may, however, be posited: Bharata and Dattila, we may conjecture, both drew upon a body of common traditional material handed down from antiquity, and adapting it to their own purpose composed their works either contemporaneously or, perhaps, Dattila immediately followed Bharata during a period when the latter's authority had not yet become a byword.³ The two authorities also seem

¹ पट्टिशकं भरतसूत्रमिदं विवृण्वन्....

—A.B. introductory verse 2.

Also : मध्येऽत्र पट्टिशदध्यायाम्....

—A.B. on N.S. 1, 6.

² Abhinava in commenting upon a certain tāla formation during vīṇā-playing (outlined in N.S. 29, 91-92), criticises a certain view. In support of his own stand he quotes Viśākhila : न च शास्त्रान्तरप्रामाण्यादपि द्विक्लादिनिभागाश्रयं (यत्वं) युक्तमेव। तादात्मयोगेऽत्र न स्यादारम्भश्च... ति विशाखिलाचार्यं। —A.B. on N.S. 29, 91-92.

³ In the light of tradition, stretching over centuries, where Dattila appears as a luminary of lesser note than Bharata, one hesitates in assigning to him a period antedating the latter.

to have followed different theoretical traditions in some important matters : this would explain the dissimilarities existing between the expositions in the *Nātyaśāstra* and the *Dattilam*.¹

The *Dattilam*, as evidence clearly shows, has been held in great repute among authors on saṅgīta: it is not, therefore, surprising that commentaries, too, were written upon it, especially since the work was so terse and compressed. A commentary called the *Prayogastabaka* has been mentioned by Śimhabhūpala, who quotes a passage from it.² This citation has been noted by many modern scholars like M. Krishnamachariar, V. Raghavaṇa and, following them, Premalata Sharma³ and others.

Yet another reference appears to have escaped the notice of scholars; it is to be found in Abhinava. Discussing the gītaka named oveṇaka, Abhinava quotes Dattila's view on a certain point, where it differed from Bharata (A.B. on N.S. 31, 295). Introducing, in this context, a line from the *Dattilam* (Datt. 208A), he gives his own explanation of it. He then cites the explanation of this line as given by 'dattile vivaraṇakṛtaḥ' and criticises it as 'confused' (bhrāntāḥ).⁴ We notice that the word 'vivarṇakṛt' is in the plural. It is difficult—in the absence of further reference—to decide whether Abhinava is naming a single commentator with an honorific plural—a commentator of repute, who wrote a ṭīkā called Vivaraṇa on *Dattilam*—or if he is pointing to a series of gloss or vivaraṇa writers (vivarṇakṛtaḥ) who had interpreted Datt. 208A in a certain way. The language used by Abhinava appears to support the latter hypothesis since 'bhrāntāḥ' seems to be too strong an adjective to use for a person who was being honoured by an address in the plural.

Another interesting deduction follows from Abhinava's phrase "dattile vivaraṇakṛtaḥ". The last line from *Dattilam* reads: "akarod dattilah śāstram gītam dattilasam-jñitam : Dattila composed the śāstra known by the name of Dattila" (which word as a lone pada becomes *Dattilam*). This line appears to have been originally a part of the colophon which a later scribe introduced into the text. The name *Dattilam*, which the present text bears, appears to be quite old as attested by this line, and this is why Abhinava, referring to commentators, says 'dattile vivaraṇakṛtaḥ'. The saptamī in the pada 'dattile' refers not to the author for that would in this case be ungramma-

¹ Dr. Paranjape places Dattila in the 7th century A.D. For a critical examination of his arguments see Appendix A.

² Quoting Datt. 12-14a Śimhabhūpāla comments :

विवृतं चेत्प्रयोगस्तवकार्णां दत्तिलीकायाम् — “पङ्गजवेन पङ्गजस्वभावेन गृहीतः परिकल्पितो बुद्ध्या व्यवस्थापितो यः कश्चिद् द्वन्निविशेषः पङ्गजाद्ये ग्रामे भवेत्तस्माद् द्वान्निविशेषाद्वृद्ध्ये तृतीयः स्यादृप्यभः” इति

— Sudhā on S.R. 1,4,15-16.

³ *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*: M. Krishnamachariar, para 957. *Later Saṅgīta Literature* : V. Raghavan, Saṅgīta Nāṭaka Academy, Bulletin No. 17. *Saṅgitarāja* ed. Premalata Sharma, p. 663.

⁴ एतत्वबुद्ध्या दत्तिले विवरणकृतो भ्रान्तास्तालं विशेषं व्याख्यातवन्तः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 295.

tical, but to 'Dattila' (i.e. *Dattilam*) the treatise. Siṁhabhūpāla, too, in quoting the ṭīkā *Prayogastabaka* says: 'vivṛtam catitatprayogastabakākhyāyām dattilaṭīkāyām...'. The phrase 'dattilaṭīkāyām' also, evidently, refers to a ṭīkā on the work called 'Dattila' (i.e. *Dattilam*) and not to a person. This suggests that the text we have and know as the *Dattilam* has been current not only in the same form but also by the same name at least since the days of Abhinava (10th Century A.D.).

We have remarked that no quotation from Dattila on the group of topics discussed in the *Dattilam* (as constituting gāndharva), which cannot be traced to the *Dattilam*, appears anywhere. In the face of this fact, the shortness of the treatise appears, evidently, to have been intended by the original author himself and is not due to a later abridgement.

Moreover, Dattila evinces such ingenuity in his pursuit of brevity that it is difficult to call the composition a precis made by a lesser mind, incapable of original deliberation and writing at a later period when gāndharva practise and theory had started becoming a closed book, a vague matter of the gradually receding past.

In order to avoid long detailed descriptions regarding morphological patterns and type-bound regulated structures, Dattila composes some short, precise, almost mathematical formulas which dispense with much lengthy detail. These bring to mind a similar tendency in other śāstras of ancient times. It reminds one, for example, somewhat of the formulas so meticulously perfected by Pāṇini in describing the grammatical structure and morphology of the Sanskrit language. Pāṇini had, with the help of his formulas, reduced a lengthy grammatical discourse to a few pithy, short sūtras. Dattila evinces a similar tendency to some extent. We are noting two instances of his formula-making from the *Dattilam*:

- (a) The gītakas described in the tāla-section had very complex beat-formations with variegated patterns of sounded and unsounded beats. Bharata, and later authors following him, have noted these beats and their patterns in full detail over long passages. Dattila, with a sūtra-like attitude towards brevity, constructs short rules or formulas on the basis of which the beats can be inferred and arranged.¹
- (b) Mudrā-like finger-indications formed a necessary part of the silent beats in gāndharva. The arrangement was complex, because, depending upon the context, the same finger-mudrā could be employed for different unsounded beats or different finger-mudrās could be required for the same unsounded beat. Bharata gives details (N.S. 31, 41-51). Dattila characteristically, sums the details up in a short formula (Datt. 135A-136). Abhinava quoting Dattila's terse description on this point introduces it with the words : "dattilācāryeṇa tu saṅkṣipyoktametat" (A.B. on N.S. 4,

¹ Details will emerge in Part III.

315). K. Sambasiva Sastri had noticed Abinava's characterisation of Dattila's delineation at this point as a 'terse description'. He thought that this testified to Abhinava's awareness of the *Dattilam*'s brevity and was a point in favour of the authenticity of the present text.¹ We agree.

The *Dattilam*, as we have it, thus appears from all evidences to be a complete work, authentic and original; it has been known as such and in the same form over a long period. Some scholars have called it incomplete but this is a hasty judgment since we have seen that its exposition covers the entire range of topics it promises to discuss. These topics are collectively described in *Dattilam* as constituting gāndhaṇva and we have observed that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* also expounds an almost identical range of topics where, too, they are grouped together as forming gāndharva. The two texts do not disagree as to the range and scope of gāndharva, though on points of arrangement, emphasis and sundry matters of detail, there is quite a difference of opinion showing that Dattila had a stance of his own.

Besides gāndharva, Dattila also seems to have written on other subjects connected with music and drama. K. Sambasiva Sastri found two verses ascribed to Dattila in a commentary on *Amarakoṣa*, the *Tīkāsarovasva*, by Sarvānanda. This Tīkākāra, commenting on the meaning of the word 'nirvahaṇa', introduces two verses with the words: 'tathā cāha dattilah'.² The verses are about sandhis in ancient plays, among which nirvahaṇa was one. This quotation indicates—as Sambasiva Sastri had inferred—that Dattila may have composed another work dealing with plays or daśarūpaka, (Datt. Sanskrit preface, p. 4). Krishnamachariar also cites Dattila's views on various types of dramas and their classification (*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 544). He does not, however, mention his textual source. It is likely, thus, that Dattila had written not only on gāndharva but also on drama. Krishnamachariar cites Dattila in connection with poetics also (*ibid.* p. 714), but again he does not refer to any work by Dattila on the subject.

It is likely that he found reference to Dattila in works of Tantra. He says that works like the *Yāmalāṣṭakatantra*, *Kāṣyapatantra* and *Uddiṣṭamahātantrodaya* deal with a variety of arts including poetics, music and dance. These Tantras mention views of many early authors among whom Dattila also figures (*ibid.* p. 841).

¹ नाट्यवेदविवृतावभिनवभारत्यां श्रीमदभिनवगुप्ताचार्यः—“दत्तिलाचार्येण तु सङ्क्षिप्तोऽप्योक्तमेतद् इति प्रस्तुत्य” आद्य-द्वितीयमध्यान्तात् पादभागाद् विदुः क्रमात् । कनिष्ठानामिकायुक्तमध्यमादेशिनीकृतात् ॥ अयुग्ममध्यहीनः स्याद् इति दत्तिलकारिकाणां प्रामाणिकत्वमञ्जीकुरुते ।

The *points to the editor's footnote, which reads :

‘इदं गान्धवंशास्त्रसंक्षेपं’ इति दत्तिलाचार्यप्रतिज्ञागतं संक्षेपमनुस्मारयन् अवश्यमयं प्रकृतो ग्रन्थो दत्तिलप्रणीत इति स्पष्ट्यति ।
—Datt. Sanskrit preface, p. 3.

² श्रीमत्सर्वानन्दविरचिते टीकासर्वस्वे नाट्यवर्गो निवैहणशब्दार्थंविवरणसमये 'तथा च दत्तिलः' इत्यारभ्यः—
मुखं प्रतिमुखं चैव गर्भो विमर्शं एव च । तथा निवैहणं चैव नाटके फङ्च सन्ध्यः ॥
वीजवन्तो मुखाद्यर्था विप्रकीणां यथाक्रमम् । ऐकार्थ्यसुदृशीयन्ते यत्तु निवैहणं हि तत् ॥

—Datt. Sanskrit preface, p. 3-4.

Kumbha has mentioned Dattila's views on musical forms like vibhāṣās and bhāṣāṅgas,¹ though he does not quote Dattila's exact words. Kumbha claims a direct knowledge of Dattila's writings (dṛṣṭvā dattiladurgaśaktibhanitih... S. Raj 1,1,1,36), and hence it is likely that Dattila had written not only on gāndharva but also on more popular derivative forms.

Although no authentic work of Dattila apart from *Dattilam* is now extant, yet some small works have spuriously adopted the name of Dattila in order to bask in his authority. But they are of an obviously late date. One such work is the *Gāndharvaveda* which is a collection of stray verses, 149 in number, that form no cognisable whole. Its author remains unnamed, but the work lifts many verses from the *Dattilam* to give itself an air of authority.² Another work, the *Rāgasāgara*, is set forth as a dialogue between Dattila and Nārada, in order to borrow their glory; it is also, therefore, subtitled the *Nārada-Dattila-Saṃvāda*.³ The nature of the work and its subject-matter—which contains the very late rāga-ragini-putra theory of classification—proclaims it to be a recent work. Similar other works also exist.

We have seen that the *Dattilam* forms a neat and compact whole and it follows an intrinsically logical plan to its conclusion. Though short, it is by no means a partial or fragmentary work, for within its short span the author covers the entire range of topics (uddeśa) he expressly sets out to expound. Its brevity is intentional and the methodical compression of its subject-matter evinces proof of the author's grasp of his subject.

We have also seen that quotations ascribed to Dattila that deal with gāndharva are numerous; they generally observe an identical verse order as in the present *Dattilam*, and can all be traced to it. No verses ascribed to Dattila and relating to any of the gāndharva topics are to be found anywhere (in the works of repute known till date), which are missing from the *Dattilam*. Thus both by 'anvaya, (positive evidence) and 'vyatireka' (absence of detrimental evidence) the authenticity of the *Dattilam* can be taken as established.

Other roundabout and involved explanations of the evidences we have adduced in the foregoing discussions can possibly be thought of, but let us keep in mind the ancient precept that in making hypotheses the more straight forward explana-

¹ विभाषाद्वितयं चात्र विज्ञेयं दत्तिलोदितम्।
—S. Raj 2, 2, 1, 93.

भाषाङ्गं दत्तिलोक्तेरियमृतं गदितोऽङ्गं कोहलाद्यगाम्भीरी.....
—ibid. 2, 2, 3, 2.

² A copy of the *Gāndharvaveda* is in the collection of the library of the IICMSD, West Berlin. The original ms. is No. 8095 of the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

³ The first colophon reads :

इति श्री रागसागरे नारददत्तिलसंवादे रागविमर्शको नाम प्रथमस्तरङ्गः ।

Similar colophons occur at the end of the other two taraṅgas of the work. Copy of the ms. in the collection of IICMSD. Original is ms. No. 15015 of the Madras Govt. MSS Library.

tion (*lāghava*) should be preferred to the tortuous one (*gaurava*). We can thus, for the present, reasonably assert that the extant *Dattilam* is the work of Dattila himself till compelling data to the contrary is forthcoming.

Dattila's early date is evinced by his independent views and traditionally well known divergences from the *Nātyaśāstra*. His mention in the first and last chapters of the *Nātyaśāstra* as a prominent authority—added to his own significant silence about Bharata—shows that he perhaps composed his work at about the same period when the main bulk of the *Nātyaśāstra* was being formulated.

Yet a basic problem still looms large if the above conclusions were to be granted and the treatise *Dattilam* were to be accepted as a complete work and not fragmentary; how is it that it deals with only a portion or aspect of ancient music? A work treating avowedly of *gāndharva*—the ancient word for music—should have dealt with the subject in all its multiple forms and aspects. And we know from many reliable sources that ancient music, indeed, covered a field much wider than is envisaged in the *Dattilam*. Other ancient authors deal with *bhāṣāṅgas*, *vibhāṣās*, *rāgas*, *rāgāṅgas* and a host of other forms which were part of music and hence of *gāndharva* but of which this self-styled *gāndharva-śāstra*¹ does not even speak.

An answer to this question can only be made through a proper study of the term *gāndharva* and its denotations. To this we shall now turn.

¹ गान्धवंशास्त्रसंक्षेपः सारतोऽयं मयोच्यते

—Datt. 1.

PART II

GĀNDHARVA : ITS NATURE AND EXTENT

CHAPTER III

THE TWO-FOLD MEANING OF GĀNDHARVA

The term gāndharva (from 'gandharva' : deities delighting in music) had in ancient times a dual denotation concerning music.¹ It was used both in a broad and restricted sense. In its larger connotation the word denoted all music; it was synonymous in this sense with the English word 'music'. In a restricted sense, as we shall show, it denoted only a fixed body of musical forms constituting a very special part of the entire range of ancient forms. Gāndharva was in this sense a corpus of music firmly stabilized through meticulously defined rules and regulations formulated as decrees and injunctions which were imperative and binding. The *Dattilam* is a manual of this special gāndharva body of music; so are those chapters of the *Nātyaśāstra* which have a content parallel to the *Dattilam* and which deal with gāndharva and its established range of topics.

Many discerning scholars and historians of Indian music have long considered gāndharva to have denoted a special kind of music. But ideas regarding the nature, extent and scope of gāndharva have remained vague and confused. Notions regarding gāndharva have depended mostly upon Śārṅgadeva and his commentators—especially Kallinātha—and subsequent authorities. These later authors, too, like Śārṅgadeva are mixed up and muddled on the point. Evidently they inherited the legacy of confusion from Śārṅgadeva. Remarks concerning gāndharva in Śārṅgadeva and post-Śārṅgadeva saṅgīta-literature are, moreover, too summary to form the basis for any proper understanding of the matter.

Fortunately, Abhinava's commentary on the *Nātyaśāstra* contains an extensive analysis of gāndharva: its nature and span, and its distinct spirit and form as differentiated from other musical structures. Abhinava's remarks have not been accorded the attention they deserve. We propose to study gāndharva in the light of Abhinava's many valuable comments scattered throughout the relevant portions of the *Abhinava Bhāratī* and summed up in one long illuminating passage at the beginning of the 33rd chapter of the *Nātyaśāstra*. Abhinava will prove extremely helpful

¹ Like many Sanskrit words 'gandharva' has in fact a host of meanings. It denotes 'a horse', 'a cuckoo', 'a kind of deer', 'a celestial being' and so forth (see lexicons); 'gāndharva' (that which relates to gandharva), too, could be used in all these senses. We are, however, concerned with the word and its usage only in the context of music. Grammatically gāndharva is formed as : गन्धर्वो देवता अस्य अण् ।

—*Vācaspatyam*.

Nārada in his *Nāradī Śikṣā* gives an etymology of the kind popular in ancient times ; he analyses the word in a manner to suit a denotation signifying 'music' through every syllable : गेति गेयं विदुः वेति धातुः प्रवादजमिति, वाक्यस्य संज्ञेति, रेफस्तु वाच्यस्योपलक्षणं काकुप्रवादनमिति वा

— Quoted in A.B. on N.S. 28, 9-10.

in understanding the 'gāndharva' Dattila had in mind. His analysis will, we think, fully answer the criticism that the *Dattilam* deals with its subject incompletely. This will, certainly, help clarify ideas regarding a great chapter of ancient Indian music.

Abhinava has stated that both in the śāstra of music and in ordinary usage, the word gāndharva, like the word nāṭaka, had a dual meaning. The word, he says, is used both in a general and a special restricted sense¹.

Numerous instances of gāndharva used in a general sense can be found in old texts. And before taking up the special meaning of gāndharva and its implications it would be interesting to take up the history of the word gāndharva and its broad usage as 'music' in general. This will give a perspective to our discussion.

Surprisingly, gāndharva as meaning 'music' is not to be found in the earliest classical lexicon, the *Amarakośa*² (3rd Century A.D.). Yet the word can be observed to have been in use as a general term for the art and science of music since at least the epic times.

Vālmīki, describing the musicianship of Lava and Kuśa, calls them : gāndharvatvajñau.³ The *Mahābhārata* often uses gāndharva to mean music and even refers to gāndharva-veda and gāndharva-śāstra.⁴ 'Gāndharva' is the word used to denote music even in the far-off Kharoṣṭī inscriptions of the Central Asian Indian community.⁵ Buddhist Jātaka stories use the word gāndharva (gandharba) as meaning music (e.g. *Guttīla Jātakā*).

The word 'gandharva' is as old as the *Rgveda*, where it is used quite a number of times.⁶ It seems to have been an ancient Indo-European word and some relate it to the Greek 'kentauros' ('centaur', a class of demi-gods, half men, half

1. इहायं गान्धर्वशब्दो लोके शास्त्रे च द्विविधो नाटकशब्दवत् । सामान्यविशेषणास्य प्रयोगदर्शनात् ।
—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

For a dual use of the word nāṭaka in a manner analogous to gāndharva, see Appendix B.

2. One meaning of the word 'gāndharva' is stated to be 'a celestial singer' (गान्धर्वो दिव्यगायने—३, १४२) which according to later commentators could also mean singers in general. This is the nearest that the *Amarakośa* comes to denoting music through the word 'gāndharva'.

3. तौ तु गान्धर्वंतत्वज्ञो स्यानमूळंतकोविदौ । आतरौ स्वरसम्पन्नौ गन्धर्वोविवर रूपिणी ॥
—Ram. 1, 6, 10.

4. Nārada is described as fond of wars and of gāndharva : युद्धगान्धर्वं सेवी च —M.Bh. Vana. 5, 9. Arjuna learnt the gāndharva-veda : Vana 91, 14-15. Nārada knew gāndharva : गान्धर्वं नारदो वेदः Śānti 210. 20. The King should know gāndharvaśāstra : गान्धर्वशास्त्रं च कला परिज्ञेया नराधिप M. Bh. Anuśāsana 104, 49.

5. See the article entitled 'Indian Culture in the Kharostī Documents from Chinese Turkestan' by R.C. Agarwal in *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, p. 278. Documents no. 514 and 565 contain the words 'gāndharva' and 'gamdharya' (for Sanskrit gāndharva) used in the sense of music.

6. R.V. 1, 22, 14; 1, 163, 2; 3, 38, 6; 8, 1, 11; 77, 5; 9, 83, 4; 9, 85, 12; 9, 86, 36; 10, 10, 4; 10, 85, 40; 10, 85, 41; 8, 123, 4; 10, 123, 7; 10, 136, 6; 10, 139, 4; 10, 139, 5; 10, 139, 6; 10, 177, 2.

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horses).¹ Like many other words, gandharva has a checkered early history. In the *Rgveda* it has no connection with music or with deities who delight in music and dance. In fact 'gandharva' in the earliest Vedic age rarely denotes a group of gods, it is rather an epithet denoting singular Beings : 'gandharva' is the heavenly God called Viśvāvasu (R.V. 10, 85, 21 and 22 ; 10, 139, 4 and 5) and Vāyukeśa (R.V. 3, 38, 6). His duty is to guard the heavenly Soma (R.V. 10, 83, 4; 10, 85, 12) which the gods had obtained through him (R.V. 1, 22, 14). Gandharva dwells in the sky and in the heavenly waters and is also once identified with the Soma (R.V. 10, 86, 36) ; he may have been considered the tutelary deity of the Moon (soma). He is also the God who knows and makes known divine truths and heavenly secrets (R.V. 10, 139, 5 and 6). He is the parent of the first pair of human beings, Yama and Yamī (R.V. 10, 10, 4).

There is one attribute of this R̄gvedic 'Gandharva' which is somewhat related to the gandharvas of later conception (who were very handsome and very fond of women as well as music) : the 'Gandharva', Viśvāvasu, is said to have a mystical power over women ; he is said to be one of their divine Masters before they are married (R.V. 10, 85, 21 and 22 ; again 40 and 41). There is a word similar to 'Gandharva' in the *Rgveda* namely, 'Gandharvī', which may have contained in seed-form the later connection of gandharvas with song and music. 'Gandharvī' occurs only once (R.V. 10, 11, 2). 'Gandharvī', like 'Gandharva' is connected with divine waters (ap्या ca yoṣāṇā) ; she is Speech who pleases the mind in the resounding (nāda) hymns of psalm singers.²

It was only during the later Vedic period that the word 'gandharva' was generally used to denote a class of deities. Gandharvas as a class have the same general characteristics as the one 'Gandharva' of *Rgveda* ; they live in the sky (S'Br. 14) and guard the Soma (S'Br. 3, Ait. Br. 1, 27). They follow after women wanting to possess them (S'Br. 3). Their wives are the apsarās, together with whom they are invoked by worshippers (A.V. 7, 109, 5). They are also connected with Speech and are said to have revealed the Vedas to Vāk (S'Br. 3 ; Par. Gr. 2, 12, 2) and are thus the preceptors of the ṛṣis (S'Br. 9).

Some facets of their later characteristics as deities of music have started emerging. We see that the apsarās are bracketed with gandharvas in the *Atharvaveda*: in phrases like 'gandharvāpsaras'. Apsarās were joyous deities fond of dancing (yāyaiḥ parinṛtyat�ādadāna.....ānandinīṁ pramodinīmapsarām tāmiha huve. A.V. 4, 38, 3-4).

During the epic age the gandharvas became definitely established as tutelary deities of music, dance and related arts. Viśvāvasu, the ancient R̄gvedic figure,

¹ In his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Monier Williams observes : "L. Centaurus—gk. kentauros : a centaur; which some compare with skt. gandharva, a demi-god". See also : *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* by W.W. Skeat, under the word 'centaur'.

² रपदगन्धवीरप्या च योषणा नदस्य नादे परि पातु मे मनः ।

—R.V. 10, 11, 2.

Cf. Venkaṭamādhava's comments :

वदतु अभिन्नुणान् गन्धवेस्य स्त्री भारती ब्रन्तरिक्ष्या सरस्वती च । स्तोतुः स्तोते परियातु च मम मनः भारती सरस्वती च ।

became transformed in the *Mahābhārata* to a celestial musician, expert on the *vīṇā*. He performed during king Dilīpa's sacrifice : "avādayaitatra vīṇāṁ madhye viśvāvasu svayam" (M.Bh. Śānti, 29, 75 also Droṇa 61, 7) and he sung at the sacrificial dīkṣā of Jamadagni (M. Bh. Vana. 90, 18).

It was also during this period that the term *gāndharva* became current as denoting music. Before this period, not even in the Upaniṣads, do we find a mention of *gāndharva*.¹ The terms for common or 'laukika' music in the Upaniṣads are *gīta* (song) and *vāditra* (instrumental music) : also used in conjunction as *gītavāditra* to denote music in all its aspects.² Vedic sāma music was referred to as *sāma* and *udgītha*.³

During the epic age, the word *gāndharva* like the modern word 'music' denoted music of any and every variety except Vedic music which was called *sāmagāna*⁴. Among actual forms we know, for instance, that *gāndharva* included bardic music : the music to which epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* were sung.

Music was inseparably connected with the *Rāmāyaṇa* right from its inception. Valmīki, when he composed his famous verse "mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhāṁ tvamagamah..." had sung it with an appropriate tempo⁵ to the accompaniment of the lyre or the lute. His disciples had sung the verse after him : "tasya śiṣyāstataḥ sarve jaguḥ ślokamimam punah" (Ram. 1, 2, 39). Later, having composed the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he taught Lava and Kuśa, the twin sons of Rāma, how to sing it to the accompaniment of string instruments (tantrīlayasamanvitam). The twins were endowed with a sweet voice and a perfect sense of tone (bhrātarau svarasampannau.....madhurasvara-bhāsiṇau : Ram. 1, 4, 10). They are called experts in the art of *gāndharva* (tau tu gāndharvatattvajñau sthānamūrchanakovidau : Ram. 1, 4, 10). When the *Rāmāyaṇa* was sung before Rāma, the audience included pandits versed in *gāndharva* i.e. music in all its aspects of *svara* and *tāla*⁶. Twenty sargas of the epic were sung on each day

1 Dr. Paranjape thus says that the only Upaniṣad that uses the word *gāndharva* for music is the *Sitopaniṣad*, which is a late work. Bh. Sang. Iti. p. 106.

2 अथ यदि गीतवादिवलोककामो भवति सङ्कल्पादेवास्य गीतवादिवे समुत्तिष्ठत्वेन गीतवादिवलोकेन सम्पन्नो महीयते । —*Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 8, 2, 8.

3 पुरुषस्य वायसो वाच क्रुरसं कृचः साम रसः साम्न उद्गीथो रसः । —*Chāndogya* 3, 1, 2. Also :

यर्कं तत्साम तस्मादप्राणन्तपादन्साम गायति यत्साम स उद्गीथस्तस्मादप्राणन्तपानन्नुदगायति —*Chāndogya* 1, 3, 4.

4 Cf. Bh. Sang. Iti. p. 137.

5 Ram. 1, 2, 14-18, esp :

पदबद्वौऽक्षरसमस्तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितः । शोकार्तस्य प्रवृत्तो मे इलोको भवतु नान्यथा ॥

6 तां स गृथाव काकुत्स्यः पूर्वचार्यविनिर्मिताम् । अदृश्यं पाठ्यजाति च गेयेन समलङ्घताम् ॥

प्रमाणैर्बहुभिः बद्धो तन्त्रीलयसमन्विताम् । वालाम्यां राघवः श्रुत्वा कौतूहलपरोऽभवत् ॥

अथ कर्मान्तरे राजा समाहृय महामुनीन् । पार्थिवांश्च नरव्याव्रः पण्डितान् नैगमांस्तथा ॥

पीराणिका पादविदो ये वृद्धांश्च दिजातयः । स्वराणां लक्षणजांश्च उत्सुकान् द्विजसत्तमान् ॥

लक्षणजांश्च गान्धवान् नैगमांश्च विशेषतः । पादाक्षरसमासजांश्चन्दः सु परिनिष्ठतान् ॥

कला मात्रा विशेषज्ञान्..... Ram. 7, 94, 2-7

(divase viṣṭatiḥ sargā geyāḥ, Ram. 7, 93, 11) and its rendering—which Vālmīki calls a ‘musical recitation’, (cf. ‘pāthyajāti geyena samalaṅktā’, Ram. 7, 93, 2)—was extended over a long period.

Other bardic compositions and recitative songs besides the *Rāmāyaṇa* must have been known. These must have been composed to both folk and sophisticated forms of gāndharva or music. Besides bardic ballads, a host of other musical forms must have been current, for music was an intimate part of life and culture during the epic period. Men were born, married and cremated to the sound of music; every function, sacred or profane, had its appropriate musical setting.

Music as performed in concerts, as a developed art-form with a tradition of teachers, experts, performers and discerning connoisseurs also seems to have been current during the period when the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed. We hear of ‘pūrvacāryas’ (preceding teachers) signifying a long standing tradition of regular teaching ; of men with a discerning knowledge of svara (svarāṇām lakṣaṇajñāḥ); of experts with a specialised knowledge of musical time (kalāmātrā viśeṣajñāḥ); and of musicians well-versed in the techniques of their art (lakṣaṇajñāḥ gāndharvāḥ).¹

Gāndharva or music was a standard branch² of knowledge. As a science it was termed the gāndharva-veda. Arjuna had learnt the science of gāndharva (from the son of Viśvāvasu named Citrasena) : “kaunteyo gāndharvam vedamāptavān” (M. Bh. Vana 91, 15)²; and had taught it to Uttarā, daughter of king Virāṭa, and her companions (M. Bh. Virāṭa, 11, 8-13). King Virāṭa had a ‘nartana-sālā’, a dance-hall (scene of the killing of Kīcaka by Bhīma, M. Bh. Virāṭa, 22), where his daughter and other young women of the court could learn dancing (and certainly also music). Rāja-sabhās (big halls where courts used to be held) flourished, with gatherings of courtiers and eminent citizens around the king. On occasion, they also served as auditoriums where eminent performers of gāndharva performed for the king and his court (a tradition which continued well into our own century). In the sabhā, constructed by Maya for Yudhiṣṭhira, celestial gāndharvas, experts in all aspects of gāndharva, used to perform for the pleasure of those present (M. Bh. Sabhā, 4, 36-41). The kings of the epic period and their courtiers were often learned connoisseurs of gāndharva, for this was one of the sciences included in their curriculum. It is enjoined in the Anuśāsana-parva that the king should know music and other arts (gāndharva-śāstram ca kalāḥ pari�neyā narādhipa. M. Bh. Anuśāsana, 104, 49).

However, like many generic terms of common usage, gāndharva denoted a group of related ideas, not fixed but loosely shifting. Though usually it stood for

¹ 7, 94, 2-7.

² Indra had asked Arjuna to learn from Citrasena, the gāndharva king, all the secret techniques of music that the latter knew :

नृत्य गीतं च कौतेर्य चिन्तसेनादवान्मुहि । वादित्रं देवविहितं नूलोके यन्त विद्यते ॥

.....गीतवादित्रवनृत्यानि भूय एवादिदेश ह ॥

.....गान्धर्वमतुलं नृत्यं वादित्रं चोपलब्धवान् ॥

स शिक्षितो नृत्यगुणाननेकान् वादित्रपीतार्थं गुणांश्च सर्वान् ।

—M. Bh. Vana, 44, 96-11.

non-sacred music in all its vocal and instrumental forms, yet its meaning could sometimes also include Vedic music (*sāma*) and even dance.¹ We also notice usages where the term is used for instrumental music alone,² or for only songs.³

During the period following the age of the two great epics, the word *gāndharva* remained current and the art-form it denoted continued to flourish. *Gāndharva* was enriched by the creation of new forms. The *Harivansha*, traditionally known as the appendix (*khila*) to the *Mahābhārata*, describes in great detail the festivities and watersports of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and their companions and consorts on a beach near Dvārakā and speaks of a new form of music created by Kṛṣṇa for the occasion. This new form was named *chālikya-gāndharva* and was a composite form comprising song, instrumental music as well as dance (Hari. 89, 66-83).

An inscriptional evidence also survives from around this period of the use of the word *gāndharva* for music. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela (2nd Century B.C.) calls the king 'an expert in the science of music': *gāndharva-vedabudho* (*Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XX, see line 5 of the Kharavela inscription, edited by B.C. Jayaswala and R.D. Bannerjee).

In early Buddhist literature, too, the word *gāndharva* (in its Pali form as 'gandhabba') is used for music in general. The *Jātakas* often refer to gandhabba as an established *śilpa*—a science or skill.⁴ The *Milinda Pañha* recounts gandhabba among the *vidyās* which the educated were trained in. Early Buddhist literature even tells of a faculty of music in the ancient university of Benaras, which was "presided over by an expert who was 'the chief of his kind in all India'."⁵ At the famous ancient academic centre of Takṣaśilā, too, *gāndharva* was, evidently, one of the 18 *śilpas* which, according to the *Jātakas*, were taught there.

Like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Jātakas* testify to a wide variety of *gāndharva* or music. We hear of sophisticated art-forms requiring a long and arduous training in which masters used to compete for superiority in the presence of large audiences with the king as the presiding judge⁶ (this practice, too, was not unknown in India till the very recent past). We hear of festive *gāndharva*, on the occasion of joyous processions (*Mahāvessantara*, verses 726-727); of the light-hearted erotic *gāndharva* of singing girls who used to perform for the pleasure of kings (*Khāntivādī Jātaka*); of the lone *gāndharva* played and sung as a serenade by estranged lovers (*Kusa Jātaka*) and even of gambling songs (*Vidhura Jātaka*).

¹ विश्वावसोस्तु तनयादगीतं नृत्यं च साम च । वादित्रं च यथान्यायं प्रत्यविन्दद्याविधि ॥
एवं कृतास्त्रः कौतेयो गान्धवं वेदमाप्तवान् ।

—M.B. Vana, 91, 14-15.

² गीतगान्धवर्घोषैश्च भेरीपणवनिःस्वनैः ।
—ibid. Anusāsana, 160, 64.

³ गान्धवंमतुलं नृत्यं वादित्रं चोपलब्धवान् ।
—ibid. Vana, 44, 10.

⁴ See *Guttilla Jātaka*, the story of a great teacher and expert in *gāndharva*; *Kusa Jātaka* where Kusa makes *gāndharva* or music by singing and accompanying himself on the *vīna* in order to attract his estranged wife.

⁵ *Ancient Indian Education*: Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee, p. 490.

⁶ *Guttilla Jātaka*.

The word gāndharva continued in usage as a generic term meaning music throughout the Gupta and later classical periods well into medieval times. Bhāsa in his *Pratijñāyaugandharāyanam* (3rd Cent. A.D.) often uses the word gāndharva in this sense: Vāsavadattā who was intent upon acquiring skill in music (asyā gāndharve' bhilāsah': Act. 2) was taught by king Udayana, a famous musician (gāndharvavit-takah', Act 2) and an expert on vīṇā who was proud of his hereditary skill in the art of gāndharva (darpayatyenam dāyadyāgato gāndharvo vedah: Act 2). In the play *Avimāraka*, Bhāsa's forlorn hero expresses envy for the happy man who with his beloved by his side, makes and enjoys gāndharva (aye gāndharvadvahvaniriva śrūyate. ko nu khalvayam sarvakālasukhī puruṣah kāntayā saha gāndharvamanubhavati: *Avimāraka*, Act 3).

Cārudatta, the gentle hero of Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (4th Century A.D.) was a great music-lover; we hear of him spending the night listening to the sweet gāndharva of his friend, Rebhila, who sang to the accompaniment of the vīṇā¹ (kāpi velāryacārudattasya gāndharvam śrotum gatasya : Act 3).

The Bhāna *Padmaprābhṛtakam*, also ascribed to Śūdraka,² describes its love-lorn hero as suffering a heart-burn from the very things he used to delight in : the spring, the moon, garlands of flower, perfumes and also gāndharva or music (ramyai-scandravasantamālyaracanāgāndharvagandhādibhiryaireva pramukhāgataih sa ramate taireva santāpyate, verse 7).

The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, which Dr. Hazra places in the 3rd Century A.D. (Pu. Re. p. 22; Dr. Baladeva Upadhyaya places it in the 2nd Century B.C.: *Purāṇa Vimarśa*, p. 545) recounts gāndharva as one of the 18 vidyās.³

Inscriptional evidence of the use of the word gāndharva to denote music in general is also not lacking from the early centuries of the Christian era. The Junagadh inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman (1st Cent. A.D.) speaks of his great proficiency and fame in logic and gāndharva.⁴ Samudragupta (4th Cent. A.D.), the well-known Gupta king, was very fond of music and the coins that he minted show him as playing the vīṇā; his inscriptional eulogy speaks of his extreme sophistication in the art of gāndharva. His skill could put to shame ancient ḥsis like Tumburu and Nārada.⁵

¹ Of Rebhila, Cārudatta says :

तं तस्य स्वरसंकमं मृदुगिरः शिलष्टं च तन्त्रीस्वनं, वर्णनामपि मूळंनात्तरगतं तारं विरामे मृदुम् ।
हेलासंयमितं पुनश्च ललितं रागद्विरच्चारितं, यत्सत्यं विरतेऽपि गीतसमये गच्छामि शृण्वन्निव ॥

—Mrcch. 3, 5.

² See the Introduction to the Hindi edition entitled *Sringāra-Hāṭ* of the *Caturbhāṇi* (a collection of four Bhāṇas belonging to the Gupta age of which *Padmaprābhṛtakam* is one) by Dr. Motichandra.

³ आयुर्वेदो धनुर्वेदो गान्धवंश्चैव ते त्रयः । अर्थशास्त्रं चतुर्थः तु विद्या ह्याष्टादशीव ताः ॥

—*Viṣṇupurāṇa* 3, 6, 29.

⁴ गान्धवंश्यामानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारणधारण विज्ञानं प्रयोगाप्तविपुल कीर्तिना.....महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना.....

—*Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

⁵ निशितविद्याधमतिगान्धवंश्चलितै ब्रीडितविद्यशपतिगुरु तुम्बुरु नारदादे...

—*Gupta Inscriptions*, Fleet, No. I, p. 8.

Jaina canonical literature acquired its present written form during the 5th or early 6th Century A.D.¹ In this body of texts we often find the word 'gāndharva' used as meaning music; the term sometimes also embraces dance. The words 'gandha-vva-sālā' and 'gandhavva-ghara', for example, were names of audience-chambers where music was taught and practised or performed.²

The *Vasudeva-Hindi* is a rightly famous work of early Jain ākhyāna literature (5th Century A.D.).³ It is a treasure of social and cultural information concerning the Gupta age, an era when people were passionately fond of music or gāndharva: experts were accorded great respect and all persons of education and culture were expected to be proficient in the art. One of the *Hindi* stories tells of the Vidyādhara Kāmonmatta (Kamumhatta) who had abducted sixteen young girls from the homes of princes, rich merchants and tradesmen (rājā, setthi, ibbha, sātthavāhā). The girls were beautiful, well-educated and cultured. Two were expert musicians. One, known as Śrī (Siri), was an expert vocalist, proficient in the singing of gāndharva : gāndharvagītakusālā' (gandhavvagīya-kusalā); the second, Vijavasenā (Vijayaseṇā) was an expert composer of music: she was 'gāndharva-racanakusālā' (gandhavvara-yānakusalā).⁴ The *Gandharvadattā Lambh* relates the story of Gāndharvadattā, daughter of the merchant Cārudatta. This beautiful damsel was excessively fond of music (gāndharva) and was a great expert in the art : gāndharvavedapāramgatā (gandhavvavedapāramgaya?). She had vowed to marry the man who will defeat her in gāndharva. Such was her beauty that every eligible person in the town where she lived frantically began practising gāndharva in the hope of winning her for himself (tūṣe rūvamohiyā māhanā khattiyyā vaisā gandhavve rattā). Vasudeva, hero of the story, under the assumed name of Khandila, asked a towns-man if expert teachers of gāndharva were available in the town (atthi ihaṁ uvajjhāyā gandhavva pāragā?), for he too wanted to learn music (gāndhavvam sikkhejjā).⁵ Vasudeva was only feigning ignorance of music but was actually an expert musician. He succeeds in winning the princess for his bride by playing the viṣṇu-gītaka (a composition unknown to his fair competitor) on the vīṇā.

¹ Hist. of Ind. Lit., Winternitz, Vol. II, p. 432.

² For early Prakrit Jain references to gāndharva, see *Paiśaddhamahānava* under 'gāndharva', p. 284.

³ 'The Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī mentions *Vasudeva Hindi* thrice. This shows that this work was composed before A.D. 600.' *Haribhadra Ke Katha-Sāhitya Kā Alokanātma Parisilana*
—Dr. Nemicandra Sastri, p. 37.

⁴ *Vasudeva-Hindi*: *Dhamillacariyam* p. 68, published by the Jain Atmananda Sabha, Bhavnagar, Gujarat.

⁵ चारुदत्तसिद्धिणो धूया गंधव्वदत्ता परमरववती गंधव्ववेद पारंगया । सो य इव्वो वेसमणसमाणो । तं तीसे रुवमोहिया माहणखत्तिया-वइसा गंधव्वे रत्ता । तं च जो जिणइ सिक्खिउं तस्य भज्जा होहिति पुण्यभागिणो । मासे मासे गते च अणुओं देह-वितरणां पुरओ । कल्लं च समुद्रो आसी । पुणो मासेण भविस्सइति । मया चित्तिय-बहुदिवसा गमेयज्जा पुच्छामि ताव ण-मो अतिथ इहं उवज्ञाया गंधव्वपारगा ।कहियं च से मया णामं खंदिलोति गोयमो पुण गोत्तेण, गंधव्वं सिक्खेज्जा ।'

—*Vasudeva Hindi* p. 126—127.

In another section of the *Vasudeva-Hindī*, named the *Sāmā Vijayā Lambho*, we find a similar condition placed for winning the hand of the two princesses, Śyāmā and Vijayā. These two beautiful sisters were experts in both gāndharva and nātya (or nṛtya): *gandhavve naṭte ya pariṇitthiyāo*. Any eligible young man who could surpass them in these branches of learning could win their hand (*jo ne āgameṇa visesijjā so ne bhattāti*). Vasudeva, the hero, this time under the assumed name of Gotama, defeats these princesses with his greater skill and knowledge of the intricacies of music and theatre (or dance) and receives them as brides, along with half the kingdom over which their father, the king Jitaśatru, ruled.¹

Another famous work of the 5th Century, where the word gāndharva is often used as denoting music, is the *Bṛhatśaṃhitā* of Vārāhamihira. Gāndharva is mentioned as an art along with writing (lekhya), mathematics (gaṇita) and handling of weapons; musicians are called gāndharvika (for details see appendix 'ri', Bh. Sang. Iti. p. 521).

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, which according to Dr. Hazra and Dr. Baladeva Upadhyaya, cannot be placed later than the 6th Century A.D.,² often uses the word gāndharva to mean music. Gāndharva is recounted as an established branch of learning along with architecture, medicine and archery.³ A legend relates that the ten sons of king Prācīnabarhis, called the Pracetasa (pracetasaḥ), set out to perform meditations and tapas near the sea. There they heard divine gāndharva accompanied by percussion instruments like mṛdaṅga and pañava.⁴

King Revata, father of Revatī (later married to Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa) went to Brahmā, in order to seek his advice regarding a suitable groom for his daughter. Revata was distracted by the beautiful music being made in Brahmaloka : “āvartamāne gāndharve sthito’ labdhakṣaṇah kṣaṇam”. (Bhāg. 9, 3, 30).

It is also related, in a beautiful allegory, that King Pṛthu ‘milked’ the earth of her treasures which consisted of herbs and agricultural produce. Manu acted as the calf and helped in the milking (Bhāg. 4, 18). Following Pṛthu, the gods, the demons and the gandharvas all ‘milked’ the earth and the milk they extracted was the object which they most coveted : the gods, with Indra as the calf, extracted ‘soma’ as well as moral qualities like virility, inner strength and power as the ‘milk’ (viryamojo balaṁ), in a vessel of gold (hirañmayena pātreṇa). The demons, with Prahlāda as their calf, extracted wines and liquor (surāsavam). The gandharvas and apsarās, with Viśvāsasu as the calf, extctraed gāndharva or music along with beauty (saubhagam) and

¹ इह रायगो जियसत्सस्स दुवे ध्याओ— सामा विजया च, स्वांसणिओ गधब्बेनट्टे य परिणिठ्याओ विनिष्णसयंवराओ। जो णे आगमेण विसेसिज्जा सो णे भत्तात्ति ।.....ताडो च मया गधब्बनट्टसमयनिउणाओ वि नट्टे गीए अ विसेसिआओ । त तो तुट्टेण रणा सोहणे दिणे तासि पाणि गाहियो मि विहिणा, अद्व च रजस्य निसिट्ठं ।
—Vasudva Hindī, p. 121.

² Puranic Records by Dr. R.C. Hazra, p. 55; Purāṇa Vimarśa (Hindi) by Baladeva Upadhyaya, p. 548.

³ आयुर्वेद धनुर्वेद गान्धवं वेदमात्मनः । स्थापत्यं चासृजद् वेदम्....
—Bhāg. 3, 12, 38.

⁴ तत्र गान्धवंमार्कर्ष्य दिव्यमार्गंमनोहरम् । विसिस्मृ राजपुत्रास्ते मृदञ्जपणावाद्यन् ॥
—Bhāg. 4, 24, 23.

sweetness (madhu) in a vessel appropriately consisting of lotuses : "gandharvāpsaraso' dhukṣan pātre padmamaye payah/vatsam viśvāsūm kṛtva gāndharvam madhu saubhagam". (Bhāg. 4, 18, 17). Other beings similarly extracted objects of their own desires.

Another famous text of the 6th Century, the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha¹ uses gāndharva as meaning music or song in a verse with a double-entendre where the word means both music and horses.²

Bāṇa, the renowned poet of King Harṣa's court, flourished in the 7th Century. From his own accounts we know that in his youth he was not quite respectable. Among the companions of his young wandering days was a teacher of music—gāndharvopādhyāyah—named Darduraka (*Harsacarita*, ch. 1). In *Kādambarī*, Candrapīḍa is taught many arts and sciences : carpentry, architecture (vāstuvidyā), medicine (āyurveda), dentistry (dantavyāpāra), handling mechanical devices (yantra prayoga) etc; these sciences include gāndharva or music as propounded by Nārada and others (nāradīyaprabhṛti gāndharvavedaviśeṣa : *Kādambarī*, p. 168, Nirnaya Sagara ed.). Further in the story, Bāṇa describes Mahāśvetā playing on the vīṇā with an ivory plectrum (danta koṇa) held in her right hand : "she looked like the science of gāndharva incarnate" (pratyakṣamiva gāndharvavidyām : *Kādambarī*, p. 283). Listening to her music, Candrapīḍa was completely overwhelmed; he thought that the lady producing such music was certainly of divine origin for who has heard such subtle gāndharva tones being produced by mere humans—"kutaśca martyaloke sambhūtirevamvidhānām gāndharvadhvanivīśeṣānām" (*Kādambarī*, p. 287).

The *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri is a kathā in Prakrit and was composed during the 8th Century A.D.³ Gāndharva here is often used to denote music. When a son is born to queen Priyaṅguśyāmā, king Dṛḍhavarman orders for joyful festivities to be held : "the atmosphere becomes filled with the tinkling music (gāndharva) of the jewelleries worn by intoxicated women: tāra tāra raṇantehim kāñcikalāvehim tākiñkiñtāla-mālā-ravāraddha-gandhavva-pūranta-saddam disā-maṇḍalam". (*Kuvalayamālā*, p. 18). Here we have a very loose use of the word gāndharva to denote any pleasant or 'musical' sound. The word is also used for the science of music which was one of the disciplines taught to princes along with painting, poetry, theatre etc : "ālekkham naṭṭam joisam ca gaṇiyam guṇa ya rayanānam/vāgarayaṇam veya-suī gandhavvam gandha-jutti ya" (*ibid.* p. 22). Another passage speaks of the beautiful sounds of

¹ Prof. Jacobi has argued that Māgha cannot be "placed later than about the middle of the Sixth Century" : quoted in the preface to the Nirnaya Sāgara edition of the *Śiśupālavadha*. ff. p. 4-5.

² नानाविधाविष्टतसापजस्वरः सहस्रतम्या चपलैदुर्घ्ययः ।

गान्धर्वभूयिष्टतथा समानतां स सामवेदस्य दधौ वलोदधिः ॥—Siśu. 12, 11.

Mallinātha comments :

गन्धर्वा एव गान्धर्वा अश्वा.....सामवेदोऽपि बहुधाविष्टतवहृदरथन्तरादिसामोत्थितस्वरः । सहस्रशाखत्वात् सहस्रतम्या, गान्धर्वं गानवहृत्वाच्चपलमतिभिरघ्येतुमशक्य इति ।

³ *Haribhadra ke Prākṛta Sāhitya kā Ālocanātmaka Pariśilana*, Dr. Nemicandra Sastri, p. 61. Also *Kuvalayamālā*, ed. Dr. A.N. Upadhye, Vol. 1, preface, p. 2.

gāndharva accompanied with tāla and string instruments : "gandhavva-tāla-tantī-samvaliya-milanta-mahura-saddeṇam." (p. 43).

Another work of the 8th Century, the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* of Dāmodara Gupta, mentions the science of gāndharva, and names the semi-mythical exponent of the art, Nārada, son of Brahmā, when describing the great musical skill of a certain character (gāndharve kamalajanmanastanayah : *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, 875). Like Māgha, in a double entendre, Dāmodara uses gāndharva as meaning both a horse and a musician when describing the city Vārāṇasi : "turuṣkaseneva bahula-gāndharvā : the city contained many gāndharvas (musicians) as the Turk army contains many gāndharvas (horses)." (*ibid.* 14)

Silāṅka's *Caupannamahāpurisacariyam*, a Jain Prakrit work of the 9th Century, also mentions gāndharva as one of the essential sciences,¹ taught to princes and others who were nobly born.

During the 10th Century, in the latter part of which Abhinava began his vocation as a writer, gāndharva was quite a common word for music. The *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa, a collection of stories written in Jain hybrid Sanskrit and composed in the middle of the 10th Century (see Introduction to this work by Dr. A.N. Upadhye, p. 117-122) often uses the term gāndharva for music. Here, we again come across the story of the daughter of Cāruddatta (the girl is here named Gāndharvasenā) who is won in a musical contest by Vasudeva through his superior skill in playing gāndharva on the viṇā : "sughoṣavīṇayā tatra kurvan gāndharvamuttamam/jitva gāndharvasenām ca vasudevo'vatiṣṭhate." (*Bṛhatkathākośa*, 93, 296). Another story with a similar theme is that of Gāndharvadattā, daughter of king Gandharvadatta. This princess, like Gāndharvasenā, had vowed to marry a man superior to her in gāndharva : "gāndharvavidhinā yo hi kumārīm māṁ vijeṣyate/tasya bhāryā bhaviṣyāmi saṃgaro'yam mama sphuṭam" (*ibid.* 114, 6). She defeated many a suitor by her great skill in gāndharva (narāḥ sarve gāndharvenā nirākṛtāḥ). Then an expert in gāndharva named Pāñcāla came to compete with her. So excellent was he in the art of gāndharva that there was hardly a chance of his losing to Gāndharvadattā. The girl realised this fact, but did not want to marry Pāñcāla because he was extremely ugly. She was at the same time fascinated by the intoxicating magic of his music. Being in two minds about the man and unable to come to a decision, the poor girl committed suicide.

Another author of the 10-11th Century, Dhanapāla, almost a contemporary of Abhinava, also uses gāndharva in his *Tilakamañjari*. Describing the evening activities of a king he says : "reclining on an ornate bed he spent his time listening to the music of flutes and viṇās played by famous ācāryas of gāndharva so that he, too, could learn the art" (vidrumadāruparyāṅkamadhiśayānastatkālasevāgatairgītaśāstaparijñānāya dūrārūḍhagarvairgandharvikopādhyāyaiḥ saha veṇuvīṇāvādyasya vinodena dinaśeṣamanayat : *Tilakamañjari*, Nirnaya Sagara ed., p. 70).

¹ *Caupannamahāpurisacariyam*, p. 38, names an author on gāndharva named Citraratha whose text formed the basis of teaching the art : gandhavvam cittaraheṇam. We hear of no such author in the extant standard texts on music though he seems to have been well-known among Jain circles of the 9th Cent, as testified by Silāṅka.

The word *gāndharva* was, in fact, used to denote music in general till quite a late period. Its continuous usage in this sense is attested by its inclusion in late lexicons, such as the *Sabdaratnākara* of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (14th Century A.D.). Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa includes *gāndharva* in the list of important śāstras and defines it as the 'science which governs songs' : "syādgāndharvam gītiśāsanam" (line 1844); again in his list of synonyms he equates *gāndharva* with song or *gīta* : "samāne gītagāndharve" (line 1887). A very late lexicon, the *Rasakalpataru* of Viśvanātha (17th Century A.D.), also equates *gāndharva* with song : "gītirgītam gānam geyam gāndharvamapyaśmin" (line 1628).

We observe that the word *gāndharva* denoted music in general as well as its science or art. Its range of meaning was, in fact, almost the same as that of the English word 'music'.

Abhinava thus suggests that in a general sense *gāndharva* could connote any sound that might strike one as pleasant and not only the organised sounds of music as a fine art : the songs of children, the rustic singing of shepherds and even the songs of cranes and herons could all be loosely grouped as *gāndharva*.¹

Bharata, too, uses *gāndharva* as denoting music in general : as in the passage where *gāndharva* is included among factors that could arouse the feeling of love.² Dattila, also, must have been aware of such a meaning of the term, though his work is too confined to provide an instance.

By the period of Bharata and Dattila, *gāndharva* or music had evolved a large variety of forms. The historical limits of this period cannot be ascertained for sure, even as to the exact century, but it is generally said to fall somewhere between the 3rd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D.

But along with its wide connotation, the term *gāndharva* had also, by this time, acquired a limited meaning as a particular body of music. What Bharata and Dattila have expounded under the name of *gāndharva* constitutes not the entire span of music known to them but a restricted range of forms.

The melodic or svara structures of this *gāndharva* were limited to the 18 jātis. The tāla structures consisted of the seven major gitakas (described under the topic *prakarana*) and some minor ones (such as pāṇikā).

Gāndharva in its restricted sense certainly did not exhaust the entire gamut of existing musical forms. Bharata himself, after having fully described the characteristics of forms he designates as *gāndharva* and having completely dealt with all the topics he lists under *gāndharva*, goes on to describe another distinct family of musical

¹ न हेतावदेव गांधर्वस्य लक्षणं बालगोपालसारसबलाकादिगीतेऽपि गांधर्वापत्तेः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

Abhinava makes this remark in answer to the possible objection that the special restricted meaning of *gāndharva* needed no exposition, as it was evident enough. This, Abhinava purports to say, was not so, because the word *gāndharva* was capable of being used in a very loose sense indeed, as meaning any pleasing sound whatever, even the song of a bird. Only analysis, he implies, could bring out its restricted meaning clearly.

² अतुमाल्यालाङ्कारैः प्रियजनगांधर्वकाव्यसेवाभिः । उपवनगमनविहारैः शृङ्गाररसः समुद्रभवति ॥

—N.S. 6, 47.

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forms, the dhruvā, i.e. dramatic songs, in a long chapter (the 32nd, containing 437 kārikās). He even differentiates these dhruvās from gāndharva (as we have seen) on matters like alaṅkāra-formation and the use of 'gīti'. These dhruvās, as the evidence of early writers like Kaśyapa testifies, were sung to melodic forms like grāma-rāgas, bhāṣās and rāgas all of which were quite distinct from gāndharva jātis. Kaśyapa has named many of these and has noted the occasions for their use on the stage.¹ These forms were evidently current during Bharata's age also.

Dattila in his *Dattilam* has not described any form outside the range of what he calls gāndharva, which in his account covers the same limited range of topics and musical forms as in Bharata. Yet he definitely hints at other forms. He mentions hybrid (saṅkara) forms : these were created by compounding two or more gāndharva jātis. He speaks of the general maxim by which these saṅkara forms could be traced to its parent jāti (Datt. 96). In fact, Dattila makes a general statement regarding all existing musical forms announcing that they were all 'present' in the jātis, that is to say, they could all be traced to the jātis : "tasmād yad gīyate kiñcit tatsarvam jātiṣu sthitam" (Datt. 97). The hybrids, though not specifically named, evidently, included grāma-rāgas, bhāṣās, rāgas and related non-gāndharvic forms.

Bharata and Dattila were evidently not the only figures who described gāndharva in a limited sense : there were many others, of whom the works of Viśākhila and Kohala seem to have been known directly by the Vṛttikāra on Brhaddeśī and by Abhinava and others as well as by Dattila himself. Evidence points to a whole tradition wherein this special body of music was described and preserved under the name of gāndharva. All its peculiarities and features—structural and doctrinal—were summed up with a more or less fixed set of terms listed in uddeśas. These in turn were classified on the basis of svara and tāla.³ Bharata and Dattila are, in

¹ Kaśyapa recounts many grāma-rāgas, bhāṣās and rāgas along with specific situations in the dramatic plot where they were most suited. The names of some melodies are familiar even today, though their musical form must have undergone great transformations. To take a few examples, we meet with, gauri, bangāli, gurjari, gāndhāri, mālava kaiśika, bhinnaśaḍja, kakubha and so on. See the passage from Kaśyapa quoted in A.B. on N. S. 29. 13.

² Bharata himself speaks of grāma-rāgas in connection with percussion accompaniment of dhruvās. The context is interesting. In the 34th chapter of the *Nātyāśāstra*, Bharata deals with percussion instruments, their technique and use in theatre. He describes the placing of the orchestra (kutapavinyāsa), pointing out the area on (or near) the stage where the various musicians should be seated and how they should be arranged (N.S. 34, 216). He proceeds to give directions regarding the tuning of drums. The drummers after being properly seated, he says, should tighten or loosen the leather straps (*vadhra*=*baddhi* in Hindi) of their instruments to get right sounds (*sīthilāñcītavadbrastaniteṣu*: N.S. 34, 217). Abhinava explains that the purpose of adjusting leather straps was to get the right svara or pitch. The mṛdaṅga, Bharata further says, was then to be properly pasted (this was done with dough as it is to this day in North India) and tuned to the required grām-rāga before being rested on the thighs of the player : "yaihgrāmarāgamārjanalipitēsumṛdaṅgeśūrudvayapiḍane teṣu . . ." (N. S. 34. 217).

³ We are not including 'pada' here, because, as we can gather from the *Dattilam* (Datt. 4) and observe in the *Nātyāśāstra*, 'pada' was a minor factor. Bharata takes the pada aspects of gāndharva as denoting 'ordinary words', and they were as such governed by laws of grammar, usage, prosody etc.; these laws governed all words and were not limited to gāndharva. Bharata recounts the topics governing pada as follows :

व्यञ्जनानि स्वरा वर्णः सन्धयोऽयं विभवतयः । नामाद्यातोपसगश्च निपातास्तदिता कृतः
चन्दोविधिरलङ्कारा ज्ञेयः पदगतो विधिः । —N.S. 28, 16-17.

This may be rendered as :

(Contd. on next page)

truth, two links—albeit the only extant links—in a long chain of ācāryas who were bearers of the tradition of gāndharva. Bharata and Dattila, indeed, appear to be late ācāryas in the tradition, for by their time all the formal and conceptual facets of gāndharva had already acquired set patterns. Divergences between Dattila's and Bharata's exposition of gāndharva are certainly to be found, but they hinge on details or on matters of theoretical outlook—the main body of gāndharva as a whole is accepted as an established entity.

Abhinava has devoted much attention to gāndharva in its restricted sense. He has dwelt upon the peculiarities of gāndharva music both as to spirit and form and has analytically distinguished it from other musical forms. His testimony is of the greatest importance, because he was not only one of the most discerning men that medieval India has known in the field of the fine arts, but evidence reveals that he had a deep and direct knowledge of the matter that he was analysing.

Abhinava Gupta (10th Cent. A.D.) was one of the most remarkable thinkers of India. His vision had a true philosopher's range. He has dwelt illuminatingly over the philosophical subtleties and depths of Śaiva pratyabhijñā darśana. He has also opened up new vistas in the field of aesthetics and literary criticism. He had a genius for analysis, rare in the history of thought. His contributions to philosophy and literary aesthetics are well known and have fruitfully occupied many a learned scholar.

It is not so well-known, however, that Abhinava was also a great musicologist. He has analysed and discussed the intricate terminology of music with the sure grasp of a master. Abhinava has commented on the entire *Nātyaśāstra*, a feat possible only for a versatile scholar, because the *Nātyaśāstra* is an epitome of many arts and sciences: from aesthetics to architecture and music to mime.¹ Although Abhinava had before him the examples of some very competent tīkās on the *Nātyaśāstra*²—some of which he mentions and refers to—yet his own contribution in this field was so original as to have far-reaching influence over the centuries. The geyādhikāra of the *Nātyaśāstra* (chs. 28-36) is a very technical section dealing with music. It deals with

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"The consonants, the vowels, the alphabet, the suffixes, the nouns, the verbs, the prefixes, the nīpātas, taddhitas and kṛdanta, rules of metre, figures of speech—such are the laws governing pada."

Yet, words as they entered into structural relations with melody and tāla were certainly in the domain of music and Bharata and Dattila as gāndharva-śāstrakāras have described quite a few 'musical' aspects of the pada element in gāndharva. We shall come across these aspects later in the essay.

1 न तज्जानं न तच्छर्वं न सा विद्या न सा कला । न स योगो न तत्कर्म यन्नाट्येऽस्मन्त दृश्यते ॥
—N.S. 1, 116.

2 For example those of Māṭrgupta (5th Cent. A.D.), Sri Harṣa (7th Cent. A.D.), Udbhaṭa (8th Cent.A.D.), Lollāṭa (9th Cent. A.D.), Saṅkuka (9th Cent. A.D.) etc.

matter needing a very specialised knowledge of the subject. Abhinava's commentary on this section is as masterful as elsewhere.

At places his meaning is obscure, but the reason is not the shoddiness of the commentary but the fact that the subject dealt with is now a remote one. Technical terms are meaningful only within a living technique, and when, as in this case, the art and its technique have undergone a transformation over the centuries, it is difficult to recapitulate the significance of terms as they were originally used. Moreover, the available edition of the *Abhinava Bhāratī* on the geyādhikāra has, many faulty and fragmentary readings at places; so much so, that discovering a coherent meaning sometimes becomes a very exacting and frustrating task. The fault, surely, lies with the perplexing nature of the subject-matter itself and the best editing efforts may remain largely futile.¹ Yet, in spite of these difficulties, this commentary proves to be one of the most illuminating documents for our understanding of ancient Indian music. No medieval author on music can compare with Abhinava in clarity of analysis and range of thought. Furthermore, Abhinava is relatively close in point of time to the ancients. After the *Bṛhaddeśī*, his *Abhinava Bhāratī* is the first extant work on music.

Abhinava's reflections show compelling evidences of his direct knowledge of the dramatic and musical forms he was discussing and commenting upon. It is likely that he was himself a proficient musician. A contemporary pen-portrait by one of his pupils, Madhurāja Yogin, shows him as playing on the Nādavīṇā, while dictating some matter to his disciples.² K.C. Pandey, who has made an admirably detailed study of Abhinava and his works, makes the following observations: "Abhinava Gupta, as a matter of principle, writes on those subjects only of which he has personal experience. This is true not only in the sphere of philosophy but also in that of art. Thus, in the case of dramatic presentations, he writes on the basis of the presentation of dramas by great actors (Mahānāṭa) who were his contemporaries and to whom he refers in the *Abhinava Bhāratī*".³ K.C. Pandey proceeds to produce references from the *Abhinava Bhāratī* which show that Abhinava in commenting upon gīti-kāvyas and their stage presentation, was speaking from personal knowledge (*Abhinava Gupta*, K.C. Pandey, p. 115-116).

Abhinava flourished during a period when ancient art-forms and the doctrines underlying them were living things. Though new forms in music and the other arts were certainly being created—old forms were very much alive and were performed by artistes versed in tradition. These forms must have undergone changes, but by and large, they maintained their original outlines and formal characteristics. Authori-

¹ Unless, of course, more manuscripts are discovered. The present edition is made from two sets of manuscripts both full of 'scribal errors, broken pieces, moth-eaten leaves and other natural decays' (see preface to N.S. Vol. I, second edition, p. 20). So faulty are the readings in the original mss. that Ramakrshnakavi went to the extent of remarking : "a scholar friend of mine is probably justified in saying that even if Abhinavagupta descended from heaven and saw this ms. he could not easily restore his original reading" (*ibid.* p. 63).

² *Abhinavagupta*, K.C. Pandey, p. 20-22. The author also quotes relevant stanzas from this pen-portrait in his Appendix, p. 738.

³ *ibid.* p. 115.

tative manuals like the *Nātyaśāstra* and the *Dattilam* were studied and discussed by ācāryas and were taught to groups of eager śiṣyas. These śiṣyas must have included actual performers, for communication between performers and theoreticians seems to have been unbroken. The ācāryas in their theoretical delineations referred to actual practise and performers must have referred to ācāryas in order to authenticate, and if necessary, correct what they practised; for only by this reciprocity must ancient forms have been kept so alive that even relatively late ācāryas like Abhinava could evoke the evidence of 'actual renderings' (*lakṣya*) in proving a point.

Abhinava's teacher in the *Nātyaśāstra* was Bhaṭṭa Tota, whose teachings and discussions form the basis of Abhinava's comments and ideas recorded in the *Abhinava Bhāratī*. Abhinava says that he composed the work because of an eager demand from certain persons (arthijana) for information regarding Tota's ideas.¹

Tota was himself a representative of a long line of teachers from whom he had learnt the *Nātyaśāstra*. Abhinava was another luminary in this tradition and similarly acted as its vehicle. The persons (arthijana) who had prompted him to pen down his store of practical and doctrinal knowledge regarding the *Nātyaśāstra* must have included performers, for who else can be more eager than a performer regarding authentic pronouncements concerning his art?² Abhinava's pronouncements are all the more authentic and authoritative because of his wide and intimate knowledge of actual practice as current in Kashmir, which during his period was the hub of learning and culture, and was termed by impressed contemporaries as the 'land of Sarasvatī'.

As in the rest of his work, many illustrations are strewn over the geyādhikāra-section of the *Abhinava Bhāratī* which show Abhinava's direct and personal acquaintance with his subject. We jot down some instances:

(i) Commenting upon the range to which certains jātis were to be played or sung in the tāra octave, he criticises a certain view saying that this view does not agree with actual practice (mahān lakṣyavirodhaḥ). He then records the svara-prayoga, in the tāra, of three jatis: śāḍjī, āṛṣabhbī and niṣādavatī, with the words "this is how they are actually rendered; dr̥ṣyate ca lakṣye".³

¹ सद्विप्रतोतवदनोदितनाऽयवेदतत्त्वार्थमर्थिजनवाच्छितसिद्धिहेतोः ।
माहेश्वरभिनवगृष्टपदप्रतिष्ठः संक्षिप्तवृत्तिविभिना विशदीकरोति ॥

—A.B. introductory verse 4.

² According to Acarya Visvesvara, these 'arthijanas' belonged to South India where the only existing mss. of the A.B. have been discovered and where the tradition of Bharata's nātya are still alive. His speculation is, however, supported by too meagre a thread of evidence.—*Abhinava Bhāratī ke tin adhyāya*, p. 41.

³ अय तारमाह । पञ्चस्वरपरा तारगतिरिति । ननु यद्य शस्वरादारोहकमेण तावदारोहणीयं यावत्तत्प षञ्चमसंब्यस्य स्वरो न तु तत्परमिति नियमः । (एतन्न) तदा महान् लक्ष्यविरोधः । पञ्चज्यां हि पञ्चज्यांशे पञ्चमस्वरात्मेवारोहणीयम् स्यात् । दृश्यते च लक्ष्ये पञ्चज्यां—ननु या धानिसनिधपथनिधपा इति । आर्यभ्यां च धीवतान्तः स्यात् । दृश्यते च निपादान्तं न धरिनिमगम इति । निपादवत्यां च पञ्चमान्तमारोहणं दृश्यते पापारिणा इति । एवमन्यत्रापि विचार्यम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 70 ; again in the same passage :
एत एवेति, तलक्ष्येण (स्यात्यते) । तथाहि । निपादवत्यां निपादेऽग्ने तारपद्भ्यो दृश्यते एवांशेन साधनेन इति ।

- (ii) Jātis, he says, are basically patterns of svara. He adds that rules regarding the use of specific tālas though enjoined were not always observed in current practice as could be seen in actual performances.¹
- (iii) Speaking about the use of notes in the rāga-forms, born of the jātis, he says that the ṭakkarāga and the mālavakaiśika both use the same śadja with the same number of śrutis but still the note sounds different in the two rāgas (because of the changed context). A similar experience, he continues, can be had on hearing the rāgas vegasvara and saindhava, where the same śadja acquires yet new expressions. In fact, he concludes, on hearing the note śadja we are immediately able to recognise whether ṭakkarāga, saindhava, vegasvara or mālavakaiśika is being sung.²
- (iv) The sthāyī varṇa in music was a generic term for patterns restricted to a single note. But, paradoxically enough, in rendering some alaṅkāras (melodic graces) of the sthāyī varṇa, all seven notes of the octave appear to have been utilised. To dispel the apparent contradiction, Abhinava, remarks: "in an alaṅkāra of the sthāyī varṇa the introduction of other notes occurs in such a way that they do not hinder the experience of hearing one single note being rendered continuously: madhye tu svarāntarānupraveśo bhavannapi na sthāyivarṇadhiyam bādhate" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 20).

Alaṅkāras like preñkhita, bindu, sannivṛttapratvānta etc., were subtle alaṅkāras. According to Abhinava it was difficult to analyse them and separate them from the musical context in which they were rendered (yatra vihitāstattvena bhānti). Like many subtle musical movements they could only be experienced and not described in words. Abhinava therefore, says that his own descriptions of these alaṅkāras are mere tokens through which a listener might be able to recognise the alaṅkāras when he hears them sung. Other alaṅkāras like recita, kam-pita and kuhara were so ethereal that they could not be indicated. These alankāras were formed by special trills of the three-śruti notes (ri and dha in the śadja-grāma, ri and pa in madhyama-grāma) in different octaves. Their subtlety, says Abhinava, is the reason why they have neither been indicated through a token nor described.³

¹ तालविशेषमनादृत्य सामान्यतालेन चच्चत्पुटादिता लोके वार्तिकमार्गेण जातिगानं प्रसिद्धम् । तत्र तु यत् चच्चत्पुटादि न तद् विकल्पः । चतुर्पलाद्यनुसारेण कलापातविधिः कर्तव्योपयित्वा लोके न प्रसिद्धः । स्वरभागप्राधान्यात् ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 95-97.

² तुल्ये च श्रुतिः (त्ये)कर्त्तव्यादृशो मालवकंशिके पद्मो भाति । टक्करागे त्वन्यादृशः । तथापि वेगस्वरसैन्धवभेदेन भिन्न एवावभाति च । कर्ण्यः पद्मज्जधवनिमात एव(क) श्रुतिष्टवकरागोऽयै सैन्धवो वेगस्वर इति मालवकंशिको वा गीयत इति ।
—ibid. 29, 8.

³ यद्यपि चैव तेजलङ्काराः पत्रर(यत्वा) हितास्तत्वेन भाति(त्ति) तथापि प्रतीतस्य गीतसमयप्रविष्टस्याभिज्ञानदानाथं लिखिताः । रेचितकम्पितकुहरास्तु शिरोवक्षःकण्ठनिविष्टस्य क्रिःश्रुतेः स्वरस्य कम्परूपा इत्यभिज्ञानेनापि दर्शयितुमशक्या इति न विलिखिता इति ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 21-22.

- (v) We have noted that in dhruvās—ancient theatrical songs—alaṅkāras which might split a word or pada beyond recognition were not used. They were, however, used in gāndharva and Abhinava, had, evidently, heard them being rendered, for he says : “we find in actual performances of jāti-gītas that words are split to any desired extent : laksye’pi ca jātigītādau yatheṣṭam̄ prakarṣaṇamupalabdhamēva” (A. B. on N. S. 29, 26).
- (vi) Vidārī in ancient times was a division of musical compositions or songs into parts or phases in order to impart charm and variety to the structure and to break their non-stop continuity which could only result in monotony. Abhinava, evidently, speaks from personal experience when he says : “in songs devoid of the diversity rendered in them through vidārī formations, the resulting music is no different from a lesson being monotonously read out from a book: vidārīvaicitryaśunye hi gitavyavahā-re svrālāpah pustakavācanādāviva” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 200).

It is clear that Abhinava speaks from experience in matters of music. His testimony can thus be of greatest importance in our understanding of gāndharva as described by Bharata and Dattila.

Abhinava analyses the musical forms, pertinent in connection with the *Nātyaśāstra*, into two basic categories: gāndharva and gāna.

Abhinava realises that the term gāndharva could be confusing. The definition of gāndharva, as consisting of savra, tāla and pada, that Bharata gives at the very outset of the geyādhikāra, is so broad that it could give rise to the notion that the term denoted music in general. One could thus misconstrue that the entire geyādhikāra dealt with gāndharva alone. To avoid this confusion, Abhinava reminds his readers that the word gāndharva also had a definite restricted denotation.¹ He points out the extent of the geyādhikāra text which deals specifically with gāndharva in the restricted sense. Gāndharva, he says, denotes the specific body of music described by Bharata in the first four chapters of the geyādhikāra, i.e. chapters 28 to 31.²

This observation is of the greatest interest in attempting to understand the subject-matter of *Dattilam*, because we have seen that the *Dattilam* and the first four chapters of the geyādhikāra deal with an identical subject-matter.

Abhinava further says that topics relating to the svara aspect of gāndharva have been delineated by Bharata in the three chapters 28 to 30 and tāla is expounded

¹ ‘स्वरतालात्मकं गान्धर्वमिति’ गेयाधिकारारम्भ एव सुनिना सङ्गीतगानस्य च तत्स्वरूपादिकं लक्षणमुक्तं इदानीं तत्रोच्यते । इहायं गान्धर्वशब्दो लोके शास्त्रे च हेता नाटकशब्दवत् । सामान्यविशेषणास्य प्रयोगदर्शनात् ।
—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

² नन्वेव गान्धर्वस्य किं लक्षणमुक्तमध्यायचतुष्टयेषु मुनिना ।
ibid.— 33,1.

in chapter 31, where the nature of pada in *gāndharva* is also indicated : “*gāndharve* pi tathaiva ca svaravidhiradhyāyatrayeṇa (i.e. chs. 28-30) darśitah tālavidhiradhyāyena ca (ch. 32) tatraiva padavidhirapi darśitah” (A.B. on N.S. 32, 27). This, in fact, precisely defines that portion of the *Nātyasāstra* where the specific topics listed as *gāndharva* are named and delineated.

Abhinava has used the word *gāna*, too, in a pāribhāṣic sense. *Gāna* ordinarily means ‘song’—any song. Bharata has himself used the word very often in a general sense; and has made repeated use of it even within the chapters on *gāndharva*.¹ Abhinava gives a peculiar meaning to the word ‘*gāna*’ when contrasting it with *gāndharva*. It is not very clear if by ‘*gāna*’ he denoted all non-*gāndharvic* forms current during his period. But by ‘*gāna*’ he certainly meant all musical forms utilized in *dhurvā* singing and in the music which was played in the background during the staging of ancient drama. We will not be wrong in taking ‘*gāna*’ in Abhinava to stand for such non-*gāndharvic* musical forms which have been described or indirectly assumed in the *geyādhikāra* and which were employed in the presentation of theatrical plot. ‘*Gāna*’ used musical forms like the *grāma-rāgas*, *bhāṣās*, *rāgas* etc., moulding them to the structure and ethos suited to dramatrical plots.

Abhinava’s sources for the term ‘*gāna*’ seem to be ancient texts on music where *dhruvā* was also referred to as simply *gāna*. In an important passage at the beginning of the sixth chapter of the *Nātyasāstra*, Bharata gives a short resumé of the subjects he proposes to deal with. Among elements connected with music he recounts the five accepted varieties of *dhruvā* songs and calls them ‘*gāna*’ (‘*gānam pañcavidham*’ N.S. 6, 29-30).² Here the word ‘*gāna*’ clearly does not mean song in general but denotes dramatic songs.

‘*Gāna*’ has been used in this sense also in a passage ascribed to the ancient authority Kaśyapa. This passage is quoted in the *Vṛtti* on *Bṛhaddeśi*. Kaśyapa was an authority on musical forms employed in the *dhruvās* and has been often named in this capacity along with Kohala and others, by Abhinava. Abhinava also quotes a passage from Kaśyapa where many *grāma-rāgas* have been traced to their parent *jāti*-forms and these *grāma-rāgas* are said to be employed in *dhruvā-ganā*.³

¹ To take a few examples :

चतुर्विधत्वमेतेषां विजेयं गानयोक्तृभिः :

—N.S. 28, 22.

गान्धर्वं एव योज्यास्तु नित्यं गानप्रयोक्तृभिः :

—N.S. 29, 49.

तत्प्रवृत्तं रसे गानं कार्यं गेये प्रयोक्तृभिः :

—N.S. 29, 9.

मध्यमपञ्चमभूयिष्ठं गानं शृङ्गारहास्ययोः :

—N.S. 29, 10. etc.

² प्रवेणाक्षेपनिष्कामप्रासादिकमथान्तरम् ॥ गानं पञ्चविधं ज्ञयं ध्रुवायोगसमन्वितम् ।

—N.S. 6, 29-30.

³ The passage occurs at the end of the A.B. on N.S. ch. 28. The last verse of the quoted paasage reads :

एषा विभाषा गीती तु ग्रामरागाश्रिते मते । ध्रुवागानोपयोगाय तदत्त्वोत्तिस्पतकम् ।

In the passage quoted in the *Vṛtti* on *Bṛhaddesi*, Kaśyapa decrees that grāma-rāgas should be sung to the five established dhruvās which, like Bharata in N.S. 6, 29-30, he terms 'gāna'.¹

The sense in which Abhinava uses gāna is perhaps best illustrated through another reference from Bharata. In the 28th chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the delineation of gāndharva begins with verse 8 which contains a definition of the term gāndharva. The verses preceding this describe various types of instruments and different instrumentalists needed for presenting a theatrical show. Then in verse 7 Bharata makes a general observation: "gāna, vāadya and nāṭya should be so skillfully combined as to make a unitary whole".² The word gāna here evidently refers to theatrical music in general—music of the variety which was an inherent part of the unfoldment of ancient dramatic plots. This is indeed the sense in which Abhinava, too, uses the word.

¹ तथा चाह काश्यपः—

ग्रामरागाः प्रयोक्तव्या विधिवद् दशरूपके । प्रवेशाक्षेपनिष्टकाम प्रासादिकमथान्तरम् ॥

गानं पञ्चविंश्य यत् तद् रागेरेभिः प्रयोजयेत् ।

—*Vṛtti* on Br 364A.

² एवं गानं च वाचं च नाट्यं च विविधाश्रयम् । अलातचक्रप्रतिमं कस्तंव्यमं नाट्ययोक्तृभिः

—N.S. 28, 7.

We have discussed this verse earlier.

CHAPTER IV

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO GĀNDHARVA

Before going into details regarding gāndharva and its distinction with gāna, we would do well to form a general idea, in the light of Abhinava, of what gāndharva was. Gāndharva was a specific body of music having a well-defined form in all three aspects of svara, tāla and pada; Abhinava calls it: 'svara-pada-tālavīśeṣātmakam' (A.B. on N.S. 33,1). Only certain specific musical movements of svara and tāla were permitted in gāndharva. When sung, gāndharva was rendered with certain traditionally set songs.¹ Its forms were believed to have been handed down since time-immemorial and were maintained intact through an unbroken 'guru-śiṣya-paramparā'—the teacher handing them down to the disciple and so on: "nāradādigurusan-tāoñuyāyīti gāndharvaśya prabhavah" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 10). Bharata's and Dattila's treatises are, indeed, manuals of gāndharva composed within this paramparā.

Gāndharva was, in its rigidity and timelessness, believed to be somewhat akin to the Vedas and it was, indeed, considered to be quite as immutable and sacred. Regarding the 18 jātis of gāndharva, Bharata says that they were established by Brahmā himself: "jātayo' ṣṭādāśetyevam brahmaṇābhīhitam purā" (N.S. 28, 39). Abhinava comments that their establishment by Brahmā himself shows them to be revealed forms which permitted no change or mutation: 'brahmaṇeti āptāgamasyāna-nyathābhāvamāha'.

The nṛtta (such as tāṇḍava), too, when rendered as part of the purvaraṅga was considered inviolable and sacrosanct like a prescribed Vedic ritual. Its accompanying music was gāndharva. Abhinava says of them that "in these (purvaraṅga) renderings, both music and the dance-gestures (gītamaṅgam ca) are fixed and have their own predetermined forms (sva-pratiṣṭhitam). Their tempos, rhythmic patterns (yati) and other characteristic formal structures should be rendered exactly as enjoined. Like Vedic mantras these should never be disfigured: "iha tu gītamaṅgam ca dvaya-mapi svapratīṣṭhitam tathā hi yasya yadṛśam layayatisvarūpādikam nirūpitam tanna viparyeti mantrādivat" (A.B. on N.S. 4, 248-259). Abhinava strengthens his point by further exhortations. He says that in nṛtta when Bharata enjoins a particular movement being in fast tempo with an accompanying gesture called apaviddha (vide N.S. 4, 407), then this is exactly how the aṅgahāra has to be rendered, no mutation being permissible. Similarly, in the case of the gītakas of gāndharva, musical forms had to be performed just as described: when in a gītaka it was ordained

¹ This is what Abhinava denotes here by padaviśeṣātmaka. Though the general linguistic nature of pada was governed by grammatical and other laws common to all padas, yet the actual form of the padas, or the particular lyrics sung in gāndharva constituted a specific body of hymns in praise of Śiva. Bharata has noted some of these, as we shall see later.

that a certain rhythm-cum-tempo formation should be made in the middle of a specific structure, such as in the gītaka called aparāntaka where the decree was ‘madhye srotogatālayah’ (cf. Datt. 175), then it was imperative that the formation had to be made exactly as decreed without any transgression or violation : [“tatha hi ‘apaviddhaṁ drutaṁ caiva’ (N.S. 4, 207) ityaṅgahāre, gītakādāvapi madhye srotogatālayādirityādikām nānyathā kriyate”; (A.B. on N.S. 4, 248-259)].

Gāndharva was not only immutable like Vedic mantras, its performance was not unlike the performance of a Vedic sacrifice. It was a special kind of sacrifice in honour of the gods. It was a yāga that was free of the immense expenses involved in Vedic sacrifices, and was especially pleasing to Lord Śiva : “dhananinirapekṣam cedam devānām yajanaṁ, yathā purāṇayogādibhyo‘dhikā prītiṛgāndharvācchaṅkara-syeti” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 9). Like Vedic sacrifices, gāndharva was governed by strict commands regarding dos and donts. Every movement in it had to strictly follow the injunctions or vidhis laid down for it. These injunctions were preserved in the manuals on gāndharva (such as the *Dattilam*). Movements forbidden or not prescribed were to be avoided : “gāndharvavedoditavidhiprabandhapradhānatvādidaṁ gāndharvam” (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1); “gāndharvaśastram ca pramanamasyeti gāndharvam” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 8). For this very reason Abhinava has called gāndharva ‘pravṛttinivṛtti-pradhāna,’ governed by observances regarding what is applicable and what is non-applicable.

A properly performed Vedic sacrifice was said to result in adṛṣṭa (or apūrva, a concept synonymous with adṛṣṭa).¹ The same belief existed regarding gāndharva.

It would be worthwhile here to understand the concept of adṛṣṭa so as to be able to relate it properly to gāndharva and to understand a vital aspect of the spirit governing gāndharva. Apūrva or adṛṣṭa is a concept elaborated by the Mimāṃsakas and is intrinsically connected with the liturgical spirit behind the performance of Vedic rites and sacrifices.

The goal of Vedic sacrifices is the attainment of heaven, hence such ancient injunctions as : “yāgena svargam kuryāt : one should attain heaven through sacrifices” and “svargakāmo yajeta : one desirous of heaven should perform sacrifices”.

It was, however, argued by many opponents of Vedic sacrifices that a result (phala or kārya) in principle immediately follows a cause (kāraṇa) and when the cause is absent the result or phala also is non-existent. Now, a sacrifice is a destructible temporal activity with a definite termination and we know that at its end heaven does not necessarily result; the person performing a sacrifice continues to dwell in this very unheavenly world for years after. And if heaven were to result years after the death of the yajamāna, the performer, how can a yāga or sacrifice be called its cause, for the yāga had become non-existent when it terminated years before.² A

¹ अपूर्वं कर्मजन्या स्वर्गादिकलदाशवित्तः स्वर्गादिकलस्य प्रावत्तनीमूक्षमावस्था वा । इदमेव अदृष्टं नामः
see ‘अपूर्व’ in the Mimāṃsā Kośa.

² cf. ‘स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति’ वाक्ये समिद्याहृतस्वगमाधनत्वं यागे विधिप्रत्ययेन वोध्यते तच्च न सम्भवति, स्वर्गादेः
कालान्तरभावितया आशुविनाशिनो यागादेस्तदानीमगत्वेन कारणत्वासम्भवत्
—see “adṛṣṭa”, *Vācaspatyam*, p. 116.

cause which has been non-existent for years cannot result in a phala now; how then can one say that sacrifices cause heaven : katham vinaśvareṇa phalam kartavyam ? (*Mīmāṃsā Kośa* on 'adṛṣṭa').

In reply to this objection, it was argued by the proponents of Vedic karma, especially the *Mīmāṃsakas*, that yāgas generate a certain transcendental power or śakti which remains even when a yāga is over and has become non-existent. It is this śakti, accruing to the proformer of a yāga, which at the appropriate time results in heaven. This śakti was named apūrva (=adṛṣṭa) : "apūrvam nāma yāgāvāntaravayā-pārah, kiṃ vā, yāgajanyā kācicchaktih kartṛsamavāyini" (*Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistaraḥ*, 2, 1, 2 quoted under 'apūrva' in the *Mīmāṃsā Kośa*).¹

A total Vedic yāga is made up of many smaller or greater rites. Each small rite has to be performed strictly according to injunctions, for only then can the complete yāga be rendered faultless as a single entity or 'whole'. The apūrva resulting from the yāga as a whole is named the parama-apūrva, while that resulting from a rite within a yāga is the avāntara-apūrva. The parama-apūrva is the totality of avāntara-apūrvas.²

Thus every single rite down to its minutest detail had to be performed according to vidhi handed down by authorities. Mādhabācārya in his *Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha* gives an interesting example from the sacrifice called darśapūrṇamāsa. In this sacrifice husking of rice was a part of the rites performed. Now, rice particles can be separated from the chaff in many ways, even by using one's nails. However, it was enjoined that rice in this case should be husked through avaghāta, i.e., by bruising it in a wooden pestle with a mortar of the same material.³ This was an imperative vidhi ("yathā nakhavidalanādinā taṇḍulanispattisambhavat pākṣiko 'vaghato' vaśyam kartavya iti vidhinā niyamyate," *Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha*, Anandarama Series, p. 89). Only husked rice resulting from avaghāta could be used in certain rites to be performed during the darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice and only thus could the

¹ also cf.

अपूर्वं पुनरस्ति यत आरभ्य शिष्यते — 'स्वर्गकामो यजेत्' इति ।

इतरथा हि विधानं अनयंकं स्थात्, भङ्गत्वात् यागस्य

— *Sabara Bhāṣya*, 2, 1, 2, 5 (p. 390) as quoted in *Mīmāṃsā Kośa* under 'apūrva'.

also cf.

धर्मो विद्यवोधितं यागादेरिष्टसाधनत्वं फलकालपर्यन्तस्यायिस्वजन्यव्यापारं विनानुपन्नामत्यनुपत्तिज्ञानेन द्वारीभूतमपूर्वं कल्प्यते

—these are lines in continuation of those given in fn. 1, p. 191, from the *Vācaspatyam*.

² The Pūrva-*Mīmāṃsakas*, in fact, classified apūrva into three types—the parama-apūrva, the arṅga-apūrva and the kālika-apūrva. The first was the apūrva of a yāga as a whole and the other two were sub-apūrvas and depended upon the size and importance of particular rites to which they accrued :

तच्चापूर्वं त्रिविधं प्रधानापूर्वमङ्गापूर्वं कालिकापूर्वं चेति मीमांसकाः । तत्र दर्शपीर्णमासाद्यापूर्वं प्रधानापूर्वं तदेव परमापूर्वं, प्रयाजाद्यग्जन्यापूर्वमङ्गापूर्वं तदवान्तरं क्रियाकूटजन्यमपूर्वं कालिकापूर्वं

— see *Vācaspatyam* under apūrva.

³ See the *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Monier Williams, under 'avaghāta'.

avāntara apūrva be acquired which helped in forming the parama-apūrva: "avaghāt-aniśpannaireva taṇḍulaiḥ piṣṭapuroḍāśadikaraṇe vāntarāpūrvadvārā darśapārṇamā-sau paramāpurvamutpādayato nāparathā ato' pūrvamavaghātasya niyamahetuḥ" (*ibid.*).

Just as in a sacrifice, so in gāndharva, only a proper performance led to adṛṣṭa. Gāndharva was in fact a gānayajña—a sacrifice with musical movements taking the place of the usual rites. As in a yāga, each specific musical movement (which was here analogous to a rite) was to be performed strictly according to injunctions; the true adherence to the enjoined rules led to adṛṣṭa ("gāndharve niyamamadṛṣṭasiddhaye", A.B. on N.S. 28, 35).

We have already seen in the last chapter that the beats in gāndharva served an adṛṣṭa end.¹ The same was true of every single element of gāndharva. Let us take another instance: Abhinava points out that in the jātis (the svara-structures enjoined in gāndharva) the use of graha (the initial note) and other structural factors had to be made in a certain specified and distinct manner because only then could adṛṣṭa accrue: "grahādiyojanātu vaiśiṣṭyāvaham gāndharve tu viśiṣṭadṛṣṭasiddhaya" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 24).

Here is another telling example. In yāgas smaller avāntara-apūrvas gave rise to a big totality of adṛṣṭa. It followed from this that the larger a sacrifice and greater the number of smaller rites in it, the greater was the resulting adṛṣṭa. A similar principle applied in gītakas (complex tāla-structures ordained in gāndharva). A gītaka could be rendered in a short or compressed form as well as in a lengthened and spread-out form, known respectively as kulaka and bhedyaka (chedyaka in Datt.). These two types had three further sub-forms. Altogether, including the subclasses, the number of ways in which a gītaka could be rendered was quite sizeable (see kulaka and chedyaka, ch. IV). In some modes or renderings relatively fewer aṅgas or components were formed in comparison to lengthier renderings which included all possible aṅgas. Each of these possible modes of rendering a gītaka was equally governed by the rules or vidhis of gāndharva and each resulted in adṛṣṭa but there was a simple maxim governing the extent adṛṣṭa each could result in: the greater the number of components formed in a gītaka, the greater the resulting adṛṣṭa—"te ca sarva evopabhedā apyadṛṣṭopayogināḥ, aṅgabhūyastvam tu phalabhūyastvāyeti nyāyah" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 324).

This is not to say that gāndharva had no dṛṣṭa-phala or an immediately pleasing effect; a dṛṣṭa-phala was natural to it by virtue of the fact that gāndharva, too, was music. What distinguished it from other musical forms was its adṛṣṭa value and a strict formal regulation to that end. Thus Abhinava says: "gāndharva is a special body of musical forms regulated by strict laws of application and has both

¹ also, cf.

गान्धर्वे त्वदृष्टप्रधानतया शम्प्रातालमण्ननायानामिका लितन्तिवेणवामददक्षिणकरविभागादभ्युदयीति नियता एवावापादगो दशिता:

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 30 32.

an immediate and an adṛṣṭa goal.... "svaśatālapadaviśeṣātmakam pravṛttinivṛtti-pradhāna dṛṣṭādṛṣṭaphala.. (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1).

As the adṛṣṭa motive clearly reveals, gāndharva was a musical form seeped through and through with a transcendental ritualistic purpose. No such musical form is now extant in India. True, we have our devotional songs, but formally or structurally speaking they are not really different from other forms. What distinguishes them is merely the fact that they use words which are devotional or mystic or in other ways sacerdotal. The same forms are used in an erotic thumrī as well as a kīrtan or a devotional psalm. There is no specific form, distinct in all its aspects of svara, tāla and pada which is reserved as especially sacred. Music now consists of a large body of forms basically undistinguished as either spiritual or profane; these forms are adapted to profane or devotional songs purely on the basis of individual choice. There is no doubt a small repertoire of tunes which are generally associated with devotional songs, in every area of the country. But these do not have any strictly well-defined regulated form which can set them apart from other musical forms at large. Moreover they are not in their totality—besides their pada or word-content—governed by any sacred, transcendental or ritualistic motive. They can be changed or modified at will, as they often are. None of them approaches anywhere near the gāndharva in its strict and immutable principles of formation.

It could thus be of greatest interest to the history of Indian music to study gāndharva in detail, to know the range of its forms, its structural details and its relation to other musical forms.

Forms of music governed by a spirit similar to the one behind gāndharva have been known in other countries and cultures, too. The most significant and outstanding example seems to have been the musical forms of ancient Egypt. Plato, the ancient Greek philosopher, was a great admirer of these forms. He has made interesting remarks about them. He says that in Egypt all art-forms including music followed a set ordained inflexible pattern, in which no alteration was permitted. In other words, these forms were inviolable because (like gāndharva) they were divinely ordained. To quote Plato: "in Egypt they have a tradition that their ancient chants which have been preserved for so many ages are the compositions of the Goddess Isis."¹

In China, too, there existed a ritual-music which was played in imperial courts and in Confucian temples till recent times. This music was part of an elaborate ceremonial in which "the actions of the emperor, the words of the hymns, the number of musicians, their positions and their instruments and all the minutia of ritual were fixed by ceremonial law".² Musical movements were similarly governed and believed to have a more than human significance. Ritual music in China was said to relate to primordial universal principles.

¹ *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. by Jowett, Laws II, para 657.

² *Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. II, See under Chinese Music.

Europe, also, has an analogous form in the Gregorian chant. This is a form of liturgical church music sung during 'Roman' rites. Every ceremony has its fixed songs, sung to a music that has been maintained intact in an unchanged form since the late Middle ages.¹ Alec Robertson, the celebrated authority on Gregorian chant, says that it is impossible to understand Gregorian chant without understanding the spirit of Christian rituals or liturgy. For this music was seeped with the liturgical spirit.² European music since then has undergone fundamental changes—melody has given place to polyphony; an entirely new way of envisioning musical forms has developed and transformed all music. Yet, Gregorian chant still maintains its original melodic nature, it is still sung to the various modes of Medieval Europe (corresponding to our *thāṭ* or *mela-kartās*) and its forms have remained unaltered. For, a sacred ritualistic importance is attached to these forms—not only to the hymns sung but also to the very musical movements with which they are sung.

We now have an idea of the spirit motivating *gāndharva*. We can understand it in greater depth if we follow Abhinava who highlights the peculiarities of *gāndharva* by contrasting it with the musical forms he terms *gāna*. *Gāna* forms were profane forms and were malleable according to the demands of the theoric context in which they were employed. *Gāna* formed an integral part of the ancient Indian theatre and was employed within the actual plot being enacted. It helped in the unfoldment of the human drama depicted on the stage (Abhinava characterises *gāna* as : *naṭyasāmagrīmadhyanimajjitanijasvara*, A.B. on N.S. 33, 1). The musical structure of *gāna* was moulded to a comparatively lighter vein, for *gāna* was composed basically with an eye towards immediately pleasing effect (*raktyanusāreṇa pravṛttih*, *ibid.*). It was set to appropriate metres with the purpose of emphasising and accentuating the ethos of the moment (*rasabhāvocita vṛttajātinibaddham*, *ibid.*). With this end in view the composer had a free play with the music in composing *gāna*. *Gāna* was meant for the audience, its appeal was directed basically towards the viewer ("*tadavagamam pradhānam sāmājikam prati*", *ibid.*). But *gāndharva* was meant for the performers, the *adṛṣṭa* arising from *gāndharva* accrued, in principle, to the musicians, since *adṛṣṭa* (it is said) by its nature attaches to the performer (*gāndharvasya prayoktari prādhāny-enādṛṣṭaphalatvāt*).³

¹ Higin Angles writing on Gregorian Chant for the *New Oxford History of Music* (Vol. II) says : "it is a surprising fact that the spread of the neums (special musical notations for recording Gregorian Chant) over the different nations of Europe had no influence whatever on the essential nature of religious music. Variation is seen only in exterior details, where 'orthography' and musical spelling are modified. The neums, though they can be classified as the work of one school or another, never provide us with a 'particular national vernon'; they transmit the primitive chant with a melodic and even sometimes a rhythmic uniformity which is really astounding" (p. 105).

² See his account of the Gregorian Chant in the *Pelican History of Music*, Vol. I.

³ The printed A.B. on N.S. 33,1 reads :

गान्धर्वस्य प्राधान्येन दृष्टफलत्वात्

An akāra, it appears, has been dropped by an inadvertant scribe. A more appropriate reading would be प्राधान्येनादृष्टफलत्वात्. In the context where the line occurs Abhinava is contrasting the different phalas resulting from *gāna* and *gāndharva* (the sentence preceding the line being

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It may be worthwhile here to take a somewhat detailed look at the role of the ancient theoretic dhruvās. This will reveal their character and their function and will give us an idea of the spirit underlying gāna forms.

There were basically five dhruvās : prāveśikī, ākṣepikī, prāsādikī, antarā and niṣkrāmikī; these were also called praveśa-gāna, ākṣepa-gāna-prāsādika-gāna etc. (N.S. 6, 29-30). Within each of these were multiple sub-forms or samsthānas—“dhruvāstu pañcavijñeyā nānāsamsthāna-samśrayāḥ” (N.S. 32,9). The samsthānas differed according to different syllabic arrangements, number of letters, metric length, the rasa and mood as well as the particular stage character or nātyapātra who sang the poem forming the dhruvā : “samsthāne tu gurulaghushanniveśo’ kṣaramātreyattā rasabhāva-prakṛtibhedasca tadāśrayena prakāranānātvam” (A.B. on N.S. 32, 9)¹

As is well known, characters were divided into types and categories; kings and other high born exalted characters were the type (prakṛti) of uttama or jyeṣṭha-characters; lowly characters like the Vidūṣaka were adhama, while characters neither high nor low were madhyama. Each character, when singing a verse, moulded it to a suitable rendering of dhruvā befitting his position.²

Different junctures and occasions on the stage had their own dhruvās: prāveśiki—as the name suggests—was for entries; niṣkrāmiki for exits after acts; ākṣepikī was employed when there was a sudden intervention in the prevailing mood by a new element which thrust (ākṣipta) itself upon it; prāsādikī helped in building up or purifying the mood or rasa which was being presented: “prastutam rasavisesam yadā prasādayati nirmalikaroti” (A.B. on N.S. 32, 314) and antarā was needed to cover up a fault, blemish or transgression during a performance.³ It appears from

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discussed is अनेन कलबैलक्षण्यमपि व्याख्यातम्). He stresses the point that gāndharva has mainly (प्राधान्येन) an adr̥ṣṭa phala while gāna has a dṛṣṭa phala; it gives rise to immediate pleasure. Now adr̥ṣṭa phala mainly accrues to the performer (प्रयोक्तरि). Mīmāṃsakas have called it कृत्समवाचिः; they say : कोऽपि कर्मणः अतिशयं कर्त्तरिनित्यमश्चितः (Mīmāṃsa Kośa—see apūrvā)

However as the line stands, it may yet be made to accord with the context by being construed as : “the fruit of gāndharva (which is transcendental merit) is seen (i.e. known) to accrue mainly to the performer (as contrasted with gāna the fruit of which, being immediate pleasure, accrues mainly to the sāmājikas).”

¹ Also in the N.S. itself :

ध्रुवास्तु पञ्चविज्ञेया नानावृत्तसमुद्भवाः । यथास्थानरसोपेता ह्युत्तमाधममध्यमाः ॥
—N.S. 32, 35.

Uttama, adhama and madhyama refers to ‘exalted’ ‘lowly’ and ‘middling’ characters appearing on the stage.

² एतेषां चापि वैक्षयामि विधि प्रकृतिसम्भवम् । ज्येष्ठानां वृत्तसंयुक्तम् कुर्यादादी तथैव च ।
विवरं चैव मध्यानां नीचानामेककं तथा ॥
—N. S. 32, 18.

also मध्यमोत्तमयोः कार्यं चतुरशावसानिकी । मध्याधमानां कर्त्तव्या त्र्यशा चैवावसानिकी ॥
—N. S. 32, 23.

³ नानारसार्थ्युक्ता नृणां या गीयते प्रवेशे तु । प्रावेशिकी तु नाम्नः विज्ञेया सा ध्रुवा तज्ज्ञः ॥
ऋममुल्लङ्घ विधिज्ञः क्रियते या द्रुतलयेन नाट्यविद्या । आक्षेपिकी ध्रुवासौ द्रुता स्थिता वाऽपि विज्ञेया ॥
याच रसान्तरमुपगतं माक्षे पवशात् कृतं प्रसादयति । रागप्रसादजननीं विद्यात् प्रासादिकीं तां तु ॥
विषण्णे मूर्च्छिते भ्राते वस्त्रामरणसंयमे । दोषप्रच्छादना या च गीयते सान्तरा ध्रुवा ॥
—N. S. 32, 311-315.

Abhinava's clarification that antarā was employed to cover up a slip on the part of an actor due to physical over-exertion or mental disturbance or confusion. The antarā dhruvā—which must have been sung in the background, as the actor himself was momentarily disabled—evidently gave a performer time to control and compose himself and adjust his costume.¹

Abhinava has given us interesting examples from current plays illustrating the actual use of the ākṣepikī dhruvā. These will give us a somewhat concrete idea of the function of dhruvās and of their purpose.

In the play, *Udāttarāghava*, where Rāma is the hero, a scene occurs in which the prevailing mood is that of love (prastuta sṛṅgārakrama); suddenly Rāvaṇa, a picture of fury, enters upon the scene, totally subverting the ruling ethos of sṛṅgāra and addresses Rāma angrily in a verse:

Stop hermit ! Go not now.
You have given me extreme pain
Humiliating my sister,
The mortification suffered by my kinsmen,
Khara and others, acts like the wind
Fanning the flame of my fury,
It can only be quenched
By the blood spurting from the breast
Of your mutilated frame.

Because of the fiery nature of this new intruding sentiment, the above verse was sung to a variety of ākṣepikī dhruvā having a fast tempo (ākṣipyamāna rasasya dīptatayā drutā).²

In the well-known play *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, we are confronted at the beginning of the third act with Aśvatthāman, full of eagerness for battle and desirous of watching his father vanquish the enemies in the raging Mahābhārata battle. Suddenly a voice speaks from the background (nepathyā): "Alas ! Where now is your father!" The voice was that of Droṇa's charioteer who had come to report of Droṇa's death in battle. This is an example of the sudden intrusion of poignant pathos in a scene dominated by the heroic sentiment (*vīrarasa*). On this occasion—as befitting

¹ अनुकर्तुं यदनाशङ्कितधनविषयादत्युद्धतप्रयोगश्रमवशादा भ्रमादिदोषसम्भावना । वस्त्राभरणावकाशदित्सया या गीयते सात्तरा ध्रुवा

—A. B. on N. S. 32, 315.

² आक्षेपिकी । तत्राखिष्यमाणरसस्य दीप्ततया द्रुता ।
यथा उदात्तराघवे रामस्य प्रस्तुतशृङ्गार क्रमोल्लङ्घनेन
अरे तापस स्थिरी (रो) भव । व्वेदानीं गम्यते ।

स्वसुर्मम पराभवप्रसव एकदत्तच्यथ ।

(खरप्रभूति वान्धवोद्दलनवातसन्धुक्षितः ।

तवेह विदलीभवत्तनुसमुलच्छाशितच्छल

क्षराच्छुरित वक्षसः प्रशममेतु कोपानलः ॥)

इत्यादिना (रावणवाक्येन) ।

—A.B. on N.S. 32, 313

(A.B. does not contain the last two lines of the verse quoted)

the sudden introduction of Karuṇa rasa where Vira was ruling—the ākṣepikī was rendered with a slow tempo.¹

In the *Kuṭṭanimatam* of Dāmodaragupta (8th Cent. A.D.), we find an extremely interesting description of a contemporary performance of the first act of Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*. An account of it would be interesting in this context. The performance began with the flute player giving the sthānakā while the prāveśikī dhruvā was rendered as a dvipada in the rāga bhinna-pañcama.² Then entered the sūtradhāra.³ The sūtradhāra danced around the stage to the accompaniment of a dhruvā with appropriate tāla and rhythm set to eight kalās (an ancient measure of musical time). He called the naṭī to the stage and then began the time-honoured prastāvanā or prologue with the two characters, naṭī and sūtradhāra, discussing household affairs⁴. Next, having indicated the entrance of a leading character—in this case Yaugandharāyaṇa—the sūtradhāra moved a few steps with the grace of a dance movement and made his exit along with his wife to the accompaniment of the 'exit song'—which must have been the niṣkrāmikī dhruvā.⁵ At the end of the act, the hero, king Udayana, moved around the stage with graceful steps and took his exit along with the other characters. The niṣkrāmikī dhruvā was rendered during his exit.⁶

The purpose of the antarā dhruvā was to distract viewers from any lapse on the part of performers. It was thus not a part of the action; its words could never be pre-composed, for who could anticipate the occasion when an unforeseen break in the play would happen? Antara was a dramatic clutch, so to say, on which the

¹ यथा ('द्रुता') वाक्याकर्णनेन वीररसस्याक्षेप्यस्य तु रसस्य भासृष्टे । 'स्थितेति' विलम्बिता । यथाऽशवत्याम्नो युद्धवीरे क्रमोल्लंघनेन कुतोऽयापि ते तातः ; इति नेपथ्यश्रवणाद तस्य करुणरसस्य

—A. B. on N. S. 32, 313.

² No pūrvvaraṅga was, evidently, performed in the instance noted by Dāmodaragupta. Yet a pūrvvaraṅga must have preceded the performance of the play when rendered in any full-fledged performance. Dāmodaragupta describes the play as presented by a dance-teacher (nartanācārya) and his troupe before a prince in a private showing. Only a single act of the play was presented, the idea being to reveal before the prince the artistry of the nartanācārya as a trainer and a director. The Pūrvvaraṅga, which was never part of the dramatic plot as such, was in this instance not shown; but in a full-scale performance of the complete play, pūrvvaraṅga, too, must have formed a part of it.

³ वांशिकदत्तस्थानक उद्ग्राहिताभिनन्पञ्चमे सम्यक् । प्रांवशिकया ध्रुवया द्विष्टे ग्रहणान्तरेऽविशसूनी ॥
—*Kuṭṭanimattam*, 880.

⁴ अट कलापरिमाणां ध्रुवां परिक्रम्य ताललययुक्तम् । आहूय नटीं कृत्वा तथा समस्वगृह कायंसंलापम् ॥
—*ibid.*, 882.

⁵ सूचितपात्रागमनः विचद्गत्वा पदानि लिलानि । निश्चन्नाम गृहिण्या सार्धं निःसरणीतेन ॥
—*ibid.*, 883.

⁶ चित्रैश्चरणन्यासैः परिक्रमं कृत्वा निष्कामिक्या ध्रुवया विनियंगी नायकोऽपि सह सर्वे: ॥
—*ibid.*, 927.

We meet with certain technical terms in the above description :

- (i) sthānakā is a term of uncertain meaning. It probably meant an accompaniment where the flute player indicated to the singer the proper pitch or sthāna of the note to be sung.
- (ii) Bhinnapañcama was an ancient grāma-rāga like the bhinnaśaḍja, an oft-mentioned form of this variety.
- (iii) Dvipada seems to be the same as a dvipadī, used also by Kālidāsa for songs in his *Vikramorvāśiyam*.

continuity of sentiment—if not of action—could rest and a break in the audience's state of absorption with the plot be avoided. Antarā was rendered with meaningless words ('śuṣkākṣara': somewhat like the syllabic formations that are used in a modern tarāṇā) because meaning was quite unnecessary and could only be harmful since any new lyric suddenly intruding itself into the play was bound to introduce elements of alien feeling or sentiment, foreign to the plot. One of the antarā dhruvās current during Abhinava's time was known as the latikā : "Kevalam chidrācchādanamātraprāyojanāyāmasyāṁ na sārthakapadakadambayojanamupagītiśuṣkākṣaraireveyāṁ lakṣye ca latikadināmnā prasiddhā ca gīyata iti nāṭyadharmaprāyeyam" (A.B. on N.S. 32, 315).

Bharata has given many examples of verses that were sung to dhruvās in his days (N.S. 32, 47-151; 160-177; 181-235; 255-301). But these are loose verses ('muktakas') quoted outside the dramatic context and do not reveal the intimate relation between the dhruvā and the theatre as effectively as the examples from Abhinava and Dāmodaragupta do. Their illustrations show that plays in ancient times were incomplete without dhruvā. It is not surprising, therefore, that Bharata concludes the chapter on dhruvā with the statement that "one's very first effort should be directed towards the song, for the song is the bed on which rests the theatre".¹ He stresses his point with a metaphor: "Just as the night is illumined by the stars, similarly the dhruvās rendered with due rasa at appropriate occasions lighten up a dramatic performance."

tathā rasakṛtā nityāṁ dhruvāḥ prakaranāśritaḥ
nakṣtrāṇīva gagāṇāṁ nāṭyamudyotayanti tāḥ

(N.S. 32, 430)

The dhruvās have a modern parallel in the nāṭyapadas of the traditional Marathi stage and also in the Hindi films (to give a more vulgar example). These provide instances of a kind of music which, like the ancient dhruvā-gāṇa, is governed by the poetic content and the mood befitting the scene being depicted; musical forms in them are inspired basically by the fancy of the composer seeking a popular appeal; they are often derivative of older, more classical and rule-bound forms: this last observation being more true of Marathi nāṭyapadas and only rarely so of film-songs.

¹ गीते प्रयत्नः प्रथमस्तु कार्यः ।
शब्दांहि नाट्यस्य वदन्ति गीतम् ॥

—N.S. 32, 436.

CHAPTER V

GĀNDHARVA AND GĀNA

With the observations made in the last two sections in mind, let us turn to a more detailed examination of gāndharva and its distinction with gāna. Abhinava has taken great care to differentiate gāndharva and gāna from a comprehensive structural and theoretical view-point, both as to their form and spirit.

He analyses a fundamental four-fold difference (*vailakṣanya*) between gāndharva and gāna :

1. they differ as to the nature of their formal structures (*svarupāt*) : they are composed of a distinct set of svara, pada and tāla.
2. they differ as to the end of purpose that they serve and consequently also in the nature of their resulting reward or fruit (*phalāt*) : gāndharva has an *adṛṣṭa*-end while gāna aims at an immediately pleasing aesthetic effect —a *dṛṣṭa*-end.
3. they differ as to the occasion of their application or employ (*kālāt*) : gāndharva is used in the *pūrvvaraṅga*, gāna within the plot of a play.
4. and lastly, they differ as to their distinct functions (*dharmāt*).¹

Abhinava has discussed these points of difference at length in the beginning of his commentary on the 33rd chapter of the *Nātyaśāstra*. Moreover, throughout his *Abhinava Bhāratī*, wherever the context touches upon gāndharva, he comments upon some aspect of its distinct nature.

Where distinctions between two forms are concerned, elements relating to their *svarūpa* or structure are the most fundamental. Musical forms consist of svara, pada and tāla : gāndharva and gāna were different in all three respects. We shall take up svara first, for this, as Dattila has said, was the primary element.

Abhinaya's illustrations reveal some very basic differences pertaining to svara between gāna and gāndharva :

1. First and foremost : in gāndharva the rule governing the distance in śrutiis between one svara and another had to be rigidly maintained : ṛṣabha was always on the third śruti above ṣadja, gāndhāra on the second śruti above ṛṣabha and so on. This arrangement of śruti-distances between svaras had a slightly altered form in the madhyama-grāma, but

1. नन्देवं गान्धर्वंस्य कि लक्षणमुक्तमध्यायचतुष्टयेषु नृनिना ।

तथाप्यनुसन्धानवद्यो (द्यं) महाभागं बोधयितुमनुसन्धीयते । स्वरतालपदविशेषात्मकं प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तप्रधानदृष्टादृष्टफल-सामवेदप्रभवमनादिकालनिवृत्तमन्योपरञ्जनं गुणताविहीनं गान्धर्वमिति स्वरूपफलात् कालाद् धर्माच्च विद्यमानमवश्यं गानवैलक्षण्यं भेदैकसम्पादनम्

—A. B. on N. S. 33, 1.

here, too, the seven notes in the octave were formed according to a strict number of intervening śrutis. True, śrutis in an octave were recognised to be twenty-two yet only seven of these became svaras. Svaras were nine, if we include the intermediate (*sādhāraṇa*) svaras—antarā-gāndhāra and kākali-niṣāda—but these were quite weak notes and had no important musical function : they could not, for instance, become amṛśas or the main governing notes in a jāti; their use was restricted to extremely rare occasions. There were, thus only nine musically significant intervals or svaras recognised in gāndharva (with a slight difference in each of the two grāmas) and with these alone could svara-structures be formed.

Gāndharva evinces a very rigid selectivity; since other śrutis were also felt as musically expressive and were, indeed, copiously used in gāna forms. In gāna no rigidly fixed law regarding śruti-intervals (*antarāla-niyama*) between notes seem to have been honoured.

Abhinava illustrates this difference in the śuti-structure between gāna and gāndharva by referring to actual renderings of musical forms. Indeed, he appeals in this matter primarily to the evidence of actual practise. He remarks : “what I say is only an elaboration of what can be directly recognised. But for those who are not aware of theoretical or conceptual aspects, even facts known from direct experience can remain (unrelated) as in the knowledge of a child (who knows facts without perceiving their significance).”¹ With this exhortation Abhinava proceeds to remark : In gāna profuse movements are made over kākali and antarā śrutis (*i.e.* intermediate śrutis between notes) and thus a large number of śrutis are utilized.² He quotes the example of mālava-kaiśika which apparently had a greater number of svaras with a four-śruti interval than was permitted in gāndharva and further observes : “so large is the variety of śrutis utilised in the svaras with which rāga, bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, deśī, mārga and other forms (utilised in composing gāna) are rendered that any number of examples can be adduced.”³

In gāndharva, on the contrary, it was imperative that the ordinance regarding śruti-intervals which assigned each svara its well-defined place in the octave or its sthāna be faithfully observed, because this ordinance, says Abhinava, in its essence, formed the base for determining amṛśas (the main notes in a jāti) and thus was responsible for the different duration of performance that was to be accorded to different notes.⁴

¹ उक्तमपि च प्रतीतमनुचितीयते । प्रतीतानामप्यलक्षणज्ञानां वालविज्ञानवद्वेद्यम् ।
—A. B. on N. S. 33, 1.

² गाने तु काकल्यन्तरश्रुतिपरिभ्राणाद् विचित्र श्रुति ग्रहणम् ।
—Ibid., 33, 1.

³ स्वराणां मालवकैश्चिके चतुर्थुतिज्ञस्य दर्शनात् कियदा रागभाषा विभाषा देशीमार्दिगतानां स्वराणां श्रुतिवैचित्र्यं ब्रूमः ।
—A. B. on N. S. 33, 1.

⁴ कि चान्तरालनियमोऽन्तःप्रमाणस्थानस्वरकालांश वधानं (? शात्) सारतया गान्धर्वोऽवश्यसंवेद्यः नत्वेवं गाने ।
The manuscript reading is faulty. The printed edition suggests a correction : ‘वधानं (शाद्) सारतया’ which is not happy, as it does not convey the sense of contrariness between gāndharva and gāna which is obviously intended here.

2. In their primary forms the jātis of gāndharva were constructed with seven notes. But they could also be rendered hexatonic (śāḍava) or pentatonic (auḍuva) by dropping one or two notes. Dropping of notes in each jāti was governed by specific rules and injunctions. One general rule was that in jātis of the madhyama-grāma, pañcama was never dropped; in those of śāḍja-grāma, dhaivata was indispensable while madhyama could never be dropped from any jāti of either grāma. Besides, specific injunctions (on the basis of amṣa) regarding each particular jāti had also been decreed.¹

But in gāna any note could be dropped at will to render a form śāḍava or auḍuva; there was no rule governing the process. The principal aim was the creation of the desired dramatic effect, the rest was left to the choice of the musician. Madhyama could never be omitted in gāndharva; but it was omitted in forms such as the bhinnaśadja (a grāma-rāga) used in gāna.²

The indispensability of madhyama was a feature specifically gāndharvic. It seems to have been borrowed from sāmagāna. Bharata speaks of this characteristic as being peculiar to gāndharva and sāma :

sarvasvarāṇām pravaro hyanāśi madhyamah smṛtaḥ
gāndharvakalpe³ vihitāḥ sāmasvapi ca madhyamah (N. S. 28, 65)

“Madhyama is the chief of all notes and is known as indispensable—it has been so decreed in the laws of gāndharva and in sāma songs.”

Dattila, too, says, that madhyama is indispensable in both the grāmas (Datt. 20). Other ācāryas of gāndharva must have made similar injunctions.⁴ We shall later enter upon some discussions as to the nature of the central position assigned to madhyama in gāndharva.

3. A jāti could never drop more than two notes because an octave with less than five notes was not permissible in gāndharva. But in gāna a four-note octave was not unknown. Bharata states : “in avakṛṣṭa-dhruvā a four-svara formation is also employed.”⁵ Abhinava comments : “the formations (of only

¹ See the jātis, ch. IV.

² लोपोऽपि नियतगान्धर्वदर्शितो ग्रामद्वयभेदेन च जात्यंशभेदेन दर्शितः । गाने तु रक्त्यनुसारेण प्रवेन्ते (वृत्ते) रसावनियतः । तद्योपि गान्धर्वे यस्मादनाशित्वमेव समर्थितं तस्यापि मध्यमस्य भिन्नपद्भजकालिन्यां लोपः ।

—A. B. on N. S. 33, 1.

also

भाषादेशीमार्गादिषु मध्यमस्यापि विनाशित्वमभ्यूपगतं भवति ।

—Ibid. 28, 64-65.

³ The word कल्प is here explained by Abhinava in a somewhat different way. His remarks are interesting and we shall discuss them later in the chapter.

⁴ Viśākhila had stated that Pañcama in the śāḍja-grāma and dhaivata in the madhyama-grāma were indispensable notes. Regarding madhyama, he must have ordained that it was indispensable in both grāmas. This seems implied in Abhinava's following statement :

अन्ये तु ध्वनेतपञ्चमयोर्पार्श्वमिभागेन यदनाशित्वं विशाखिलादिभिरुक्तं नानुमन्यन्ते मुनेर्मध्यम एवाविनाशी मत इत्याहुः ।

—A. B. on N. S. 28, 64-65.

⁵ पट्टस्वरस्य प्रयोगोऽस्ति तथा पञ्चस्वरस्य च । चतुःस्वरप्रयोगोऽपि ह्यवकृष्टध्रुवास्त्रिवह ॥

—N. S. 28, 77.

hexatonic and pentatonic octaves) is a binding rule pertaining to gāndharva alone; but in dhruvā songs, used in a dramatic context, a four-note octave is also employed.” He adds that the avakṛṣṭā dhruvā (with the four-note octave) was sung during pathetic scenes ; its metric form was dominated by long syllables.¹

4. Both grāmas had consonances between certain notes, known as samvāda. Notes standing in the samvāda relation with each other were called samvādīs. Samvāda was based upon a natural harmonic and acoustic law² : all notes standing in a relation with each other as that obtaining between the tonic and the natural fourth (śadja-madhyama-bhāva) or the tonic and the natural fifth (śadja-pañcama-bhāva) were samvādīs. The ancients expressed this by saying that two notes which were nine śrutis or thirteen śrutis apart from each other were mutually consonant or samvādīs.

In the śadja-grāma, śadja had a samvāda with pañcama; ṛṣabha with dhaivata and gāndhāra had a samvāda with niṣāda (these three pairs being 13 śrutis apart); śadja had another samvāda with madhyama (the two being 9 śrutis apart). The same samvādas obtained in madhyama-grāma except that there could be no samvāda between sa and pa (they being only 12 śrutis apart); but instead a samvāda here existed between ṛṣabha and pancama.³

A general maxim observed in gāndharva was that when a note in a jāti was taken as the amśa, the dominant note, then its samvādi was not omitted in making the jāti auḍuva or śāḍava—pentatonic or hexatonic. Abhinava observes : “samvādīnaḥ tata eva na jātucillopo kāryah : the samvādi should never be dropped” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 23); and again : “yena prakāreṇayāḥ samvādikramo na lupyate sa yatno gāndharve kāryah : one should endeavour to observe the maxim of not dropping samvādi notes in gāndharva” (A.B. *ibid.*).

But in musical forms like rāga, bhāṣā etc., employed in gāna, the samvādi maxim was not binding either in rendering melodies śāḍava or auḍuvita. Just as one could, in gāna forms, move over intermediary śrūti-s at will, similarly one could drop

¹ ‘अस्तीति’.....तमाचक्षमाणो गान्धवे तन्नियममाह इदेति । यदिम् नाट्योप्रयोगि व्रुवागानं तत्र चतुःस्वरप्रयोगाऽपि...
(कु) नोत्याह । अवकृष्टामु करणोपयोगितीपु गृह्णायामु ध्रुवामु ।

—A. B. on N. S. 28, 77.

² Abhinava's demonstration brings out this element :

वीणायां च पड्जादिस्थानेऽङ्गुल्यं तरपीडनपूर्वकमिहन्यमाने तत्सम्पाद्यमिति व्यवहारः ।

“on the vīnā if a note such as the śadja is plucked while stopping the string with another finger, then it (the samvādi) is produced on its own. This can be observed in practice.” The process can, indeed, be demonstrated. On plucking a string many of the sympathetic harmonics of the note to which the string is turned are naturally sounded. The harmony of the natural fifth and the natural fourth being more prominent can be easily demonstrated as Abhinava describes.

³ ययोऽच नवकत्रयोदशकमन्तरं तावन्योन्यं संवादिनो । तदथा पड्जपञ्चमी, कृष्णभैवतौ गान्धारनिपादवन्तो पड्जमध्माविति पड्जग्रामे । मध्यमग्रामेऽयेवमेव । पड्जपञ्चमवजं पञ्चमपर्यभयोऽचात्र संवादः । अत्र इलोकः

संवादो मध्यमग्रामे पञ्चमपर्यमस्य च ॥ पड्जग्रामे तु पड्जस्य संवादः पञ्चमस्य च ।

—N. S. 28, 22-23.

See also Datt. 18.

whatever note one deemed fit for creating the desired effect. Abhinava adduces evidence from actual practice in saying that "even with ṣadja as the amṣa, pañcama is, indeed, dropped to render forms (born of the ṣadja-grāma) pentatonic".¹

5. The sādhāraṇas, the two intermediary notes of the gāndharva octave, were, we have observed, rarely used. When used they followed strict ordinances. Bharata gives an ordinance regarding the occasion of their employ : "there are three jātis", he says, "where the learned have enjoined the use of the sādhāraṇa notes; these are : madhyamā, ṣadja-madhyamā and pañcamī. The amṣas (which permit the use of sādhāraṇa in these jātis) should be known as ṣadja, madhyama and pañcama".² Two of these three jātis mentioned were renderable with a great number of alternate notes as amṣas. In the ṣadja-madhyamā all seven notes in turn could become amṣas and in madhyamā, five notes, excepting ni and ga were the permissible amṣa notes. Pañcamī could be rendered with two amṣas : ri and pa. In the first two jātis the sādhāraṇa notes could be used only when the ruling amṣas were either ṣadja or madhyama or pañcama. Abhinava says : "ṣadja-madhyamā saptāmīśā tatra niṣādagāndhārayostāvadaṁśayoh nāsti sādhāraṇam; samapeṣu sātiśayastatprayogaḥ, madhyamāyā apyeṣa vidhiḥ, sā hi dviśruti-varjam pañcamāmīśāmīśā" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 44-45). This may be translated as : "the jāti ṣadjamadhyamā can have all its seven notes as amṣas. When either ni or ga is the amṣa, the sādhāraṇa notes are not to be used. Only with sa, ma and pa (as amṣas) is their extended employ permitted. This very rule applies also to the jāti madhyamā, which has five amṣas, barring the two two-śruti notes, i.e. ni and ga."

In the jāti pañcamī, when pañcama was its amṣa and gāndhāra was dropped in order to render the jāti ṣāḍava, then the antara-gāndhāra could sometimes be used as an extremely weak note.³

6. Jātis were governed by a host of rules which enjoined the initial and final notes, the strong and weak notes and other structural elements. Further, the melody in every jāti followed a specific path characteristic of that jāti. This was known as the antaramārga (internal path); it manifested the rūpa of a jāti (N.S. 28, 75). The analogous term in current Hindustani music is 'chalan', as in usages like the 'chalan of a rāga'. 'Chalan' indicates the specific movements that manifest a rāga. In gāndharva, antaramārga followed a strictly codified course laid down in authoritative manuals (antaramārga' pi vidhāyivargā gāndharvavedagītāḥ, A.B. on N. S. 33, 1).

¹ गाने तु साधारणवाशत् संचारः श्रुतिनां कैश्चिद्वेव चेत्संबाद्यस्ति ततः संबाद्यनुपलपनमंशेन स्वधर्मोपलब्ध इति संबाद्यन्तरं लुप्त्यानाम् । तथा च पड्जादिभ्यपदेशः, पड्जेऽप्येषो पञ्चमलोपकृतभीडुविकं भजत एव
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 23.

² स्वरसाधारणतास्तिस्थो ज्ञेयास्तु जातयः । मध्यमा पड्जमध्या च पञ्चमी चैव सूरिभिः ॥
आसामंशास्तु विज्ञेया: पड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः । यथास्वं दुर्बलतरं व्यत्यासात्वत्र पञ्चमी ॥
Note A.B.: तत्वासां कांशः साधारणविषय इत्याह आसामंशा इति ।

³ पञ्चम्यास्तु दुर्बलतरमावणो आये — त्रितं येन पञ्चम एवास्यां काकल्यन्तरयोगप्रसंगाद् स्यामन्यदाह 'दुर्बलतरस्यव्यत्यासे'
दुर्बलत्वात् कर्तव्यम् । तेन पाडवकारिणो गान्धारस्य स्थाने दुर्बलेनान्तरस्वरेण यत्र भाव्यं ततामीदुर्बलतरः कर्तव्यः ।
औडुविकारिनिपादस्थाने दुर्बलतरकालीसङ्गो दुर्बलः काकली कर्तव्य इति ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 45.

In gāna, antaramārga was not governed by rigid laws; creating an aesthetically charming movement was the primary aim of antaramārga here (śobhānurodhā eva tatra karaṇam, A.B. *ibid*).

7. Ancient music—like most modern classical music—used three octaves known as mandra, madhya and tāra. All jātis moved over a span of three octaves but they were not permitted to move over the entire range at will; there were rules to restrict the movement of each jāti both in the tāra and mandra (N.S. 28, 70-71). But forms like the grāma-rāgas, utilised in gāna, had no such restriction and a performer could move over mandra and tāra at will.¹

8. We have spoken in the last chapter of the ancient tānas. Seven-note mūrchanās when rendered hexatonic or pentatonic became tānas. This rule alone can give quite a number of tānas. In the ṣadja-grāma there were seven mūrchanās; by dropping each of the seven notes successively from the seven mūrchanās, one could obtain 49 possible śādava tānas. Similarly in the madhyama-grāma, too, there could be 49 śādava tānas. The pentatonic process could give many more tānas. Every mūrchanā in a single grāma, by successively dropping different groups of two notes, could give 21 tānas; thus seven mūrchanās could give 147 tānas for each grāma. There could then be possible the number of 392 tānas, śādava and auḍuva, in the two grāmas. But in gāndharva, only 84 of these tānas were permissible : "tatra mūrchanāśritāstānāścaturaśitih" (N.S. 28, 33). Only certain notes or groups of two notes could be dropped from either grāma. For making śādava tānas in the ṣadja-grāma only sa ri ni and pa could be dropped and in madhyama-grāma only sa ri and ga could be dropped. Thus in ṣadja-grāma there could be only 28 śādava tānas and in madhyama-grāma 21, giving a total of 49 śādava tānas for the two grāmas : "lakṣaṇam tu ṣaṭsvarāṇāṁ saptavidham ṣadjarṣabhanīśāda pañcamahīnāscatvārah ṣadja grāme madhyama grāme tu ṣadjarsabha gāndhāra hīna strayah evamete ṣaṭsvarāḥ sarvāsu mūrchanāsu kriyamāṇā bhavantyekonapacāñśattānāḥ" (N.S. *ibid*). Similarly, for making auḍuva tānas only three groups of two notes could be dropped; in the ṣadja-grāma these were : sa-pa, ri-pa, and ni-ga and in the madhyama-grāma : ni-ga and ri-dha. These gave a total of 35 auḍuva tānas in the two grāmas : "pañcasvarāṇāṁ tu pañcavidhameva lakṣaṇam—ṣadja grāme ṣadjapañcamahīnāḥ, āṛṣabha pañcamahīnāḥ, niṣādavadvagāndhāra hīna iti trayah; madhyama grāme tu gañdhāra niṣādavadvagāndhāra hīna iti dvau, evamete pañcasvarāḥ sarvāsu mūrchanāsu kriyamanastānāḥ pancatrimśadbhavanti" (N.S. *ibid*). Thus there was in gāndharva a total number of 84 tānas including both śādava and auḍuva.²

¹ Abhinaya commenting on N.S. 28, 70, where a general rule regarding tāra movement in jātis is enjoyed, comments :

इहेति जातिषु ग्रामरागादौ नायं नियम इति विभावः

² तत्र मूर्च्छिता श्रिता इति । मर्छनामाश्रिता यतस्तासामेव तेऽवस्थाविशेषाः । तत्र सरिनिप इत्येते पामन्यतमेन हीनाः पट् (स्वर) मूर्छनाः मातृ चतुर्भिर्ण ल्लवे अष्टाविंशतिस्तानाः । सरिगइत्येते पामन्यतमेन हीना मध्य(म) मूर्छना एकविंशतिस्ताना इत्येकान्तपञ्चाशत् पाडवाः । श्रीदुक्तिकास्तु पड्जग्रामे एकविंशतिः अन्यत तु चतुर्दशेति पञ्चविंशतिः । उभयतः चतुरणीति —A.B. on N.S. 28, 33.

Forms used in *gāna* were bound by no such rule. In *gāna* any note or group of notes could be dropped at will. In fact at times more than two notes could be dropped if desired as in the *avakṛṣṭā-dhruva*.

9. Beside *tānas*, there were *kūṭatānas*—permutations of two or more notes in all possible disarray. We have seen in the last chapter, that the seven notes of an octave could be permuted and combined in 5040 ways. Using two notes one can have only two combinations; with three notes the possible combinations are six, with four notes 24; with five notes 120 and with six notes 720. Seven notes give 5040 *tānas*. In *gāna* all possible combinations, using as few as two notes upto all the seven could be utilized: “yadaivam svarasvarūpasampattim gāne tu dvisvarāt prabhṛti pūrṇasvaraparyantam dvividhā śodhā caturvīṁśatidhā tathā viṁśasaptasatadhā catvāriṁśatapañcasahasradheti kathitanityā yaḥ kūṭanabhedastatkṛtam svaravaicitryam varṇavrttināmeva ca hyetat” (A.B. on N.S. 33. 1). No restrictive limitation obtained (“na hi iyattā kāciditi sthitam” A.B. *ibid*). To quote Abhinava again: “melodies like grāma-rāgas and bhāṣās (used in *gāna*) could be manifested with ease (*jhaṭiti*) by rendering the notes of its mūrchanā in a successive and non-successive (i.e. *kūṭatāna*) order. For this reason musical forms such as the grāma-rāgas utilised mūrchanās and *kūṭatānas* in multiple combinations.”¹

One of the most prominent features of *gāndharva* that emerges from Abhinava's comments is that it used only seven svaras or at the most nine. This was, evidently, not because other intervals in the octave were not cognised as musically significant; for among the 22 śrutis others besides the seven svaras of *gāndharva*, were perceived as musically expressive and were used in *gāna*. The selectivity exercised in *gāndharva* must have given it a limited range of musical scales : amounting only to seven (or at the most nine) produced by taking each of the seven (or nine) svaras separately as the tonic.²

What was the reason behind this selectivity? Could it be that only certain musical scales, when rendered according to certain melodic laws, were considered as suitable for expressing the sacred and the holy?

This appears plausible. It has been recognised since ancient times that different musical scales express and arouse different basic impulses in man. Plato stresses this repeatedly. In the Laws (*Laws* II, para 655) he states: “the figures and melodies which are expressive of virtue of soul or body or of images of virtue are without exception good, and those which are expressive of vice are the reverse of good.” Again in the following dialogue he reasserts:

“Athenian: And now do we still hold to our former assertion, that rythms and music in general are imitations of good and evil characters in men ? What say you ?

¹ Cf. ग्रामरागभाषादौ । पूर्णत्वे संपूर्णक्रममयुक्तमूच्छन्ना प्रयोगे इटिति रागप्राप्तः, अपूर्णत्वे तु रागतान प्रयोगवर्जनम् । प्रत्येकं ग्रामरागादौ सर्वेषां मूर्छन्नादीनां बहुधा प्रयोग इति मूर्छन्नानानात्वं युक्तम् । नहि इयता काचिदिति स्थितम् । —A.B. on N.S. 28, 34.

² Notes within each of the grāmas were fixed at precise intervals and their fixed śruti-interval with one another could not be changed in *gāndharva*. The only way to arrive at different scales could be by taking different notes as tonics. The process can be easily demonstrated on a harp tuned to an octave with seven svaras.

Cleinias : That is the only doctrine which we can admit."
(Laws VII, para 799).

Plato and his master Socrates were advocates of the virtuous and the just life. The qualities of virtue and justice, they thought, should permeate into every human activity including the arts. Music of all the arts occupied a primary position in Plato's scheme of things. Music was 'the tamer of the soul', 'guide to virtue', the art which softened the inner harshnesses and made man prone to the just life. Education in music was, according to him, a must for every budding citizen. But not all music qualified. Plato wanted to banish music which was not expressive of the positive values in life and human character from his 'republic' or the just State. There was in his State no need of 'lamentations and strains of sorrow' and the 'harmonies expressive of sorrow'. Such where the 'harmonies' known as the mixed or tenor lydian¹ and the full-toned or bass lydian, and such like. Again, since 'drunkenness and softness and indolence' were 'utterly unbecoming', the 'soft or drinking harmonies', the ionian and the lydian (described as 'relaxed') were to be shunned.

Regarding melodies which Plato did want in his republic, he has Socrates utter: "I want to have one warlike (melody) to sound the note or accent which a brave man utters in the hour of danger and stern resolve; or when his cause is failing, and he is going to wounds or death or is overtaken by some other evil, and at every such crisis meets the blows of fortune with firm step and a determination to endure; and another to be used by him in times of peace and freedom of action, when there is no pressure of necessity, and he is seeking to persuade God by prayer, or man by instruction or admonition or, on the other hand, when he is expressing his willingness to yield to persuasion or entreaty or admonition, and which represents him when by prudent conduct he has attained his end, not carried away by his success, but acting moderately and wisely under the circumstances, and acquiescing in the event. These two harmonies I ask you to leave; the strain of necessity and the strain of freedom, the strain of the unfortunate and the strain of the fortunate, the strain of courage and the strain of temperance; these I say leave."² These two harmonies which expressed the noble and the manly impulses were the dorian and the phrygian.³

The Greek 'harmonies' were apparently akin to our own rāga-forms; for Greek music was more like the melodic music of the East than the polyphonic music of the modern West. Each of the melodies such as the lydian, ionian etc. had a certain specific scale or 'thāt' or 'melakartā' which was elaborated upon in accordance with definitive rules of formation and structure, as with our rāgas. The basic thāt of the lydian corresponded with our 'bilāval', of the ionian with 'khamāj', of the dorian

¹ As in India, so in Greece many melodies were known by the name of the region or country of their origin. The lydian was from Lydia. The ionian from Ionia on the coast of Asia Minor.

² *Dialogues of Plato*, Jowett, Vol I, pp. 662-63.
Republic III, para 399.

³ "And these, he replied, are the dorian and the phrygian harmonies of which I was just now speaking." *ibid.*

with 'bhairavī' and of the phrygian with 'kāfī'.¹ Plato approved of the last two but thought the first two as unsuitable.

We do not know why Plato wanted to banish melodies born of 'thāts' like the 'bilāval' and 'khamāj' from his republic; rāgas born of these thāts are not considered by us as dissipative or effeminate in contrast to those born of the 'bhairavī' and the 'kāfī' thāts. But to know Plato's reason one should be able to refer to actual Greek musical renderings, which is not possible.

Yet one thing is clear: Plato gives expression to a kind of musical selectivity, which in principle, appears analogous to that of gāndharva. The motive, too, for such selectivity seems to have been analogous. Just as only certain scales were considered as 'ethical' by Plato, similarly only certain scales were considered as suitable vehicles for gāndharva jātis, the purpose of which was to express the sacred and the holy.²

In gāndharva-structures with a rigid seven-svara or seven-tone base, chromaticisms were ruled out or delegated as subsidiary; this is clear from decrees ordaining a limited use of the sādhāraṇa or intermediary svaras or tones. The reason apparently was the fact that an indiscriminate use of chromaticisms is believed to lead to looseness of musical structures and the resulting ethos. Plato in his *Republic* would have nothing to do with multiplicity of notes and the resulting complex or panharmonic (chromatic) scales. Thus after accepting only the dorian and phrygian harmoniai (scales) as suitable, Socrates continues:

Socrates: Then I said, if these and these only (he is referring to dorian and phrygian) are to be used in our songs and melodies, we shall not want multiplicity of notes or a panharmonic scale?

Glaucus: I suppose not.

Socrates: Then we shall not maintain the artificers of lyres with three corners and complex scales, or the makers of any other many-stringed curiously harmonised (*i.e.*, tuned to strange scales) instruments?

Glaucus: Certainly not.

(*Republic* III, para 399)

¹ "Taking the white notes of the piano as easy equivalent, the seven 'harmoniai' in the diatonic genus are as follows (descending): a to A (Hypodorian, later Aeolian); g to G (Hypophrygian, later Ionian), f to F (Hypolydian); e to E (Dorian); d to D (Phrygian); c to C (Lydian) and b to B (Mixolydian later Hyperdorian). The names of the 'harmoniai' were drawn from the different districts of Asia Minor where the modes are said to have been in use...."

—*Pelican History of Ancient Music*, Vol I, p. 102.

² If we scrutinise the seven mūrchanās of the two ancient grāmas which give us all the possible scales in gāndharva musical structures, we see that both bilāval and khamāj were obtainable in gāndharva. Thus, although Plato banished the Greek equivalents of these scales from his republic as too soft and dissolute, they were considered as suitable vehicles for expressing the sublime in gāndharva. But scales alone are only raw material for musical forms, the same scale differently formed can express very different impulses and sentiments—bhairavī, which Plato approved of can be very light, sorrowful or dissipated when sung as a thumri, but bilāskhānī formed from the same scale has an entirely different ethos. So, unless we know the musical formations through which Greek music rendered these scales in Plato's time, we can not have a true idea of the basis of his judgment.

The motives behind the avoidance of chromatic, 'curiously harmonised', scales in ancient gāndharva and the music acceptable to Socrates and Plato were certainly analogous.

Gāna, unlike gāndharva, was guided by the principle of producing a pleasing effect—it was not governed by any ethical principle like the music acceptable to Plato or by the sublime and sacred like the gāndharva forms. All possible musical scales and complex chromatic tonal formations were permitted in it; even quarter-tones or notes with a single śruti-interval were part of the normal fare. Thus Vṛddhakaśyapa (in a passage quoted by Abhinava) says that "in rāgas and bhāṣās all the kākali and antara notes (*i.e.*, microtones and half-tones) are permissible, and all notes whether with a four-śruti interval or a three-śruti interval or a two-śruti and even a one-śruti interval, should be used : "kākalyantarayogena catuṣtridvyektaḥ śrutīn/svarān sarvān prayuñjita rāgabhaṣāsu sarvathā"(A.B. on N.S, 28, 35).

Gāndharva also differed from gāna in according to the note madhyama a unique position. It was in gāndharva a note that could never be dropped. We do not know why madhyama was the only note in gāndharva which was indispensable. Gāna forms observed no such scruple regarding madhyama.

Abhinava does suggest a reason for the indispensability of madhyama in gāndharva. Madhyama, he says, is the central note in the octave: above it we have the three notes, pa dha ni and below it, ga ri sa; it thus occupies a pivotal position between the upper and lower tetrachords.¹ This, on the face of it, seems to present a solution to the problem. A musical system which places a fundamental importance on dividing the musical scale into lower and upper tetrachords, madhyama, the centre or pivot, can, indeed, tend to become indispensable. In the Greek musical system where the octave was split into two complimentary tetrachords, the upper and the lower, madhyama (Greek mese, Skt. madhya) apparently occupied an 'indispensable' position, for it was the note joining the two tetrachords. Aristotle thus calls madhyama, the 'central' note of the heptachord.² Without this middle note, the mese, the two tetrachords could not be conjoined and hence the note was pivotal.

Abhinava's conception of the centrality of madhyama in gāndharva assumes the note to have been pivotal in the same manner as in ancient Greece. But a closer look will reveal that madhyama could not have been the central note in every gāndharva scale and hence the argument that it was indispensable because it was the pivot between two tetrachords, cannot reasonably be maintained.

We observe that in order to arrive at different scales in gāndharva (where each note was fixed at an unmovable śruti-interval from another) the only way was to take different notes as the tonic. Now, with any other note but the ṣadja as the tonic, madhyama could not remain central. In Greek music, on the other hand, the 'mese' always remained stationary ; intervals between the other notes of the two tetrachords shifted and this gave rise to different scales. And so madhyama in this

¹ For particulars of Abhinava's description see ch, IV, p. 86

² See *Greek-English Lexicon*: Liddell and Scott, under 'mese'. For the rôle of the mesē in Greek music, see *Greek Music in the Pelican History of Music*, Vol. I

system was truly central. But in gāndharva the principle of scale formation was, evidently, different.

We can, however, conjecture that in the music of the sāma, from which gāndharva is said to have been born, madhyama did occupy a central position as in ancient Greek music. Yet by the time gāndharva was formulated into an independent system madhyama had lost its pivotal position. It perhaps remained an indispensable note as a legacy of the past.

Two other notes besides the madhyama were indispensable in gāndharva, though in a more limited sense: pañcama was indispensable in the madhyama-grāma and dhaiavata in the ṣadja-grāma. The reason is again obscure. Perhaps there was no reason; it just so happened that in the limited number of melodies accepted in gāndharva pañcama was never actually dropped from jātis of the madhyama-grāma and similarly dhaiavata was always found to be used in jātis of the ṣadja-grāma. The rule that these notes should not be dropped could be a generalisation of musical practice and not a rule governing structures. This is what Utpaladeva has suggested.¹

Whatever be the reason for the indispensability of certain notes in gāndharva, gāna was not bound by these rules. In this, gāna was akin to current musical forms.

In tāla, too, gāndharva had many peculiarities specific to it. Abhinava says that tāla in gāndharva was "an immutable rule-bound entity which measured (time) through a fixed number of demarcations; it united svara and yati with the instrumental vṛtti and occupied a secondary position (aṅgāṅgibhāva) (to savra); its solitary aim was to establish a sāmya or equipoise, the nature of which cannot be explained in words.² Abhinava, here points out three things: firstly, tāla-structures in gāndharva were just as much governed by imperative decrees as svara-structures. Secondly, he suggests that tāla was subservient to svara. And thirdly, Abhinava remarks that the goal of tāla in gāndharva was to establish sāmya. This third point is important.

Sāmya was a concept central to gāndharva tāla. Dattila introducing the nature and function of tāla says that "tāla results in sāmya, and through sāmya one attains fulfilment and perfection both in this world and the next: tālāt sāmyam bhavet, sāmyādiha siddhiḥ paratra ca" (Datt. 110). According to Dattila thus, sāmya was not merely a musical function of tāla in gāndharva; when truly attained

¹ श्रीमद्बुत्पलदेवास्त्वाद्: । जातिलक्षणे वक्ष्यमाणे मध्यमस्य लोपो न कवचिद्दक्षयत । तन्मध्यमस्य नाशो न कर्तव्य इति कि प्रतिषेधेन । प्राप्तेरभावात् । सर्वस्वराणां नाश इत्यनेनापि न किञ्चित्कृतम् । नियमस्वरलोपस्य यथास्वं जातिपु वक्ष्यमाण-त्वात् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, pp. 64-65.

This may be translated as:

In laying down the characteristics of jātis, nowhere has it been stated that madhyama may be dropped in any of them. To what purpose, then, an especial prohibition here ruling that madhyama should never be dropped, since the possibility of (its being dropped) does not at all obtain (prāpterabhavāt)? Neither is it necessary here to enumerate all indispensable notes, for this, too, serves no purpose because in describing the jātis each note which is enjoined as dispensable is in any case laid down separately for individual jātis,

² तालोऽपि गान्धवे नियतत्वेन संख्यापरिमाणं भजनं परच्छेदोपायं यतिस्वरैवृत्तिमैव मेलनमातोदययोगमज्ञाज्ञभावव्यावस-ध्यमानः साम्यमात्रफलमिति न शक्यं वक्तुम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

it could result in transcendental fulfilment or *adṛṣṭa*. Viśākhila (as quoted by Abhinava) has made an identical statement regarding *sāmya*.¹

Dattila does not define or expound the function and nature of *sāmya*. But Abhinava often uses the term in relation to *tāla*. Some inference can be drawn as to its meaning from his account.

Abhinava says that percussion playing during the staging of plays was of three types, (1) that which depended upon *varṇa* : *varṇānusāra*, (2) that which followed the *svara* : *svarānusāra* and (3) that which aimed at attaining *sāmya* : *sāmyātma*.²

By *varṇa* Abhinava here denotes the range of sounds or 'bols' that were rendered on a drum (*puṣkaravāḍya*).³ These 'bols' could be played either softly (*masṛṇa*) or agitatedly (*dīpta*) or in a neutral manner (*madhya*). Though these *varṇas* were not denotative of any meaning, they could by their different arrangements and tempos (*laya*), arouse or manifest different states of mind. Drum-playing which utilised this expressive aspect was *varṇānusāra* drum-playing. When accompanying a dramatic song different *varṇas* could form a fit accompaniment for the different types of verbal structures in the accompanied songs. As a result *tāla* in the dramatic context could be directly helpful in augmenting the sentiment expressed in a song.⁴ In this manner of playing the drummer had, within limits, a free hand to show his virtuosity. Alternatively, drum-playing could be more subdued and concentrate upon following the music in all its contours (*svarūpamanuvartamānam*), playing when necessary and remaining still when the song so demanded (*tadgānāṁśasthitasthāyitvam*). This manner was imitative of a song hence *svarānusāra*.⁵ Bharata

¹ विशाखिलाचार्यः 'साम्यादिह सिद्धिः परक्षेति' वदन् प्रादीदृशत् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1,

² तत्र पोष्कर वाच्ये प्रकारत्वयेण नाट्योपयोगिनि (गीति) । वर्णानुसारेण स्वरानुसारेण साम्यात्मना ताले च ।

—A.B. on N.S. 34, 36-40.

³ What Abhinava denotes through the term *varṇa* (lit. 'alphabet') has been termed *akṣara* (lit. 'letter') by Bharata. Bharata lists 16 *akṣaras*:
क ख ग घ ट ठ त थ द ध म र ल ह इति पोष्काक्षराणीह्;
—N.S. 34,39.

These were 'bols' like our *dhā dhin nā tun nā kat tā tiṭa dhīta* etc. that could be rendered on drums by variously forming the strokes with the hands and the fingers. (N.S. 34,46). Bharata says that these 16 *akṣaras* were to be variously rendered on the drums, some on the right side of the instrument while others on the left etc. (N.S. 34,41-42). Abhinava calls these *akṣaras*, *varṇas*: दक्षिणस्य पुष्करस्य सव्यतो वामतश्चेति मुखद्वयम् । तस्य दक्षिणस्य दक्षिणमुखे पद् वर्णः । वामे तयः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 34, 42.

The 16 *akṣaras* were further combined with each other and with some vowels, resulting in a large variety of 'bols' (N.S. 34, 42-45).

⁴ वर्णः कस्मैचिदपि वाच्यविशेषतया प्रभवन्तोऽप्यज्ञातायं श्रुतिमालैर्णवे नागरग्राम्योपनागरिकात्मवृत्तिव्याप्तिं ताल (लय) भेदेषु दीप्तमध्यमसृणुरपसंविद्व तिव्यञ्जका इति तावत् प्रसिद्धमेव ।

—A.B. on N.S. 34, 36-40.

⁵ स्वरसंयोजनांशे नादीभूतवर्णं सम्पत्यनुभावि सदनुरणनस्यं तद्मानांशस्थितस्यायित्वं स्वरूपमनुवर्तमानं तत एव तत्त्वतचित्तवृद्धीपत एव सुतरामात्मानमाश्रयतोति यत्तत उपदिश्यमानस्वरानुहारांश इति ।

—ibid. 34, 36-40.

seems to refer to this manner of percussion playing stating that "the (percussion) instrument should follow the metric arrangements of words in the song being sung: *yadvṛttam tu padam gāne tādṛśam vādyamiṣyate*" (N.S. 34, 183).

We can form a more concrete idea of the above kinds of *tāla*-accompaniments indicated by Abhinava with reference to current musical experience. We are well aware of the variety of expressions a drum is capable of. Depending upon the 'bols' played, their combinations, the type of attack (soft, staccato, agitated, loud, etc.), the tempo, the rhythm and other such factors, a drummer can lend lustre to song or instrumental-playing by creating rhythmic counterpoints to the melodic line. This is, evidently, what Abhinava has called drum-playing according to *varṇa*: *varṇā-nusāreṇa*. We also know the numerous ways in which a skillful drum-accompanist can echo the melody being rendered by following and imitating the rhythms created by the svara-structures. This is apparently what Abhinava meant by *svarānusāra* playing.

The two above types of renderings were used only in *gāna*. The 'sāmyātma' rendering of *tāla* was common to *gāna* and *gāndharva*. Abhinava does not give a straight-forward description of it, but we can deduce this much that in contrast to the other modes, this manner of accompaniment consisted of a 'neutral' association of svara and *tāla*: where the *tāla* contained no overtones of expression to augment or highlight the mood in the accompanying musical composition. In other words, *sāmya* was evidently attained when *tāla* kept the time by strictly keeping to pre-ordained beat-formations and patterns, while melody followed its own well-defined forms; their association—to borrow a simile from Abhinava—was like that of two independent kings who had formed a union with the aim of defeating a single common enemy, and both retained their separate identity—*śatrujvalanapravṛttamarṣattasābhimānanarapatidvayavat*.¹

We have experience of *sāmyātma* or natural drum-playing, too, in some contemporary forms. A *talā* is fundamentally rendered on the drum through a certain given pattern of 'bols'; this pattern being called (in Hindustani Music) the basic *thekā* of a *tāla*. Often the drummer accompanies the melodic line, set to a certain *tāla*, by just keeping to the *thekā*; he does not attempt to create variety by playing colourful patterns of his own or by attempting to echo or recreate the rhythmic structures sung or played by the musician he is accompanying. This natural accompaniment is perhaps like ancient *sāmya* playing. Such *sāmya* is, in fact, the basic function of *tāla*: to demarcate rhythms and keep time.

The nature of ancient *sāmya* might become clearer if we consider yet another difference between *gāndharva* and non-*gāndharva* *tāla*. The very instruments used in rendering *tāla* in *gāndharva* and *gāna* appear to have been distinct. *Tāla* in *gāna* was played on *avanaddha* instruments. These were drums capable of producing a range of expressive sounds (vide N.S. ch. 34). They could thus provide an appropriate

¹ The simile occurs in the A.B. on N.S. 4, 248-259 where it is used to denote the "neutral" nature of association between the dance in *pūrvāṅga* and its accompanying *gāndharva* music. In this association, too, both music and dance kept to their own ordained forms; no attempt was made to mould one to the other by deviating from set structures.

accompaniment to gāna-forms by svarānusāra or varṇānusāra playing. But the distinct instrumental basis of tāla in gāndharva was apparently the 'ghana'. Ghana instruments consisted of cymbals generally made of bronze. ('kāṃsyatāladikāṃ ghanam', *Amarakośa* 1, 7, 4).

The very first verse of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, with which the tāladhyāya on gāndharva begins (ch. 31, where topics regarding gāndharvatāla are expounded), connects tāla to ghana instruments.¹ Abhinava rightly remarks that percussion instruments such as the various drums can—through the pliancy and resulting inflections of the taut skin on which they are played—produce a number of notes at different pitches as well as a wide variety of different expressive sounds. Unlike these, a ghana instrument can produce only a single monotonous sound, unchanging in character; a ghana instrument can be used only to keep the measure in a tāla by being sounded at right intervals—it cannot be used for expressive accompaniment like a percussion instrument: "tatra hanyata iti ghanaḥ kāthinataikarūpah tata iva namanonnamanaśaithilyādiyogābhāvadakṣaravaicitryam cānurudhya, mānamātrenopayogi kāṃsatālikādirucyate" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 1). The only function of ghana could be the attainment of sāmya, a neutral 'balance' or 'equipoise' between tāla and svara-structures. Abhinava, therefore, in another passage, says : "ghana is so termed because of the hardness of its form; as a result of this hardness ghana instruments cannot play specific 'bols' which can express different emotive situations or sentiments. The only function of tāla on a ghana is to accomplish sāmya : mūrtikāthinyena ghanaṃ tadanusāreṇa rasabhāvopayogi viśiṣṭavarṇadvāreṇa ca nopayujyata iti sāmyamātropayogitvāttāla ityuktam" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 2).

The svara-structures in gāndharva, we have seen, were its main musical content; they were the object to be measured through tāla which was subservient to it: "geyātmanā meyena ca gāndharvatālasya melanā" (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1; cf. Datt. 3, 5). The process resulted in sāmya.

Yet the accompanying tāla was no ordinary measure. Our own tālas are basically (*i.e.*, in their ṭhekā-form) simple structures, outlining a rhythmic-cum-metric pattern, repeated cyclically: thus tritāla is a simple pattern consisting of four sets of quadruple beats 4 4 4 4 forming 16 mātrās—the third quarter is unstressed to give the 16 beat cycle a distinct character; jhap-tāla has 10 mātrās divided as 2 3 2 3 with the third quarter unstressed. The same principle holds for other tālas, even for tālas with as many as 60 mātrās.

Tāla-structures in gāndharva (namely, the seven gītakas) were, in comparison, extremely complex. They were not simple patterns, cyclically repeated. A single gītaka was composed of a group of distinct patterns with a set organisation of sounded and unsounded beats as well as tempic and rhythmic formations. It contained

¹ वायं तु यदधनं प्रोक्तं कलापातलयान्वितम् । कालस्तस्य प्रमाणं हि तिर्ज्ञैय तालयोगतः ॥

—N.S. 31, 1.

"The instruments which are called ghana, along with topics such as kalā, pāta and laya should be known in connection with tala—(musical) time forms their measure."

numbered repetitions of smaller or larger patterns within greater patterns; introductions of fixed rhythmic irregularities, and other such features: all pre-decreed and formed according to gāndharva manuals (we shall see these complexities when we take up the gītakas in detail).

Current music has no tāla-structures analogous to the gāndharva gītaka. An analogy from geometry might make the difference clearer: tāla in current practice is a 'regular' structure—each different tāla may be compared to structures like the square, the round, the triangle, or even the hexagon or the pentagon. Tāla in a gāndharva gītaka was not made up of a single regular structure but was, evidently, a conglomerate of many different structures arranged into a single whole.

Keeping to the strict time-demarcations, tempos and yatis (tempic regulations) were a must in gāndharva; for only thus could sāmya and the resulting siddhi (or, in other words, adṛṣṭa) accrue. Care was being exercised for this purpose. A singer could, in principle, himself keep time through proper attentiveness (avadhāna) and by marking tāla with his hands, yet in order to keep a check on the singer (who was after all capable of human error) and also to allow him to sing at ease, it was necessary to appoint someone to keep time with a cymbal.¹ Gāndharva had a specific function in the pūrvaranga of ancient dramas where it was used to accompany certain specific dances. The aim of the entire ensemble was the attainment of adṛṣṭa. Abhinava says that "if in this ensemble the singer alone were to keep time, a procedure which involves unsounded and complex gestural beats like āvāpa and vikṣepa, then the instrument players and the dancers will not be able to keep an eye on the singer and will render the tāla imperfectly in a slip-shod, some-how-or-other manner (kathāñciccaranti); thus 'sāmya' will not be attained".² Adṛṣṭa, consequently, will not accrue. A singer could make sounded beats through clapping his hands, but this could not be so clearly audible as the sounds produced from cymbals: "saśabde' pi pāte karaśabdasya tathā sphuṭamākrṇanaṁ na bhavati yathā ghanaśabdasya" (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1). Therefore cymbal playing with its neutral yet audible sounds was employed during gāndharva for a better attainment of sāmya.

Tāla in a gāna, however, served various dramatic functions. Not only could it expressively accompany songs, on its own, too, it could be quite effective. In the

¹ This view regarding the purpose of cymbal playing during a performance of gāndharva has been ascribed by Abhinava to Viśakhila:

विशाखिलाचार्यदिव्योऽस्यानुवृत्तिं तालसाम्यं सुसम्पादभित्याशयेन कुर्त्तापि पृथगेत्र तालकलानां विच्छेदे वाऽवधानवत्तामान्न-
क्रियाया आत्रापादिक्रियाया च सम्पादनया प्राणीभूतस्य गातुः प्रसाद परीक्षणप्रयोजनं कांस्यतालं मन्यन्ते ।

Taking his cue from this or from a similar ancient account, Śārṅgadeva says:

गांधर्वमार्गं कुशलः कांस्यतालघरो परः । गातुः सहायः बर्तव्यः प्रमादविनिबृत्तये ॥

- S.R. 5, 38.39.

Kallinātha explains:

अयमर्थः— गांधर्वस्यात्यन्तनियतत्वेनादृष्टफलसाधनात्वात् । गांधर्वप्रयोगे मुख्यो गाता अ लिनियमादिकं कुर्वन्न गायेत् । द्वितीयो गाता कांस्यतालघरः सत् यथा प्रमादो न जायेत तथा मुख्येणातुः साहाय्यकं कुर्यादिति ।

² यथा पूर्वं ज्ञादावदृष्टिद्वये संयतगीतकर्वन्नमानादि प्रयुज्यते । यौ गायको यतीनामा (वा) प विक्षेपप्रयोगं करोति नरंक-
वादकादयस्तदवलोकनं विना तत्परिमाणसं लयं कथञ्चिच्चरति(न्ति) । प्रयोगस्य साम्यं न स्यात् ।

- A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

theatre as envisaged by the ancients, different actors according to their various social status as *uttama*, *madhyama* and *adhama* and their distinct dramatic functions, moved with different stylized gaits. Their movements were accompanied by suitable sounds on the percussion.¹

Bharata has given a list of various percussion ‘bols’ which typified movements of various characters and other specific movements made on stage: a king moving with a natural, spontaneous, unagitated grace (*rājñām svabhāvagamane*) was accompanied with guru-syllabic ‘bols’ played as *ghem tām keṁ tām khem tām* etc. (N.S. 34, 153); whereas when a servant moved he was accompanied with a mixture of guru-laghu bols—*tham ke tām ke ta kiñā* etc. (N.S. 34, 162) which by their very rhythm signify a restless sprightly movement; other characters had similar characteristic bols (N.S. 34, 150-170).²

Tāla in *gāna* was a flexible thing; it could improvise patterns to create a desired effect. Contrary to this, in *gāndharva* no deviation from the set codes was permitted and *sāmya* alone prevailed and denoted an equipoise of co-formation between *svara* and *tāla*: *svara* never going out of *tāla* and *tāla* setting off the rhythmic demarcations in *svara*, each keeping to its own enjoined forms. Abhinava has remarked: “*tāla* in *gāndharva* is formulated with pre-regulated demarcations numbered in their measure and fixed in their method of indicating time (as in *āvāpa*, *vikṣepa* etc.); in it a concurrent occurrence of set tempic regulations (*yati*) together with *svara*-structures is all that constitutes a (*svara-tāla*) association—for in it *ātodya* or drum accompaniment is not used and *tāla* is not a subservient element to the melody as a limb is to its principal structure; its only function is the attainment of *sāmya*: *tālo’pi gāndharve niyatatvena saikhyāparimāṇam bhañjanām paricchedopāyām yatisvarairvṛttimeva melanamātodyayogamaṅgāṅgibhāvavyavarudhyamānah sāmyamātraphalamiti*” (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1).³

The effect of these pre-ordained *tāla*-measures with their set intricate patterns sounded on cymbals and ritually indicated through gestures, and accompanying the equally well regulated *gāndharva* melody must have been a solemn and sublime experience. Abhinava, who had evidently heard this music, remarks that the *sāmya* resulting from the association of *tāla* and *svara* in *gāndharva*, was beyond description: “*sāmyamātra phalam na śakyam vaktum*” (A.B. *ibid.*).

Many other more specific distinctions of formal detail can also be noted between *tāla* in *gāndharva* and *gāna*:

1. Bharata points towards one when he lays down that the three *gītis*—three ways of singing words on the basis of three different patterns of *laya* or tempic arrangements—were applicable in *gāndharva* alone and not in *dhurvā* (N.S. 29, 49).

2. *Tāla*, we have seen, was marked by a set of sounded and unsounded beats. The unsounded beats evidently performed more of a ritualistic rather than a purely

¹ गाने पुनरुत्तमादि भेदभिन्नप्रकृतितयमतयथोचितमसृजमन्थरोदतादिभेदभिन्नसञ्जीत प्राणवलन.....
—A.B on N.S. 33, 1.

² See also in this connection page 90 of the informative article by Dr. Raghavan entitled “Music in Ancient Indian Drama”, J.M.A., Vol. XXV.

³ See Appendix for a discussion of the role of drums in *gāndharva*.

tāla-like function of indicating time. Hence their formation was not necessary in gāna forms.¹ The unsounded and sounded beats were of equal importance in gāndharva and were set to specific pre-ordained patterns and arrangements. Gāna followed quite another principle in its formation of beats and rendering of tāla. Abhinava has remarked that "in gāna as well as in gāndharva, demarcation of time is impossible without the help of certain actions (like formation of beats). There is, however, this distinction : although both in gāndharva and gāna, time-demarcation is sometimes made with an action common to them (kutracit paricchedye paricchedaviddheyasya sāmye'pi), yet a set of distinct actions like the folding of certain fingers are a necessary part of the conditional causes which effect demarcation in gāndharva (paricchedahetutvenāśriyate), because only thus can transcendental merit (adṛṣṭa) be acquired. The function of time-demarcation itself is common to gāna and gāndharva, but demarcation alone is in gāna the purpose of this function and any action or kriyā whatever can become the basis of effective demarcation provided it is in concurrence with the melody sung or played".²

3. The basic time-units which formed the foundations of time-measures in tāla were quite distinct in gāna and gāndharva. The basic unit of time in gāndharva was called the kalā, itself measured through the mātrā. Mātrā is a prosodic measure and is defined as the time taken to pronounce a laghu-letter formed with a short vowel such as 'a', 'u', 'i', 'r'. In gāndharva five such mātrās constituted the basic standard time-unit: "gītakālasya paricchedakālāntaram pramāṇam pañca nimeśā hrsvākṣaram pañcakām yāvat, kakhagaghaṇa iti" (A.B. on N.S. 31,4).³

In dhruvā-gāna such a time-unit was unsuitable because a dhruvā was governed by its lyric, and the lyric in turn was governed by its metric structure consisting of prosodic divisions according to guru or laghu syllables. Tāla had to follow the metric pattern, for it was subservient to the lyric. The gāndharva time-unit comprising five laghus could not remain the basic time-unit for this would have been too large a unit to be suitable. The standard time-unit was thus the smallest metric unit.

¹ ध्रुवागाने तु दृष्टफले गायनस्येव सोऽस्तु व्यापारः । अवापादीनां तत्तात्पयोगात् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 1.

² गाने गान्धर्वे वा क्रिया विना परिच्छेदो न सम्भवत्येव । एतावांस्तु विशेषोऽत सङ्घच्छेदते यद्गान्धव कुर्वच्छित् परिच्छेदये परिच्छेद विद्येयस्य साम्येयाकुचनादयन्यतमा काच्चिदेव त्रिया किञ्चिंश्चिदेवा द्वात्मादिप्रवेशे वर्तमाना परिच्छेदहेतुत्वेनाश्रीयते तथैवादृष्टसिद्धे(:) गाने तत्परिच्छेदमात्रस्य साम्यादायातं तद्वारेण सम्पादनस्योद(त) रनिदानस्य साध्यत्वाद् या काच्छित् त्रिया गानवादन संबद्धिनी परिच्छेदहेतुरूपादीयत इति ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 1.

See also:

तत्र चिरशीक्रतादो क्रिया यद्यपि या काच्चिदप्युपायस्तथा नियमादृष्ट (फल) सिद्धये विशिष्टहस्ताङ्गुलिक्रियेवोपयोगिनी
—ibid. 29, 372.

and

तत्र क्रिया चात्र परिच्छेदोपयोगिनीत्युक्तमस्माभिः । साच गान्धर्वे विशिष्टवैवेति दर्शनात् ।
—ibid. 31, 30-32.

cf. मात्रा तु लौकिकी नेह किन्तु पञ्चगणा ततः:

—Datta. 117.

For details see 'Kalā', ch. IV.

Bharata has said that "the kalās and components contained in gītakas, should be rendered according to the metric units and divisions, when transformed into dhruvās".¹ Abhinava here remarks: "Kalā and similar elements (in dhruvās) should be rendered on the basis of metre and syllables of prosody (tena kalādayo yāvacchandogītaireva vṛttairviracyante).

In dhruvās, the metric-unit was one of the pivotal and vital aspects of their structure. It was one fundamental point through which one dhruvā was distinguished from another (N.S. 32, 35-45). Different syllabic arrangements were thought to be aesthetically suited for different emotional situations (as has been competently analysed by the ālaṅkārikas). Bharata thus says that the avakṛṣṭā dhruvā when expressing grief should be composed largely with guru-syllables.² Conforming to the metric structure was, for this reason, essential in dhruvās. Distortion in metre could distort the purport of the poem sung and defeat the very purpose of a dhruvā.

In gāndharva, too, the hymns or psalms that were sung, had a metric base. But in singing them the metric arrangement of words or letters was not necessarily honoured. An immediate communication of meaning was here unimportant and the words could be dragged or compressed as decreed.

4. In gāndharva, formations of tempo, yati (regulation of tempo) and similar elements had to be made as prescribed, for gāndharva was used for a ritualistic propitiation of a Deity: "gāndharve devatāviśeṣaparibhāṣānusāreṇa vinoyogo" (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1). Sudden reversals of laya and introductions of abrupt yati-formations were not unknown in gāndharva. These had to be observed as enjoined.³ Gāna was not controlled by ritualistic ends and, therefore, in it, abrupt changes in the flow of tāla were not introduced on the basis of decrees enjoined with a view to adṛṣṭa ("na yaterākas-mikatvenādṛṣṭamātraphalatā", A.B. on N.S. 33, 1).

5. Parivarta (lit. repetition) was a term signifying repetition of a smaller or larger portion of a tāla-structure. In gāndharva parivartas, too, followed a time-honoured (kalāyātarūpah) code. Thus in vardhamānaka the parivarta of certain of its components followed a well regulated order.⁴ In dhruvā gāna, parivartas did not

¹ यात्यङ्गानि कलापचेव गीतकान्तर्गतानि तु । तानि छन्दोगतैवृत्तिर्विभाव्यन्ते ध्रुवास्वय ॥
—N.S. 32, 14.

See also N.S. 32, 3:

एम्बस्त्रवान्यथोदृश्य नानाछन्दःकृतानि तु । ध्रुवात्वं यानि गच्छन्ति ।

² Bharata says that the avakṛṣṭā when composed of guru-syllables, should be sung to triple time (ojakṛtā); such dhruvās express grief:
गुरुप्रायावकृत्यास्थात.....

वृत्तान्योजकृतानि स्युदुःखे यानि भवन्ति हि
—N.S. 32, 40-41.

³ गीतकादावपि मध्ये स्रोतोगतलयादिरित्यादिकं नान्यथा क्रियते ।
—A.B. on N.S. 4, 248-259.

also : नियतकमश्चायतेरपि मध्ये स्रोतोगता यती (तिरि) त्यादावदृष्टोपयोग प्रधानत्वे
—ibid., 33, 1.

⁴ परिवृत्तिरपि विशाला सङ्गता चेत्यादावुपवर्तनं भेदे च नियतेव ।
—ibid., 33, 1.

For details see 'Vardhamānaka', ch. IV,

follow an obligatory or imperative rule because as Abhinava says : "gāndharva iva dhruvāgāne parivartānāmadṛṣṭārthetikartavyatarūpābhāvāt" (A.B. on N.S. 5, 86-92).

The above observations, we think, suffice to reveal that as in melodic structures, so in tāla, gāndharva had certain very distinct features, characteristically its own. Let us further discuss the more important features.

We have seen that the very acts or actions set for demarcating time in gāndharva were as important as the demarcation itself. This was, strictly speaking, a non-musical element. Certain actions were incorporated as a ritual—not surprising in a body of music which was basically sacred. The ritualistic actions constituting gāndharva tāla, appear at the first glance to be somewhat bizarre. We are, today, quite unfamiliar with such gestures being part of any existing musical form in India. Our tālas are all like gāna-tālas : rhythmic demarcations are the only aim of all the actions made by the drummers or those who keep time, and no fixed set of gestures are prescribed. If under the sway and forceful impulse of rhythmic patterns, players sometimes make curious bodily gestures, these are not part of the tāla, but involuntary reflections of the impact of rhythm; which with some players becomes a mannerism resulting in a stylised gamut of gestures. But none of the current gestures are anything like the prescribed gāndharva gestures of āvāpa, vikṣepa etc.

But once we realise that gestures in gāndharva tāla were ritualistic, it would not be difficult to discover likenesses in the great repertoire of ritualistic gestures that form part of our pujā-viniyogas or rites of worship. In the liturgical viniyoga of any japa or homa or in the proper ritual (sopacāra) propitiation of a deity, we use many gestures, both of the hand and of the fingers, which are quite similar in nature and form to those of gāndharva. Gāndharva, in all probability, must have borrowed its set of gestures from some already existing body of rituals.

If so, the question arises, from which cult ? The answer perhaps is : from Śaivism. We see that there exists a strong Śaiva Influence in gāndharva : Śiva is its chief deity, all the hymns in it are addressed to Śiva and its complimentary dance forms, the tāṇḍava and the lāsyā, were created by Śiva and Devī.

Sāma singing, too, had many ritualistic gestures as part of the music. Every note was indicated through a fixed gesture on a specific finger : the note kruṣṭa (pañcama) was indicated on the tip of the thumb, the note prathama (madhyama) at the root of the thumb, gāndhāra on the forefinger, ṛṣabha on the middle finger, śadja on the ring-finger, dhaivata on the small finger and niṣāda at the root of the small finger.¹ This ritualistic practice is still observed by traditional sāma-singers.

¹ अंगुष्ठस्थोत्तमे कृष्टो हयंगुष्ठे प्रथमः स्वरः । प्रदेशिन्यां तु गान्धार ऋषभस्तदनन्तरम् ॥
अनामिकायां पङ्गस्तु कनिष्ठायां तु धीवतम् । तस्याधस्ताच्च योऽन्यस्तनिषादं तद तिदिशेत् ॥
—Nāradī Śikṣā, 1,7, 4-5.

also Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā:

वा हाणं गुण्ठन्तु कृष्टस्यात् अंगुष्ठे मध्यमः स्वरः । प्रदेशिन्यान्तु गान्धारो मध्यमायां तु पञ्चमः ॥
अनामिकायां पङ्गस्तु कनिष्ठाया तु धीवतः । तस्याधस्तात् योऽन्यस्तनिषाद इति तं विदुः ॥

There is some controversy regarding the exact denomination of kruṣṭa. But scholars generally agree in calling it the sāmic equivalent of pañcama. See Bh. Sang. Iti (Bengali), Vol. 1, p. 117. Also Dr. Paranjape's Bh. Sang. Iti (Hindi), p. 95-96, who ably discusses the problem.

Abhinava argues a link between the gestures indicating accents in Veda and those made to indicate tāla in gāndharva (A.B. on N.S. 31, 40-50; for details see ch. IV, p. 81). But though both had ritual gestures the purpose was not common; for in gāndharva these gestures were part of tāla and not svara. Yet, gāndharva had certainly borrowed many element from Vedic forms and its propensity for ritual and sacred gesticulation was certainly a legacy from the past, even if the context of the employ of rituals had changed. One may conjecture that tāla in sāma-music also had gestures and these were passed on to gāndharva. But little is known of tāla in sāma music and we do not know if this had its peculiar gāndharva-like gestures. Ancient works are silent as to the nature of tāla in sāma singing and the surviving tradition, too, offers no clue. Whatever little survives of sāma singing is always unaccompanied by tāla. And it is likely that sāma was always free of tāla accompaniment. Had tāla been an important aspect of sāma, indications regarding its form would certainly have been noted by the Prātiśākhyakāras and the Śikṣākāras.

A distinct feature of gāndharva tāla was the peculiar nature of the instrument used. Tāla-measures were demarcated chiefly by sounding bronze cymbals.

The association of cymbals and gongs with religion and worship—with the sacred—is, indeed, an ancient phenomenon. To this day in India, the jhāñjha and manjirā (large and small bronze cymbals) are specifically connected with music in a religious or devotional setting. In the West bronze bells are a part of every church. Bell-playing has been turned into a high art. There are musical forms played with church bells such as the carillons: a set of bells placed on a church tower and played by means of a keyboard or another mechanical device. These bells, 30 to 50 in number, are tuned to the twelve-note chromatic scale like the piano or the harmonium and a number of compositions are played on them.¹ Another sophisticated technique of bell-playing is called change-ringing. In change-ringing a set of bells is rung by a set of men, one for each bell. The bells are rung in a methodical order according to certain schemes of arithmetic permutation. For instance, a set of three bells 1 2 3 may be played six ways without repetition: 123, 132, 231, 213, 312 321 (this is not unlike our own khanḍameru). Standard combinations with the help of a number of bells are known under traditional names such as "Grandsire Triple", "Treble Bob" etc. The art is still widely practised in England.²

In India, too, jhāñjh playing has been turned into a great art demanding considerable skill and training, especially in certain parts of Gujarat. But generally, cymbal accompaniment is of a simple and uninvolved nature—it consists merely of sounding the instrument at appropriate rhythmic points to demarcate time. This is how cymbals appear to have been played in gāndharva, too; for as we can infer from Abhinava, the purpose of tāla in gāndharva was to provide just the tāla; colourful and complex rhythmic playing was the province of gāna.

As to the size, shape and nature of the cymbals played in gāndharva, Bharata affords no information, neither does Abhinava. Śāringadeva, however, has a section

¹ See the *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, under 'Carillon'.

² See *ibid.*, under 'Change-ringing'.

on cymbals. He, too, was aware of the importance of cymbal-playing in gāndharva (S.R. 5, 38-39) and his statements regarding cymbals may be of interest. Cymbals, he says, were to be made from properly heated and tempered bronze (ghanavādyesyātkāṁsyamgnau suśodhitam; S.R. 6, 1170). They were to be circular, of equal measure, 13 angulas in diameter (other sizes were also possible) and similar in appearance and size to the leaf of a water-lily.¹ At the centre of each flat cymbal disc was a regular dent, one angula in measure in the middle of which was a tiny hole smaller than a guñja berry² (randhram ca madhyagam pādona-guñjamātram; S.R. 6, 1171). Through these holes was passed a thread woven from a special cloth, the 'paṭṭavastra' (perhaps silk) and the two cymbals were secured together at an appropriate distance.³ The method of holding and playing the cymbal discs was as follows: one of the cymbals was held with the spread out left palm, the grasp being secured with the help of the thumb and the fore-finger; the other cymbal was similarly held in the right hand, but further secured by twisting the attached thread around the thumb and ring-fingers. The left cymbal was held facing upward and was struck in the middle by the right cymbal to give the desired sound (S.R. 6, 1174-77).

The method of holding and playing cymbals as described by Śāṅgadeva sounds very familiar to us, for cymbals are played in an almost identical manner to this day. The tradition was presumably quite old and perhaps, during the performance of gāndharva, the method of playing was the same.

We do not know if the gestures described for rendering the unsounded beats like āvāpa and vikṣepa etc. were indicated by the cymbal-player or by the singer himself. It would seem more practicable that the singer made these gestures. The cymbal player with two large discs in his hand could not have effectively made them, as his palms and fingers were not free enough to make the appropriate actions. The likely arrangement seems to have been that a cymbal-player marked time in its prescribed demarcations while the ritualistic gestures were made by the main musician. Śāṅgadeva, too, implies, this when he says that the "cymbal-player was to act as an assistant to the gāndharva-singer so that mistakes in tāla could be avoided" (S.R. 5, 38-39).

We have seen that gāndharva had a much larger basic time-unit than gāna. The reason was that gāna was bound by the metric or prosodic unit of the lyric to which it was composed while gāndharva was not. Movement in gāndharva, thus, must have been much slower than in gāna. This befitted the sombre, solemn and sacred character of gāndharva.

¹ नलिनीदलसकाशो कांस्यतालो समाकृती । त्रयोदशाङ्गुलो वेत्रे कांस्यजे द्वयङ्गुलो तले ॥

—S.R. 6, 1181.

² Guñja is a red and black tiny berry, abrus precatorius, which forms the smallest of the jeweller's weights. *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Monier Williams.

³ नेत्रवस्त्राऽचलाग्राणि रजूकृत्य निवेषयेत् । रन्ध्रेऽग्राणाम निगंत्यै ग्रन्थिं च सज्जयेद् दृढम् ॥

—S.R. 6, 1173.

Sudhā comments :

नेत्रे वस्त्राऽचलाग्राणि पट्टवस्त्रविशेषाणि, तैः रजूकृत्य रजूः विधाय रन्ध्रे निवेष्य अग्राणामनिगंत्यै ग्रन्थिं कुर्यात् ।

The large time-unit in gāndharva also shows that it was a more 'musical' form than gāna, in the sense that its rhythmic structure was not dominated by any extra-musical consideration such as the metric structure of the poem being sung or the necessity to adhere to the syllabic-form of the word content. Musical-form was, in it, the first and foremost consideration and the words sung had to conform to it.

There was also a very fundamental difference between gāndharva and gāna on the basis of pada or words. In gāna, pada dominated over svara and tāla. Dhruvā songs were an integral part of the ancient drama and helped in furthering the plot or the sentiment in a play. Abhinava says that a good gāna should merge its own distinct voice in the (orchestra) of the various elements constituting a play (gānam tu nātyasāmagrīmadhyanimajjitanijasvaraṇ saphalāyeti, A.B. on N.S. 33, 1). In it the lyrical or the poetic rather than the musical element had the upper hand : "gītisāratvāc-cedaṇ gānamiti" (A.B. *ibid.*).

In his chapter on dhruvās (ch. 32), Bharata pointedly indicates the subsidiary position of pada in gāndharva. He states : "In the gāndharva form which I have already delineated (in chapters 28-31) pada acts only as an aid for projecting svara and tāla (svaratālānubhāvakam)."¹ Bharata wanted to signify that in gāndharva, pada served only as a peg on which svara and tāla were hung. Indeed, Abhinava comments thus on the above verse : "these latter two (*i.e.*, svara and tāla in gāndharva) cannot be formed on their own and need a prop on which to stand. This is provided by pada."²

We have an analogue—though not ruled by the same spirit—in contemporary classical singing. Here, too, purely musical elements, svara and tāla, are the primary concern of the artiste; the word sung, the pada, acts as a foothold for the other two. And the artiste with his predominantly musical impulse and preoccupation with svara and tāla, often distorts the verbal forms of words sung beyond recognition; or at least he stretches, splits, repeats or accentuates syllables in such ways as to render the literary content beyond apprehension (except perhaps to the initiated). This is to a great extent inevitable if music is to predominate.

Such a tendency prevailed even during the period of the sāmagāna. Distortions of the mantras sung in order to better formulate and perform the svara aspect, were not uncommon in sāma. Six ways in which they could occur have been enumerated : vikāra, viśleṣaṇa, vikarṣaṇa, abhyāsa, virāma and stobha.

Vikāra was distortion of a word : 'agne' was sometimes sung as 'ognayi'.

Visleṣaṇa was disjoining the syllables of a word and prolonging or stretching individual syllables during a song : 'vītaye' could be rendered as 'vo yi to yā 2 yi'.

Vikarṣaṇa was similar to viśleṣaṇa and denoted 'pulling' or stretching of a syllable : 'ye' could be rendered as 'pā 2 3 yi'.

¹ गान्धर्वं यत् मया प्रोक्तं स्वरतालपदात्मकम् । पदं तस्य भवेद वस्तु स्वरतालानुभावकम् ॥
—N.S. 32, 27.

² तत्र हि स्वर तालो प्रधानम् । तो चानाधारो न शक्यो प्रयोक्तुमित्याधारतया यदुपयोगि तदाह । स्वरतालानुभावकशिति ।
—A.B. on N.S. 32, 27.

Abhyāsa, as the word indicates, was the repetition of one or more padas : 'to yā yi' to yā yi'; 'śrdhayā śraddham' 'śraddhayā śraddham' 'sraddhayā śraddham' etc.

Virāma stood for a process in singing where a break was made within the body of a pada in a way quite unwarranted from the semantic point of view: the two padas 'guṇāno havyadātaye', could be rendered as 'guṇānoha vyadātaye', quite distorting each.

Stobha was introduction of one or more meaningless syllables quite foreign to the mantra: these were, 'au ho, vā' 'hā u' 'ehā u' 'ho yi' 'ho yi i' 'auho-i, 'ohā-i' etc.

Many of these processes of distortion were carried over into gāndharva. Abhinava says that in rendering words during gāndharva-singing the 'meaning of words could be quite overlooked' (arthānusāramanavekṣyaiva):¹ that is to say, it was not necessary for a gāndharva singer to render words in such a way as to make its literary meaning clear to the listeners.

It would be interesting to compare the nature of verbal or syllabic distortion (vikāra) in gāndharva with that of sāma from which gāndharva has, indeed, been said to have emerged. Not all the details are available, but much interesting material may be gleaned and inferred from Bharata, Abhinava and others.

Bharat (as we had occasion to remark in the last chapter) has forbidden certain alaṅkāras in dhruvā-singing because in rendering them a single syllable within a word was likely to get unduly stretched (varṇa-prakarṣa). The relevant passage in the *Nātyaśāstra* reads:²

"The alaṅkāras described here pertain to saptarūpa (i.e., gāndharva); not all of these are desirable in the dhruvā because they stretch the syllables beyond the comprehension of listeners; a dhruvā cannot be properly rendered when syllables are so stretched. Alaṅkāras like śyena, bindu and others cause such a stretch. These alaṅkāras should not, therefore, be rendered in dhruvās in their true measure (svapramāṇataḥ). And for this very reason only ascending notes (i.e., alaṅkāras of the ārohī varṇa) should be utilised in dhruvās.³ A dhruvā should suit the meaning expressed; therefore, it should be so composed that it acts as a beacon to the literary content ('kāryā arthadarśikā'). Syllables in the words of a dhruvā should be sparingly used."

The sparing use of syllables (kṛśatvam padasaṃśryam) according to Abhinava denoted the following: "in dhruvā, just as the lyric was to be sung in such a way that its literary meaning as a poem was not lost sight of, similarly, on the same principle,

¹ गान्धर्वे तत्रैवार्थानुसारमनवेक्षयेव जात्यन्तरविरचितवर्णाङ्गाधारभासं तालप्रमितस्वरप्रधानतया गुणत्वेन प्रतिपाद्यते ।
—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

² सप्तरसगता जेया अलङ्कारा बुद्धिस्वरूपे । नेते सर्वे ध्रुवास्त्रिपटाः (श्रुति) श्रोतृवर्णप्रकर्षणात् ।
न हि वर्णप्रकर्षस्तु ध्रुवाणां सिद्धिरिष्टते । येनो वाऽन्यथवा विन्दुयं चाये ति (तु) प्रकर्षणः ॥
ते ध्रुवाणां प्रयोगेषु न कार्याः स्वप्रमाणतः । तदभूवाणो प्रयोगे तु (अपि) हारोहिणः स्वराः ॥
तस्मादर्थान्तर्घाता हि ध्रुवा कार्यादर्थदर्शिका । वर्णानां तु पुनः कार्यं कृशत्वं पदसंश्रयम् ॥
—N.S. 29, 26-29.

³ Abhinava on this point says that the phrase 'ascending notes' (which according to him refers to ārohī alaṅkāras), in conjunction with the 'api' shows that the avarohī alaṅkāras are also implied:

आरोहिणो वर्णस्य सम्बन्धितः । अपिशब्दादवरोहिणोऽपि ये स्वरा' इत्यङ्काराः । ते प्रयोक्तव्याः ।

the letters constituting the words of a dhruvā were to be such as would be easy to pronounce and intone so that they could be easily carried across to the audience.”¹

Bharata has singled out bindu and śyena as alaṅkāras prone to stretch a syllable. Bharata has described the bindu (N.S. 29, 38) but not śyena; the lakṣaṇa of śyena has been quoted by Abhinava from another authoritative text which he does not name (A.B. on N.S. 29, 27). Abhinava remarks that some thought śyena was another name for an alaṅkāra called veṇī which Bharata includes among avarohī alaṅkāras (N.S. 29, 25).² Although bindu and śyena have been singled out by Bharata as instances of alaṅkāras that could lead to excessive stretching of a syllable (varṇapratikarṣa), the rule really was that all alaṅkāras with a similar tendency were to be avoided.³

Bindu and śyena were permissible in gāndharva. We do not know the exact nature of the varṇa-pratikarṣa they effected. It is likely that beyond a simple stretching of a syllable they also distorted it as in the sāma vikāras called viśleṣana and vikaraṣaṇa.

In sāma, the distortion called virāma occurred when two words sung one after another were syllabically split in such a way as to render both unintelligible. This is quite common in classical singing even today; a sentence like ‘mere ghar āye (‘he came to my house’) is quite liable to get distorted into ‘meregha rāye’ and so forth. This happens when a single syllable such as ‘gha’ is unduly prolonged. In gāndharva, single syllables were similarly prolonged and virāma must have occurred frequently.

There was another factor which could lead to an occurrence similar to virāma in gāndharva. This was the use of the gītis. The gītis in gāndharva, namely, māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, sambhāvitā and prthulā, depended upon certain patterns of syllabic formations. Two of the gītis consisted of repeating syllables or words. In singing the ardha-māgadhī gīti, a line such as ‘devam śarvam vande śarvam’ was rendered in the following manner:

‘devam, vam śarvam, vam vande, de śarvam’⁴

¹ एतदुक्तं भवति । यथा हि गीतिरर्थापिण्मनवधीरयन्ती कर्तव्या तथैव पदगतान्यक्षराण्यपि दुर्भणसंयोगदिही नाङ्गान्यधिकानि कर्तव्यानि ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 29.

² श्येन इत्यनेन तन्वान्तरलक्षितेन व्यवहारेणालङ्काराणां सङ्ख्यानियमं प्रत्यनादरं दर्शयति । तत्र श्येनलक्षणम्: श्येनश्चैकान्तरो जातः कलामात्वान्तरे स्थितः तस्मिंश्चैव स्वरे वृद्धं गृहणात्येव विलक्षणम् ।

अन्ये वेणिः श्येन इत्याहुः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 27.

³ तनु बिन्दुश्येन व निषिद्धो । नेत्याह । ये चान्ये तु प्रकर्षिणाः । तेऽपि न ध्रुवाणां प्रयोक्तृणाः ।

—ibid., 29, 27.

⁴ पदस्य सम्बन्ध्यवर्पदाद्यावतंस्तदाधर्घमागधीति

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 47.

Sāringadeva notes an actual example of ardha-māgadhī. The sentence he takes up for illustration is similar to that of Abhinava, which we have noted above : दूर्वयोः पदोरर्थे चरमे द्वियंदोदिते । तथाऽप्त्वमागधीं प्राहुः ।

—S.R. 1, 8, 18.

यथा—म रा ग सा । सा सा ध नी । प ध प म
दे वं वं रुद्रं द्रु वं दे

Such a rendering dissects words in a manner quite inimical to their sense. In gāndharva it was permitted as in sāma. Abhinava speaking of the ardha-māgadhi significantly says : "in Sāmveda where the song (that is the melody) dominates, the sense of a word is not heeded to in making repetitions (as in ardha-māgadhi) : yataḥ sāmavede gitapradhāne āvṛttiśvartho¹ nādriyate" (A.B. on N.S. 29, 47). Abhinava also gives an example from sāma-gāna recalling a practice similar to the formation of ardha-māgadhi. In singing the sāma mantra 'udutyam jātavedasam' (Sāmaveda 1, 1, 3, 11), syllables upto 'udutyam jā' were repeated in succession as in ardha-māgadhi and then finally 'tavedasam' was sung; this process completely disfigured the normal pada-formation—"evamādi tu jātavedasamiti hi atra jāśabdaparyantam-āvṛtiparyantaparampayayā gitvā 'tavedasam' iti gīyate" (A.B. *ibid.*). Kallinātha, in the same context, also quotes this example, but he says that the syllabic repetition was carried on upto the word 'veda' in 'jātavedasam' after which the entire pada 'jātavedasam' was sung without being split.²

Abhyāsa or repetition of a phrase or a word was common in gāndharva as in sāma singing. In the gīti māgadhi an abhyāsa occurred which was quite complex both musically and syllabically. In singing the line 'devam̄ śarvam̄ vande śarvam̄' in accordance with this gīti, the first pada 'devam̄' was sung to a slow tempo in the initial kalā (a time-unit), in the next kalā the two padas 'devam̄ śarvam̄' were sung in medium tempo (double the slow tempo) and in the third kalā two more words 'vande śarvam̄' were added to 'devam̄ śarvam̄' and all the four words were sung together to a fast tempo (double the medium). The same process was repeated with a gradual addition of more words in further kalās.³

Bharata forbids the rendering of these gītis in dhruvā; they were to be used only in gāndharva : "etāstu gitayo jñeyā dhruvāyogaṁ vinaiva hi/gāndharva eva

¹ In A.B., the reading is : आवृत्तिख्यो नाद्रियते. This makes no sense. This line was probably borrowed from the Vṛtti on Mataṅga's Br. Kallinātha quotes the line in the context of the ardha-māgadhi. His reading is :

अत पदावृया पुनरुक्तिरोपे पदाद्य मागमानर्थकत्वं वाऽशङ्क्य मतञ्जेन परिहृतं यथा—सामवेदे गीतप्रधान आवृत्तिष्पर्वा नाद्रियन्ते इति ।

—Kalā on S.R. 1, 8, 18.

² तथा वेदेन्वोदाहुतं च—उदुयं जातवेदसम् इत्यत्र वेदशब्दपर्यन्तमावृत्तिपरंपरया गीत्वा जातवेदसमिति गीयते; पदखण्ड-नादर्थभज्ञो न भवत्यत्तापीति । अतः सामवेदप्रकृतिके संगीते गानवशात्क्वचित्पदानां पुनरुक्तिरघ्योक्तिश्च न दोषायेति मन्तव्यम् ।

—Kalā, *ibid.*, in continuation of fn. above.

³ देवमिति पदं गीत्वा प्रथमकलां निर्वाहा विलम्बितेन लयेन यदा द्वितीयां कलां मध्यमलयेन देवमित्येतेन पदेन शर्वमिति शब्दसहितेन निर्वाहयति तत एव देव इत्ययं शब्दः कलान्वयव्यापनात् त्रिनिवृत्तिनिर्वाह एव । एवं शर्वमित्यादयोऽप्युत्तरोत्तर-कलाव्याप्तिनस्तदा मागधीति गीतिः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 47.

For Śāṅgadeva's description see S.R. 1, 8, 16-19. He notates the gīti as :

म ग म ध	धनि धनि सनि ध	रिग रिग मग रिस
दे वं	दे वं रु द्रं	दे वं रु द्रं वं दे

yojyāstu nityam gānaprayoktibhiḥ" (N.S. 29, 49). Looking at the above examples one can understand the reason behind this prohibition.

Pada in gāndharva occupied the lowest rung in the hierarchy of importance. Svara and tāla were the dominant elements. Among these, too, svara was the leader ("tena svarāḥ pradhānam tālonāmātma tatsāmyenopakārakah, A.B. on N.S. 28, 11-12). But, though of subsidiary importance, pada, too, was formed and regulated according to vidhis. Ostensibly, just any song could become the basis of gāndharva because unlike svara and tāla, the form of the pada in gāndharva has not been specified by Bharata or Dallita; yet only certain hymns, handed down in tradition, seem to have served as the word-base for music in gāndharva. Bharata quotes three hymns, all Śiva stotras.¹ Abhinava gives part of another Śiva hymn: "devam śarvam vande śarvam."

Pada in gāndharva consisted also of a string of meaningless syllables. These were technically known as śuṣka or bahirgīta and also nirgīta. Śuṣka syllables, too, were preordained and Bharata ascribes them to Brahmā himself (N.S. 31, 104). Abhinava remarks that just any string of syllables cannot serve an adṛṣṭa purpose, and only specifically ordained syllables, current since time immemorial, gave rise to spiritual benefit (abhyudaya) because they were at par with Vedic mantras: "nanvevam bhinnākārādirapi kriyatāmityāśāntkyānādiśāstram bandhaprasiddhyavaśiṣṭābhuyade hetvarthaṁ keśāñcidevetyāha—'yāni purā brahmaṇā gītāni'; brahmarūpatvena ca vedamantravadagītāni" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 104).

Sometimes meaningless syllables were combined with an epithet of Śiva:

jhanṭum jagatiya valitaka jambuka jhanṭum titi ca
 laghu ca jhanṭum (titi cā)
 diṅgle gaṇapatipaśupatijambuka diṅgle varabhuja
 digi-nigi cā
 titi ca digi nigi cā paśupati niticā

(N.S. 29,88)

¹ (a) देवं देवैः संस्तुतनमितम् । देत्यैर्क्षीनर्गैः पितृभिः प्राणमितचरणम् ।

देवोक्त्यहेतुपीशं रद्दं शरणमहमपगतः ।

—N.S. 29, 107.

(b) भूताधिपति भगवेनवहरं देवैर्वद्यं सुरमखमथनम् ।

रोद्रं भयदं गजचम्पटं शम्भुं त्यक्षं ज्वलननिभजटम् ।

भुजगपरिकरं त्रिदशगणवरं देत्यैनित्यं परिपठितचरितम् ।

उमापर्तिनमितमभिमतसुखदं शरणं सुरनुतमहमिह समुपगतः ॥

—ibid., 29, 110.

(c) अमरं प्रवरं मदनाङ्गहरं भुवनैकनाथमध्यप्रदम् ।

त्रिपुरनाशकरं देवं तमहं प्रणमत (णत) सुरपितृगणनतचरणम् ।

पृथिवी सविलं ज्वलनः पवनः सूर्येश्वरन्दो यजमानो व्योमाद्यः कार्यः ।

मुनिभिरंस्य प्रोक्तस्त्वं लोकयगुरुं तमचिन्त्यमजं (तमजं) विद्यानिलयं भैरवरूपम् ।

खट्टवाङ्गकपालधरं स्थित्युत्पत्तिप्रलयनिमित्तम् ।

चन्द्राद्वंधरं तिलकाद्वंधरं मुण्डाद्वंधरं रशनाद्वंधरम् ।

बद्धभिर्विकृतैः विविवेविकटेर्वेद्यैः त्रिविवेविमुखैरपि तैः ।

प्रमथः परिबत्तमहमीशं सुखदं सततं प्रणतः ।

—N.S. 31, 113.

Other such examples are also to be found in the *Nātyaśastra* (N.S. 29, 90, 29, 101, 29, 106 etc.). Most śuṣka constructions, however, contained, no recognisable meaningful word :

jhaṇṭum jagatiya digi nigi jhaṇṭum
titijhala kucajhala etc. (N.S. 31, 104)

The pada in gāndharva, whether meaningful or meaningless, was dedicated to the gods and hence to adṛṣṭa.¹ But in gāna, pada was the dominant element and it had fundamentally a dṛṣṭa or immediate result to aid nātya in creating the aesthetic delight (rasa) towards which it was directed.² Abhinava, therefore, once again stresses : svara in gāndharva plays the dominant role and on it depends the pada, which is therefore secondary ; contrary to this in gāna communication of meanings is of the primary importance and thus pada has the dominant role. Svara is subsidiary in gāna ; it aids pada by imparting to it the charm and colour of music (uparañjana).³

In defining dhruvā, Bharata states :

dhruvā varṇāstvalaṅkāra yatayah pāṇayo layāḥ,
dhruvamanyonyasambaddhā yasmād tasmād dhruvāḥ smṛtāḥ (N.S. 32, 8)

"The beats beginning with dhruva ('dhruvā iti pātādyāḥ, A.B.), the varṇas, the melodic figures, the tempic regulations (yati), the syncopations in tāla (pāṇi) and the different tempos (laya)—these are all connected in a 'dhruva' (steadfast) manner with each other within a dhruvā; this is why the name dhruvā."

Abhinava commenting on the above verse remarks : "the one constant, unchanging element (avyabhicāri) which causes the 'dhruva'-ness (dhruvarūpe nimittam) in dhruvā, is pada. It is the fundamental factor on the basis of which the fitness or suitability of all other factors is judged; pada (in dhruvā) is the pillar on which varṇa and other musical elements stand : eteśām dhruvādīnāṁ anyonyasambandhe' vyabhi-
cāritayā dhruvarūpe nimittam padam ādhāratvādaucityayojanācca; na hi nirādhārā varṇādaya iti darśitam caitat" (A.B. on N.S. 32, 8).⁴

Words in a dhruvā governed its musical form : whether a certain alaṅkāra was justified or not, whether a certain tempo was indeed the suitable one, whether a rhythmic syncopation should or should not be formed—such questions in a dhruvā

¹ पदमपि विनियुक्तादि भेदव्ययस्य कुलकादि भेदव्ययगुणनया नवधा भवेद् देवस्तुतो प्रधानम् । गान्धर्वे तत्त्वार्थानुसारमन-
वेश्येव ।

—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

² गानस्य तु पादवर्गेसाम्यसम्पत्तिः सामाजिकजने चोपरञ्जनपूर्वकं प्राग्रसाध्यायोदितसाधारणसन्धिवृत्यात्मकरसभाववृत्तानु-
स्फूति हेतुसूचितसादश्ययोगश्चेति दृष्टं मुहूर्यं फलम् ।

—ibid., 33. 1.

³ एतेन गान्धर्वे स्वरः प्रधानं तदाधारवेन गुणभूतं पदमिति, यत् तद्विपरीतं गान्धर्वे *(? गाने) इर्षसंवेदनयोगेन पदस्य
प्राधान्यात् तदुपरञ्जनाचत्र गुणभावात् स्वरस्येतदपि ह्याकरणितं भवति ।

—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

* The A.B. reads गान्धर्वेऽर्षसंवेदन...etc., Obviously a wrong reading for the whole context discusses differences of gāndharva and gāna ; so when attributes contrary to gāndharva are delineated, 'gāna' must be the word intended ; a repetition of the word 'gāndharva' is here self-defeating. ।

⁴ Abhinava concludes :

ध्रुवं पदं तस्माद्देतोः प्रावेशिक्यादयो ध्रुवा इति ।

could be decided only with reference to the nature of the poem being sung and the situation or rasa being depicted through its 'pada'. Some predecessors of Abhinava had introduced the simile of a fresco or wall-painting (kudyacitra) to express the relation between words and music in dhruvā. In wall-paintings, a wall is the ground on which a painting comes into being. Similarly in a dhruvā, pada acted as the ground on which other elements of a song were manifested.¹ Even when (as it sometimes happened) the music in a gāna-form was not actually set to words, it yet remained subservient to overall poetic contention or context. Instrumental Music in plays often acted as a 'filler' to cover gaps in the mood left unuttered by a song. Gāna-music was in such cases set to appropriate grāma-rāgāṅgas, bhāṣāṅgas or similar forms. Such music could be delicate or charming (surocitam), or if the occasion demanded, full of musical graces, adorned with brilliant alaṅkāras (as Abhinava says, in bhiṇḍikā and dvipadi-gāna forms). On other occasions it could be full of an agitated fury of swift tāla patterns (uttālīkṛta tālavibhramam) which emphasised the restless movements of a character in situations of valour (vīra) or fierce action (raudra). It could also underline the plaintive mood of sorrow in separation through befitting compositions (vipralambhaśrṅgārocitabandhatva). In such cases gāna-forms helped to strengthen the mood in a dramatic scene during those periods when nothing was being said or sung on the stage. But such 'background' music, too, was subservient to the literary dramatic content. 'Pada' was still the leader; svara and tāla were the led.²

Like gāndharva, gāna-songs, too, it appears, sometimes utilised śuṣka or non-sense syllables (like humkāras) and were on occasion rendered without any words whatsoever (svarālāpaprabhṛti gānamanakṣarameva dr̥ṣṭam). But such śuṣka songs were subservient to the moods expressed by the dhruvā songs proper. They acted as prologues to dhruvās and introduced the sentiments in the imminent dhruvā with appropriate instrumental accompaniments.³

There was thus quite a distinction between gāndharva and gāna in all their three constituent factors of svara, tāla and pada : "evam tāvat svarapadatālātmakas-varūpavaiciryavaiśīkṣānyam" (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1). These formal differences were, in spirit, caused by the fact that gāndharva and gāna were motivated by entirely

¹ अन्येऽपि कुद्यचित् (त्र) दृष्टान्तेन तेन ध्रुवाणामाधारः पदमिति पर्याप्तं तद्विचर्ते यस्यां वृत्तजाती सा ध्रुवेति ।
अत एव लक्ष्ये गीयमानं रूपकमेव ध्रुवेत्याहुः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 32, 8.

² गाने पुनश्चेष्यकामे मूलं एवासम्बवे रसभावोचित वृत्तजाति निबद्धम् । यत्तु काव्ये तत्त्वोक्तमित्युक्ते रसपूरणोपयोगात् प्राद्यान्यमुपस्थुतवन् तत एव वित्तवत्युचितजात्यङ्गकविशेषग्रामरागाङ्गाभाषापाङ्गीतिमुपरञ्जकतया समाधयत् वच्चित् सुरोचितम् । भिण्डिकाद्विष्टीगानादौ स्वरालङ्घारशोभा इत्येष वच्चिद् वीररोदोचितपरिक्रमणादिसरणादुत्तानीकृततालविश्रमं सम्पादयत् ववापि च विप्रलभ्यङ्गारोचितवन्धत्वं विचित्रादिगान इव नाट्याधितावकाशमादधानं स्वं वाच्यं प्रोत्त्वा जंयदवभातीति स्वरतालस्यानेषु यथोचित कारिषु नयस्वामिभावमालम्बवानभागमास्त इति ।

—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

³ ननु नाट्येषु स्वरालापप्रभूतिपुगानमनक्षरमेव दृष्टमित्याशंक्याह । यत् तु वाक्करणोपेतमिति । वाक्करणं वाक्क्रियामात्रस्वरालापे हुक्कार इति तदुक्तं यदगान तदतालप्रतिष्ठं यावदगति यावच्छक्ति च प्रयुज्यमानत्वादनिवद्धं च । स्वरयोजनेऽपि गान इव रसापेषककवणलङ्घारदिनियमाभावेन यथाकविस्वातन्त्र्यं तदेवंविधमतालं व्यश्रमात्वादिरूपविहीनं ध्रुवागानात्मकमेतच्च भवतीति यावत् । ननु किं तथाविधस्य प्रयोगेनेत्याह—“सर्वांतोद्येति” । सर्वांतोद्यानां ततसुषिरादीनामनुरञ्जकं स्वाद्यांशस्य भावित ध्रुवारञ्जनेऽपयोगिनस्तद्वीपांशादिवशात् पूरकमिति यावत् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 32, 30.

different purposes and served quite distinct ends. Therefore Abhinava adds : "The above differences as to svarūpa or formal structure are also indicative of the distinct 'phala' resulting from the two forms—"anena phalavilakṣanyamapi vyākhyātām" (A.B. *ibid.*).

The phala or end-result of an object—the purpose it serves, the fruit it bears—is connected with its function, which Abhinava calls its dharma. The function of gāna, we have seen, was intimately connected with the drama. Gāna could be 'sa-phala' only by being successfully incorporated in an ancient play as one of its many constituent elements. Its entire form (svarūpa) was moulded and patterned to this end. So subordinate was gāna to nātya that Abhinava seems to have felt that, outside the play, gāna could be quite feeble in its effect: "na hi nātyādbahirlayabhaṅgypī dhr uvāgānam gīyamānam sukhapādamutpādayati" (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1).¹ The phala or the goal of gāndharva was adṛṣṭa. Abhinava often reminds his readers that formation in gāndharva should be made exactly as directed; for only thus could adṛṣṭa be achieved. We have already noted some of Abhinava's comments. We here note a few more pertinent points to bring the matter home :

1. The *adṛṣṭa*-motive behind the seven tāla-gītakas and the *vardhamānakas* has been indicated by Bharata and also by Yājnavalkya (in his *Smṛti*). Bharata says:

gītakeṣu prayukteṣu devāstuṣyanti nityaśah
vardhamāne prayukte tu rudrastuṣyati sānugah (N.S. 5, 47, 48)

"The rendering of gītakas pleases the gods and vardhamāna pleases Rudra and his retinue."

The *Yajñavalkya Smṛti* forbids practitioners of profane music from taking part in holy rituals (3, 167); such musicians (*kusilavas*) are also not permitted to take part in śrāddha ceremonies (3, 155). But regarding sāmagāna and also gāndharva the Smṛti says :

yathāvidhānena paṭhānāmagāyanavieyutam
 sāvadhānastadabhyāsātparām brahmādhigacchati
 aparāntakamulopyam̄ madrakam̄ prakarīstathā
 auveṇakam̄ sarobindumuttaram̄ gītakāni ca
 ṛggāthā pāṇikā dakṣavihitā brahmāgītikā
 geyametattadabhyāsakaranānāmokṣasamjñitam
 viṇāvādanatativajñāḥ śrutijātivisāradāḥ
 tālajñascāprayāsena mokṣamārgam̄ nigacchati
 gītajño yadi yogena nāpnoti paramam̄ padam
 rudrasyānucaro bhūtvā tenaiva saha modate (*Yājñavalkya Smṛti* 3, 4, 112-116)

1. The printed A.B. text reads गीयमानमुखपादमुत्पादयति, a reading which makes no sense in the context. We suggest that the reading should be गीयमानं सुखपादमुत्पादयति. This agrees in spirit with the sentence that follows. Moreover, orthographically, 'म' being close to 'स', a scribal mistake is not unlikely.

"If sāma-gāna is intoned properly and without errors, according to the due procedure and the enjoined rules, one can attain the ultimate Brahma through this discipline. (Similarly), the gītakas : aparāntaka, ullopya, madraka, prakarī, ovenaka, along with robindu (*i.e.*, rovindaka) and uttara as well as ṛk, gāthā, pāṇikā and the brahmagītikā ordained by Dakṣa, are songs, the disciplined singing of which leads one to mokṣa.¹ The musician who knows the mysteries of vīṇā-playing, who is an expert in śruti and jātis² and knows the ways of tāla, can without effort travel the path to mokṣa. If (perchance, such a) musician cannot attain the ultimate liberation through this yoga, he becomes a companion of Śiva and delights forever in His company."

We notice here that the gītakas are said to lead to mokṣa, the ultimate goal of adṛṣṭa. All the seven gītakas of gāndharva are mentioned by name—aparāntaka, ullopya (*i.e.*, ullopyaka), madraka, prakarī, auveṇaka, robindu ('rovindaka' in N.S. and Datt.), and uttara (cf. N.S. 31, 200-201 and Datt. 161-221).

2. The jātis of gāndharva had adṛṣṭa as their aim: "jātītyadṛṣṭam" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 36). Rāgas (forms used in gāna) on the contrary had a dṛṣṭa phala for they were primarily designed to have an immediately pleasing effect : "rāgamiti raktirdṛṣṭaphalam" (A.B. *ibid.*). Abhinava defining jāti says : svaras when arranged in specific assemblages are called jāti; jātis are pleasing and they result in the propitiation of adṛṣṭa : "tatram keyam jātirnāma ucyate svarā eva viśīṣṭasanniveśabhaṁ raktimadṛṣṭābhuyadayam ca janayanto jātirityuktāḥ" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 66)."

Abhinava here quotes an ancient authoritative (āpta) verse : "the (jāti) nandayantī if properly formed according to the enjoined rules (yathāvidhi), can expiate the sin of having done a Brāhmaṇa to death" (sakṛtprayuklāpi hi nandayantī yathāvidhi brahmahaṇam punāti, A.B. on N.S. 28, 9-10). This verse is repeatedly quoted by Abhinava to point out the adṛṣṭa aspect of gāndharva (A.B. on N.S. 28, 95-97 and 31, 54).

3. Not only the singing of gāndharva but also its playing in accordance with the right techniques—dhātu—resulted in adṛṣṭa (besides giving rise to aesthetic pleasure) : "dadhātyadṛṣṭam viśīṣṭam dṛṣṭam raktim ca taranti dhārayanti ca vīṇāvādyavarūpamiti dhātavah" (A.B. on N.S. 29, 50). The dhātus resulted in adṛṣṭa only when rendered as decreed in the śāstra : "śāstroktayādṛṣṭopayogino'pi" (A.B. on N.S. 29, 70).

According to Abhinava, another difference between gāna and gāndharva was that they were employed on quite different occasions ('kāla-vailakṣanya'). The difference in occasion is to be understood in relation to theatre.

Gāndharva, unlike gāna, could not be an essential part of the plot itself because its forms did not permit alterations to suit the mood of a passing scene.

¹ Vijñāneśvara, in his famous commentary *Mitākṣarā*, adds that the vardhamānaka and its āsāritas were also implied here along with the seven gītakās known collectively as prakaraṇa : अपरात्कोल्लोप्यमद्रकप्रकयोवेणकानि सरोविन्दसहित चोत्तरभित्येतानि प्रकरणाभ्यानि सन्त गीतकानि । च शब्दादासारितवर्धमानकाविमहागीतानि गृह्यते ।

² The term 'jāti' in this context stands for the 18 jātis of gāndharva as the *Mitākṣarā* clarifies : जातयस्तु षड्जादयः सन्त शुद्धः संकरजातयास्त्वेकादशेत्येवमष्टादशविद्यास्तासु विशारदः प्रवीणः ।

Gāndharva could not, to use Abhinava's expression, drown its voice within the symphony of art-forms employed in ancient plays.

Yet it played an important role in the staging of ancient plays. It was employed during the pūrvaraṅga as an act of worship through which divine powers were propitiated ("pūrvaraṅge gāndharvameva pradhānam", A.B. on N.S. 33, 1).

Pūrvaraṅga in the ancient theatre was a prologue to the play proper. But it was a prologue in a special sense, for it did not introduce the play nor did it essentially form any part of the scheme as envisioned by the play-wright. Abhinava, regarding pūrvaraṅga, says : "nahyam bhāvānukīrtanātmakavyākhyānānukārasvabhāvah (A.B. on N.S. 5, 5-7) : its form is not imitative; it does not depict a narrative or plot where feelings and actions are shown." Though distinct from the play proper it was yet enjoined as a necessary beginning to all plays (N.S. ch. 5). It was an opening ritual,¹ an act of veneration. But it was no ordinary ritual. It was worship in the form of dances accompanied with music. The ancient play was a great aesthetic spectacle; it was appropriate that the propitiatory act performed at its beginning should itself be an artistic paean or pageant in honour of the gods. The aim of pūrvaraṅga was, naturally, adṛṣṭa.²

The ancient pūrvaraṅga was a complete entity in itself, a well-defined whole divided into definite sections or components.³ Its ritual propitiation consisted of dances in the tāṇḍava or lāsyā forms. The music to which they were set was gāndharva. Any of the gītakas could be used though the tāṇḍava was chiefly set to vardhamānakā :

gītānām madrakādīnām yojyamekaṁ tu gītakam
vardhamānamathāpiha tāṇḍavam yatra yujyate (N.S. 5, 13)

Dance in the pūrvaraṅga (as we have said earlier) was performed in conformance with well-ordained forms and also gave rise to adṛṣṭa. The following pronouncements of Abhinava will bring out this point :

(i) "śivalokagatamanantaphalam nṛttasya yasmāddevasya bhagavato mahādevasya stutinimittam paritoṣaṇaprayojanametannṛttamatohetorniyamā-

¹ Abhinava indeed explains the word pūrvaraṅga as :
अपि तु देवताप्रतिष्ठापनकल धूपविलेपनादिदानवत् सत्यमेवेति पूर्वो रङ्गे इत्येष समाप्तः ।

— A.B. on N.S. 5, 5-7.

Dr. Raghavan speaking of the ancient theatre says : "Lot of ceremony and propitiatory acts marked its beginning and all this preliminary was referred to as Pūrvaraṅga, literally the pre-performance acts." 'Music in Ancient Indian Drama', J.M.A., Vol. XXV, p. 82.

² cf. नाट्यस्य रचनाप्राधान्याद्वै चिक्षेण योजनीयमदृष्टसम्पत्तये चेति मन्तव्यम् ।
—ibid., 5, 27-29.

³ यस्माद्र रङ्गे प्रयोगात्मं पूर्वमेव प्रयुज्यते ।
तस्मादयं पूर्वरङ्गो विजेयो द्विजसत्तमाः ॥
अस्याङ्गात्मं तु कायाणि यथावदनपूर्वशः ।
तन्दीभाण्डसमायोगः पाण्ययोगकृतैस्तथा ॥
प्रत्याहारोदवतरणं तथा ह्यारम्भ एव च ।
आश्रावणा वक्त्रपाणिस्तथा च परिघट्टना ॥
सह्वाटना ततः कार्या मार्गसिरितमेव च.....
—N.S. 5, 7-10.

dṛṣṭasampattyai": nṛtta (dance without abhinaya) is performed as an act of praise in honour of Lord Śiva, the highest of gods; its fruit is the eternal Śivaloka—the dwelling of Śiva himself; and since the aim of nṛtta is to please Śiva, it results in adrṣṭa when performed as duly ordained" (A.B. on N.S. 4, 302).

- (ii) "ihādṛṣṭaviśeṣasampattihetutvam̄ vardhamānādiprayogasya sopakaranānṛttaproyagasya ca : here (in the pūrvvaraṅga) vardhamāna etc. are employed because they result in adrṣṭa; nṛtta, with all its paraphernalia, is employed for the same purpose" (A.B. on N.S. 4, 246-259).
- (iii) "tena prayoktuḥ prekṣāpravartayitutarhapateḥ sāmājikavargasya ca pāpaviśuddhiḥ śivalokagatamanantaphalam̄ nṛttasyeti nānyādṛṣṭaikapraprojanādbhinnaproyojanatvamuktam̄ : the aim of nṛtta is to expiate the sins of the performers (of a play), of those who arrange for the performance and of the spectators; the ultimate end of nṛtta is eternal Śivaloka itself; apart from such an adrṣṭa end there is no other end which nṛtta fulfils" (A.B. on N.S. 4, 319).

Gāndharva acted as the musical compliment to the propitiatory dance in the pūrvvaraṅga. It had no other use. The occasion of the use of gāndharva was in this way quite distinct from that of gāna.

Including this difference on the basis of kāla (kālāt), gāndharva and gāna had quite a few distinctive characteristics. Thus Abhinava in true sāstric fashion concludes: "when things differ as regards to their nature, function and effects (savṛupeṇa, dharmēṇa, kāryēṇa), they are quite distinct, as one substance from another: "yadyat svarūpeṇa kāryēṇa dharmēṇa ca bhidyate tattu tena vilakṣaṇam bhavo bhāvāntarādīva" (A.B. on N.S. 33,1).¹

Besides a propitiatory function through its employ in the pūrvvaraṅga, gāndharva had yet another importance for ancient theatre. It was the original embryonic form from which the forms employed in gāna were derived. And because the roots of gāna lay in gāndharva, a knowledge of gāndharva was important for a true understanding of gāna forms. This was certainly a major consideration in Bharata's mind for having included a long section on gāndharva in the *Nātyaśāstra*.

Dattila states that all existing songs could be traced to the jāti form of gāndharva (Datt. 97). This seems to have been the universal opinion among ancient ācāryas. They spoke of musical forms like bhāṣās, rāgas, grāma-rāgas etc. as derivative from the jātis.² These derivative forms were born through mixing and

¹ He continues :

भिद्यते च स्वरूपादिना गानम् । गान्धवाद् वैलक्षण्यस्य हि तन्मात्रनिमित्तत्वं व्यापारान्तरमिति व्यापकानुपलब्ध्यापि पश्चादपि वैलक्षण्याद् व्यावृत्तो हेतुः पक्षेण वैलक्षण्येन व्यापृत इति । तत्र च गान्धवं वैदितविधिप्रबन्धं प्रधानत्वादिदं गान्धवंम् । गीतिसारत्वाच्चेदं गानमिति ।

Thus clinching the argument in the manner of a logician.

² Abhinava quotes a predecessor, a 'commentator'—tīkākāra—on the *Nātyaśāstra* who had preceded him as remarking :

जातेरसंप्रति आम्ब्य इति वा सकलस्य रागादैर्जन्महेतुजारिति टीकाकारः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 46.

combining elements taken from two or more jātis in various ways and were hence sometimes called hybrid or saṅkara forms. These forms when moulded to the theatrical context were called gāna.

Saṅkara forms were created through combining the amśa (main note) of one jāti with the nyāsa (the final note) of another and the apanyāsa (a subsidiary nyāsa) of a third and so forth. Endless such permutations and combinations were possible and these gave rise to a host of forms : "geyam grāmādilakṣṇam tadyadi kasyāpi jātyamśakasya sambandhyamśonyasya nyāso'nyadiyo' panyāsa ityādi bahutaravaicītryam" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 141).

These new forms, however, were not heterogeneous mixtures but homogeneous wholes. To illustrate the fact that although born through a mixture of many jātis, the saṅkara forms were, in truth, independent entities, Abhinava gives the example of 'pānaka' a favourite drink of the period. Pānaka was produced through mixing various ingredients like jaggery, pepper etc., yet its taste had a flavour all its own : "guḍamaricādirasayojanamaye'pi pānaka iva rasāntaravatvam" (A.B. on N.S. 32, 332). Grāma-rāgas and other derivative forms were similarly new and independent wholes (yathāvihitam pānakamidamiti na tu kramamiśritam", A.B. on N.S. 28, 141).

A saṅkara form could be traced back to its principal source jātis through analysis. The jāti or jātis, the structure of which predominated in them was said to constitute their root. Dattila thus states : "in hybrids, (the parent) jāti can be known through the form predominating : "saṅkare rūpabāhulyājjatinirdeśa iṣyate" (Datt. 96).

Bharata has no such general dictum. But during Abhinava's period certain recensions of the *Nātyaśāstra* did contain a verse at the end of chapter 28 to the same general effect. The verse states : "the source of a mixed song (miśrageya, i.e., grāma-rāgas etc.) should be sought on the basis of the predominating (form). In these hybrid forms much intermingling occurs between a variety of ornamentations for the sake of creating a pleasing effect." Abhinava introduces this verse by saying that "it speaks of the process of creating grāma-rāgas and similar forms from the jātis".¹ Abhinava doubted the authenticity of this verse for it was not to be found in the manuscripts he had consulted : "asmad pustakeṣu na tathā dṛṣyate" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 141). But he agreed with the contention.

He argues that its acceptance as an authentic passage from the *Nātyaśāstra* was not really essential to the point at issue, since Bharata had implied the matter expressed in it through other statements² where he enumerated the amśas of jātis and suggested the great wealth of derivative forms.

¹ अथ जात्युद्भवग्रामरागादिसम्भावनासूचनार्थमायां केचित् पठन्ति: मिश्रं गेरं यदि यतदर्थितज्ञेयमधिकबाहुत्यम् । सङ्करभूषण सन्ततिवैचित्रयाण्यत्र रञ्जनातिशयात् ॥

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 141.

² न च तया विना न सङ्गहीत एतत्भवति, जात्यंशके हि सर्वं स्वीकृतम् । तत्रापि चा (मा) जंनोपयोगिनो वैचित्र्यस्याम्यनुज्ञानं मुनिनेव कृतम् । चतुर्स्वरप्रयोगोऽपि 'हयवक्ष्टध्रुवास्त्विह'

—(भ० ना० 28-79)

इति वदतोत्तरत्र चालङ्घारवैचित्र्यं विभजतेति

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 141.

The amṣa or amṣas of the jātis, indeed, seem to have been the basic factor in deriving hybrid forms. Mataṅga says : "jātis (✓jan—to be born) are called so because they give rise to grāma-rāgas through their amṣas" (Br. 240).¹

Many ancient authors on music had written about these derivative hybrid forms and had named the root jātis from which some major forms were born. Abhinava names Mataṅga, Nandi, Kaśyapa and Yāśika among these authors : "tadevaṇbhūtam yanmiṣrageyam tadasya jāterarthitamiti yanniyamyate mataṅganandikaśyapayāśikādibhistadadhikena rūpabāhulyena" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 141). He quotes a passage of 21 verses from the work of one of these authors (probably Kaśyapa) where many well-known contemporary derivative-forms are traced to their original jātis (A.B. on N.S. 28, 141).

This passage concludes with an interesting statement : that seven gītis were utilised in dhruvās (dhruvāgānopayogāya tadtadgītisaptakam). The term gīti here is pāribhāṣic with a meaning different from what it has in gāndharva. The grāma-rāgas derivative of the jātis were rendered in various modes or styles—these were the gītis. Each gīti was ruled by a characteristic musical idiom or manner of expression.

In the gīti called śuddhā the musical style was gentle or soft; the melodic line followed a straight, simple, unbending path : "śuddhā syādavakrairlalitaiḥ svaraiḥ" (S.R. 2, 1, 3). The bhinnā gīti or style, on the other hand, was full of subtle but fast notes; the melodic line was studded with soft and gamakas followed a curved path : "bhinnā vakraiḥ svaraiḥ sūkṣmairmadhuraigamakairyutā" (S.R. ibid.). The gīti called vesarā was rendered in a brisk and fast but charming style, with a kind of virtuoso quickness pervading all its movements : "vegavadbhiḥ svarairvarṇacatuṣke'pyatiraktitaiḥ/ vegasvarā rāgagītirvesarā cocyate budhaiḥ" (S.R. 2,1,6).

Sāringadeva following Durgaśakti divides gītis into five classes : śuddhā, bhinnā, gauḍī, vesarā and sādhāraṇī : "gītayah pañca śuddhā ca bhinnā gauḍī ca vesarā sādhāraṇī" (S.R. 2, 1, 2). Mataṅga, however, has seven gītis. He describes their characteristics in the *Bṛhaddeśī* (Br. 291-308).

The gītis appear to correspond to the notion of the various vāṇis in dhruvapad such as the dāgara-vāṇi, khaṇḍara-vāṇi etc. The dāgara-vāṇi has a slow and solemn style of singing with the ālāpa dominating; the khaṇḍara-vāṇi, is quick, fast, full of swift gamakas and set to running rhythms.

The various gītis must have been applied to augment the rasa of the moment just as the rītis of poetry were used for a similar effect.

We must take into account one possible confusion before we move on. In the first few kārikās of the twenty-ninth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bharata

¹.cf. जायते शुद्धमिन्नगी डरागसाधारणभाषाविभाषात्मक री (?गी) तिसप्तकं दृष्टसिद्धिर्भावरसोपरञ्जनं च यतस्तो जातयः।
—ibid., 28, 37-44.

Grāma-rāgas were divided into seven classes called the seven gītis. This was the classification according to Mataṅga. Yāśika believed in three gītis, Durga-śakti in five and Sārdūla in only one.

—See Sudhā. on S.R. 2, 1, 2-5.

—Kalā on S.R. 2, 1, 6-7.

sets forth the application of the jātis (on the basis of their dominant notes) in the different rasas : the different moods depicted on the stage (N.S. 29, 1-13). This, on the face of it, would seem to show—contrary to what we have been saying—that the jātis (and hence gāndharva to which they belonged) were also used during dramatic action.

We must, however, be cautious in understanding Bharata here. Abhinava in this context remarks : “muninā jātyamśakaviniyoga ādhārābhiprāyenoktaḥ (A.B. on N.S. 29, 8) – Bharata has enjoined the jātis not in themselves but as forming the base for (other forms)” According to Abhinava’s teacher, too, (upādhyāyāstvahū) the intention of Bharata in relating jātis and svaras to rasas was to enjoin the use not of the jātis themselves but of the jāti-amśas ; this meant the use of derivative saṅkara forms, of which these amśas were the base. Hence, he says, it was the rāgas, bhāṣas etc. that were entailed in Bharata’s injunction : “tasmādayamabhiprāyo muneh iha jātyamśakā eva paramārthataḥ samastagitasarvasvam tatra hi rāgabhāṣādayopyantar-bhuktāḥ” (A.B. on N.S. 29, 8).

Indeed, at the end of the section enjoying jātis in rasas, Abhinava quotes a long passage of 75 verses from Kaśyapa where detailed prescriptions of the actual grāmarāgas, bhāṣas etc. to be used in particular dramatic situations have been noted.

Just as the jātis gave rise to the various rāgas, similarly the gītakas, too, appear to have been the source of tāla-structures used in gāna. We have spoken of Bharata’s dictum that the components of the saptarūpa or gītakas, suitably transformed, resulted in the dhruvās (N.S. 32, 3). These gītaka components when transformed into dhruvās became independent forms with a character all their own just as the rāgas born of the jātis. Abhinava explains the point through an interesting analogy. He says: “an army arrayed eminently into a composite group (saṅghāta) with all its parts including the infantry (puruṣabhaṭa), the elephant battalions (gaja) etc. can be regrouped to form a different and totally new array which can transform it into an entirely distinct congregation (saṅghātāntara). Yet there remains a cause and effect relation between the old and the new formations. Similarly, the components of the gītakas which had a specific arrangement ordained for the achievement of adṛṣṭa, could be regrouped with a different end in view : they could be suitably arrayed to express rasas and moods. They were, to this end, rearranged according to the metrical structure of the song being sung. In this new regrouping, a causal relation with the original composition (*i.e.*, the gītakas), though present, was not immediately felt. The new group, in fact, could become the basis for further formations.”¹

Bharata gives a list of gītaka components that were thus transformed into dhruvās (N.S. 32, 3-6), and states that these formed the limbs of all five classes of

¹ एतदुक्तं भवति । यथाभ्यूहात्मनि सङ्घातेन रस(च)नायामङ्गनि पुरुषभट्य(ट)गजादीनि केनचिदुत्कर्षेण स्थितानीति कृत्वा सङ्घातान्तरेण सम्पादयमानापूर्वदगावैचित्रयेण कारणकार्यात्मभावोऽभिव्यनक्ति, तथा गीताङ्गादीन्यदृष्टप्रधाने गीतकादिरूपसंघातोत्थितानि कृतश्चिद्रसभाव कृताश्चीचित्य समर्पणात्मकरञ्जनायोग्यतक्षणादुत्कर्षादुत्तिगीयमानवत्तविशेषाश्रयेण सङ्घातात्मकरूपं प्रतिपत्नकारणत्वं प्राग्दशाया अननुभ्य कार्यमोत्तरकालिकं भजन्ते कारणाशब्दव्यपदेशयानि च भवन्ति ।

—A.B. on N.S. 32, 3.

dhruvās: "dhruvāñāmaṅgasamjñāni pañcānāmapi nityaśah" (N.S. 32, 6.)¹ Abhinava gives details of the use to which these limbs could be put in dhruvās (A.B. on N.S. 32, 4-6): The gītaka component called mukha when transformed into a dhruvā was to be employed in dramas when the main core, or the principal story of the plot, was to be indicated (pradhānārthaśūcanā mukhāt). The episode which followed the indication of the principal story (the pradhānārtha) was ushered in with a dhruvā movement based on the gāndharva component, pratimukha: (tadanu vastusūcanām pratimukhāt). A song when repeated was accompanied with the gāndharva component called upavartana (punarāvṛttīyā gītamupavartanāt). The indication or the introduction of a new element in the plot was made with antāharaṇa (bhāvyarthāntarasamākṣepo' antāharaṇāt). When the main plot was being enriched with an addition of new elements, the dhruvās used were derivative of the components veṇī and praveṇī (ekasyaivārthasya vaicitrayayogo veṇīpraveṇībhyām). Similarly, other components of the gāndharva gītakas transformed into dhruvās were used at other dramatic moments on the stage.²

We can deduce two structural principles which appear to have been followed in transforming a gāndharva gītaka into a dhruvā: (1) the gāndharva time-unit (five times a laghu syllable) was shortened to conform to the metric unit of Sanskrit poetry, and (2) the complex structure of the gītaka (which was musically quite independent of the metric structure of the poem being sung and was quite free from any subservience to the poetic content) was in dhruvā made to defer to the metre in the song.

Besides being, structurally, the parent body of subsequent forms, gāndharva was also the basic theoretical frame-work in terms of which other forms were understood. The physical and metaphysical processes which were believed to give rise to musical sounds; the concept of śruti, gramā, mūrchanā, amśa (dominant note), nyāsa (final note), antāramārga (typical movements characteristic of a melodic form) etc. were elements analysed by the theoreticians and codifiers of gāndharva; the same conceptual and formal notions were then also applied to its derivate hybrid forms. Abhinava, therefore, says that an understanding of gāndharva was necessary for knowing the very manner in which nāda (musical sounds) arose: "nādotpattau tadupayogi kalpitam" (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1).

¹ The whole passage reads :

सप्तरूपप्रमाणं हि तद् धूवेद्यभिसंजितम् । एष्य त्वङ्गान्ययोद्धत्य नानाछन्दः कृतानि तु ।
धूवात्वं यानि गच्छन्ति तानि वक्षाम्यहं पुनः । मञ्चं प्रतिमञ्चं चैव वैहायसिकमञ्चं तु ।
स्थितप्रवृत्ते वज्ञं च सन्धिः संहरणं तथा । प्रस्वारो मायधातः स्यादुपवर्तनमेव च ।
उपपातः प्रवेणी च चतुरलः सशीर्णकम् । सम्पिष्टमन्ताहरणं माहाजनिकमेव च ।
ध्रुवाणामङ्गसंज्ञानि पञ्चानामपि नित्यशः ।

—N.S. 32, 2-6.

² तद्याहि प्रधानार्थसूचना मुखात् । तदनु वस्तुसूचनं प्रतिमुखात् । वस्तुन्यलङ्कारयोजनं वैहायसात् । यथास्थितप्रस्थितानुवन्धः स्थितात् । निवृत्तानां सन्धानं प्रवृत्तात् । अर्थापादनं वज्रान्मनो हयनुसन्धानं सन्धे: । वाक्यार्थसमाप्तिः संहरणात् । वर्णनिक्षयः प्रस्वारात् । सम्पिष्टतात्पर्ययोगो मायधातात् । पुनरावृत्या गीतमपर्वत्तात् । पवर्णयनिगमनमुपपातात् । एकस्थैवार्थस्थ वैचित्रययोगो वेणीप्रवेणीम्याम् । द्वैषीकरणं चतुरश्रकात् । प्रधानार्थविश्रान्तिः शीर्णकात् । छन्दः क्रमायात्-गुरुलघवादिस्थपर्णेन गतिवैचित्रं सम्पिष्टकात् । भाव्ययन्तिरसमाक्षेपोऽन्ताहरणात्...मिति पूर्वोक्तं माहाजनिकाद् एवमयेभ्यो वाङ्गम्यस्तद्रूपमनुसरत्व्यम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 32, 4-6.

Some idea of these components may be had from Part III, 'prakaraṇa'.

Gāndharva was governed by a great liturgical spirit but it was no mere ritual. It was also aesthetically significant.

The 33rd chapter of the *Nātyaśāstra* recounts the qualities expected of a good musician and the defects to be avoided (*guṇadoṣa-vicāra*). Some theorists were of the opinion that this *guṇa-doṣa* section applied only to dhruvās because these could create the desirable effect only if rendered with proper skill and aesthetic impeccability. Gāndharva being basically a ritual for the attainment of *adṛṣṭa*, its aesthetic quality was really immaterial. Abhinava notes this opinion and makes a fitting reply to it. He remarks : "a *vidhi* (enjoined action) results in its fruits only when performed according to its true nature without mutilation. Gāndharva, though a *vidhi*, was meant to be sung and rendered on the *vīṇā*; this being the case, how could one, in the absence of a suitable voice and the required skill, acquire the right knowledge of 'laya' and other musical elements without which gāndharva could not be truly formed? How, in other words, could a mutilated formation of the right time-measures lead to *adṛṣṭa*? Therefore, has it been said (by Yājñavalkya in his *Smṛti*, 3, 115): 'a person with a true knowledge of *vīṇā*-playing, an expert in śrutis and jātis, and one who is well versed in tāla, can attain mokṣa without effort.' Thus in gāndharva, too, a discrimination of *guṇa* and *doṣa* is essential. A pleasantly sweet and effective voice is the soul of svara, and skill in handling is the soul of tāla and of singing; these constitute musical effectiveness (*guṇa*) and on it depends the attainment of *adṛṣṭa*.¹

Gāndharva, Abhinava thus asserts, was musically significant, too, apart from having an *adṛṣṭa* fruit. This is why he defines it as having a *dṛṣṭādṛṣṭaphala* (on N.S. 33, 1): both an immediately pleasing aesthetic effect as well as an *adṛṣṭa* fruit. Elsewhere—commenting on Bharata's statement that gāndharva was dear and pleasing to the gods (N.S. 28, 9)—Abhinava, making a similar remark, says : "it is pleasant to the ears and is enjoyable, thus it has a *dṛṣṭa* fruit; it is *anādi* (without a beginning) and thus also has an *adṛṣṭa* fruit: śrūyamāṇam prītvardhanamityevamanādītvādṛṣṭādṛṣṭaphalatvāt....."

Throughout his commentary Abhinava has taken care to distinguish between gāndharva and gāna. His detailed analysis of the matter occurs fairly late in the Abhinava Bhāratī text, at the beginning of chapter 33, but even in his introductory remarks at the beginning of the geyādhikāra (chapter 28) he indicates a clear distinc-

¹ अथ केचित् मन्यन्ते । उपरञ्जनात्मनि गान एव सुतरां गुणग्रहणं दोषाववर्जनं चादृत्य उपरञ्जनप्राणं हि गानम् । उपरञ्जनं च गुणदोषापायत्तविवेकायत्तम् । अत एव तद्विवेकस्य गानं प्रति प्राधान्यं प्रयोजयित् पृथक्त्वं प्रत्यव्यायामरम्भः । गान्धर्वे तु रञ्जना न तथा प्रधानमपि तु चच्चत्रयोकुरदृष्टफलं तदिति । नैतत् । तथा हि । तथास्त्वरूपं (म) विकलं प्रवृत्तो विधिः फल प्रसूते । शरीरदारवस्त्रस्वरूपसम्पत्तिरेव च रक्तकण्ठस्वदितहस्तत्वादिना विना कथं लयादितत्वज्ञानम् । याऽत्र विकृता कालसम्पत्तिरतत्वज्ञानस्य च का सङ्गतिरदृष्टफलसङ्गत्या । उक्तं हि "बीणावादन तत्वज्ञ श्रुतिजातिविशारद" इति । "तातत्त्वं" इति च । तस्माद् गान्धर्वे सुतरां गुणदोषविवेकोऽर्थवान् । स्वरस्य हि तावदपरूपमधुररञ्जनात्मकमेव लघुः (घु) तालस्थापि गानं प्राणास्तदुभयमपि गुणायत्तं तदायत्ता बाढ़दृष्टसिद्धिः ।

—A. B. on N. S. 33, 1.

tion between the two forms, remarking : "the distinct nature of gāndharva will be explained by us in the dhruvā section (dhruvādhyāye); still, some indications are being given here at the beginning, lest lack of discrimination be a cause for confusion."¹ Abhinava then touches upon some of the basic characteristics of gāndharva as distinct from gāna.² He takes up the definition of gāndharva given by Bharata (*viz.* "gāndharvamiti tajñeyam svaratālapadātmakam", N.S. 28, 8) and remarks that this definition could cause a certain confusion for it does not clearly indicate any distinction between gāna and gāndharva and could equally apply to both for both consisted of svara, tāla and pada. He adds that one could go further, and say that this definition applied to gāna alone (*viparyayo'pi kasmānna bhavati*). One could even infer from it that gāna and gāndharva are identical as both are equally comprehended by the same definition.

He then states that in order to allay such doubts regarding the nature of gāndharva and to pin-point its distinct nature Bharata has further specified the nature of gāndharva in the very next verse as :

atyarthamīṣṭam devānām tathā prītikaram punah
gandharvāṇām ca yasmāddhi tasmādgāndharvamucyate
(N.S. 28, 9)

"it is very dear to the gods and gives great pleasure to the gandharvas—for this reason it is called gāndharva."

These remarks, according to Abhinava, distinguish gāndharva from gāna. They indicate that unlike gāna, gāndharva was an eternal, timeless form, for it has been called 'dear to the gods'—and naturally, the gods never part with what they cherish and so have possessed it since the beginning of time. Moreover, Bharata's words also indicate that gāndharva has an adṛṣṭa phala, for it 'pleases the gods'; hence leads to adṛṣṭa : "tulye svarādyātmakatve gānam gāndharve'ntarbhūtamiti kā bhāṣā ? *viparyayo'pi*

¹ संचायं गान्धवंविवेको ध्रुवाध्याये नृत्यस्माभिदर्शयिष्यते । इह इव तु दर्शितो वाचोयुक्त्यनभिज्ञानमधुनैव हि संमोहे हेतुः स्पादिति ।

—A. B. on N. S. 28, 9-10.

The purport of mentioning the nṛtta section in this passage is not quite clear. It is true that in describing the distinct nature of nṛtta (ch. 4-5), Abhinava often remarks about its close connection with the gāndharva and the adṛṣṭa significance attached to both. But as this section precedes ch. 28, 'दर्शयिष्यते' is not the right word to use and, moreover, the nṛtta section does not contain a detailed gāndharva-viveka as such.

² Such as the fact that the transcendental merit arising from gāndharva accrued to the performer, while the pleasing effect aimed at through gāna was directed basically towards the listener; and that the fabric of gāndharva was the fundamental implement, a upakarana with which the structure of gāna was fashioned :

गान्धवेऽपि (हि) प्रयोक्तुः फलमिति तदनुसारेण शारीरप्राप्नान्य फले दर्शितम् । गाने तु श्रोतुफल रक्तिप्रधानतेति गानस्य (गान्धवं) उपकरणीकृतो मूलिना ।

—A. B. on N. S. 28, 2.

Abhinava also tells us that the function of gāndharva tāla was to achieve sāmya alone and not to echo or suggest different sentiments :

मूर्तिकाठिन्येनयनं तदनुसारेण रसभावोपयोगि विशिष्टवर्गद्वारेण च नोपयुज्यत इति साम्यमात्रोपयोगित्वात्ताल इत्युक्तम् ।

—A. B., *ibid.*

kasmānna bhavati, tādātmyameva vā katham na syādityāśāṅkām śamayitumāha ‘atya-rthamiṣṭām devānāmiti’ anenanādītvam sūcītam, devā hi kathamiṣṭam vijahyuh ‘tatheti’ tena devatāparitoṣadvāreṇa prītiḥ dadātītyadṛṣṭaphalatvam darśitam” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 9-10).

In this context Abhinava also makes some very interesting remarks regarding the aesthetic effects of gāndharva music. He says that gāndharva was capable of raising one's consciousness to a transcendental level of ānanda or bliss, such as is associated with liberation (apavarga). Hence, he comments that Bharata's statements (in the above verse) indicate that gāndharva could fulfil the supreme puruṣārtha.¹ Abhinava then quotes the oft-repeated line from an ancient Smṛti which says that “the jāti nandayantī rendered even once in accordance to the injunctions governing its forms, can expiate the supreme sin of having murdered a Brāhmaṇa”. He goes on to state that the function and purpose of gāna was mainly to please the listeners while gāndharva pleased the gods too, thus serving both a dṛṣṭa and an adṛṣṭa end. Two bodies of music with such different results could not be identical.²

Thus the reader was forewarned right at the beginning of the description of gāndharva that the exposition to follow was that of a distinct body of music.

We have argued that, according to Abhinava, the first 13 verses of Chapter 29 (where Bharata has described the employ of the jātis in various rasas) did not strictly pertain to gāndharva. The description was important from the nātya point of view but was indicative of jāti-born forms and not of the jātis. This rasa aspect of jātis has been described in a new chapter and not in chapter 28 where jātis are expounded and where this matter too logically belongs. Bharata's aim, comments Abhinava, in initiating a new chapter was to distinguish extraneous matter from gāndharva proper.³

¹ परसंवित्सङ्गतिलाभलक्षणमुपलक्षणम्, तथा तेन प्रकारेण प्रतीतेरपवर्गोचितानन्द-स्वभावविशेषणावर्जितमित्यपवर्गफलत्वं दशितम् । तथातिक्रान्तं धनादिनिरपेक्षं चेदं देवानां यजनं यथा पुराणयोगादिम्योऽधिका प्रीतिगान्धर्वच्छङ्करस्येति ‘गान्धर्वाणामिति’ प्रयोगत्तुरपलक्षणं तेन ह्यत्यन्त संवित्प्रवेशलाभेन गातुः फलयोगः.....

— A. B. on N. S. 28, 9-10

² “सकुत्रयुतापि हि नन्दयन्ती यथाविधि ब्रह्मदृष्टिं पन्नाति” इति प्रयोक्तृगतमन्द्रमुखं फलम् । नन्दगान इव मुख्यतया श्रोतृनिष्ठं तेन गन्धवर्णां प्रीतिवर्धनमिति सम्बन्धः । तथापि च श्रूयमाणं प्रीतिवर्धनमित्येवमनादित्वादृष्टफलत्वाच्च प्रधानं गन्धवर्णं गन्धवर्णां प्रयोज्यमिति व्युत्पत्या, एवं देवानामिष्टं प्रीतिकृद्गन्धवर्णां गन्धवर्णमिति सम्बन्धः । तस्माच्च प्रीतिमेव विशेषणं वर्धयति यत्तद्गानमित्यध्याहारः । गानं इदं केवल प्रीतिकार्यं वर्तते । तेन तादात्म्यं तावदयुक्तं ।

— A. B. on N. S. 28, 9-10.

³ गान्धवर्णेषोपते चार्थस्य मा सम्भावीत्येदर्थमध्यायच्छेदः । यथा च वक्ष्यति ‘ऐवमेता बुधैर्ज्ञेया जातयो नाट्यसंश्रयाः’ (म.ना. 29,13).

— *ibid.*, 29, 1,

CHAPTER VI

GĀNDHARVA AND BHARATA

Abhinava, in drawing his conclusions, refers constantly to the *Nātyasāstra* text, its tradition and practice. His analysis which reveals gāndharva as a distinct musical entity is based on an analytical enlargement and detailed clarification of matter found in the *Nātyasāstra* itself—where it is present in a seed-form.

Bharata has described gāndharva in a section devoted separately to it ; in delineating its distinctive features he has pointedly made injunctions showing certain features which were exclusive to gāndharva. He also compares gāndharva with dhruvā on many points, implying clearly the distinctiveness of both. Abhinava thought that these pointers in Bharata conveyed suggestions enough for the knowing to conclude that gāndharva had a distinct and independent identity as a specific body of music. At the outset of his long discussion on the differences between gāndharva and gāna (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1), he remarks : "the characteristics of gāndharva have been sufficiently described in four chapters by Bharata himself. Still, as the matter is difficult of access (anusandhānavandhya), we are here proceeding to inquire into it so that such illustrious personages (sic) (as are incapable of investigating on their own) may come to percieve it : "nanvevam gāndharvasya kim lakṣṇmuktamadhyāyacatuṣṭayesu muninā ; tathāpyanusandhānavandhyo, mahābhāgam bodhayitumanusandhiyate" (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1).

During Abhinava's times it was clear to the initiated, the 'sampradāyavid' that a definite section of the *Nātyasāstra* was devoted exclusively to gāndharva as a distinct musical form. Such knowledge could not naturally be popularly current knowledge because it needed a detailed doctrinal and technical knowledge of the entire *Nātyasāstra* where many arts and sciences have been juxtaposed together. Bharata has himself stated : "It is difficult to reach a final understanding of this nātya. Why ? Because it involves a knowledge of many branches of learning and of innumerable arts and their techniques. Even a single branch of learning can be like a sea, impossible to cross, what to speak of a deep and true understanding of many arts and sciences :"

na śakyamasya nātyasya gantumantaṁ kathañcana
kasmādbahutvājjñānānāṁ śilpānāṁ vāpyanantataḥ
ekasyāpi na vai śakyastvanto jñānārṇavasya hi
gantum kim punaranyesām jñānānāmarthatattvataḥ (N.S. 6, 6-7)

For these who wished to handle a variety of art-forms specialization was difficult and it was easy to confuse distinctions within a single art. The whole of the

geyādhikāra deals with the same art-form, namely, music; one could quite understandably loose sight of distinctions between musical forms themselves, even though the distinction between gāndharva and gāna-music was major and crucial one. This is apparently why Abhinava took pains to show in detail the distinctiveness of gāndharva.

In ancient India, a certain authoritative text or body of texts often formed the basic core on which was founded the study of a specific śāstra or vidyā. Still, very many ideas were part of the lore or teachings of sampradāyas, which were only implicit or not very explicit in the text constituting the backbone of study. These ideas were basic to a full understanding of the text and were said to have originated from the author of the text himself or from his immediate, intimate circle.

Pāṇini's grammar provides a good illustration. To arrive at a true understanding of Pāṇini's system as outlined in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, a number of key notions and explanations have to be taken into consideration, which form an essential part of the Pāṇini sampradāya, though they are only hinted at in his text. The *Nātyasāstra*, too, contained many such hints or clue-ideas which needed elaboration and clarification.

One such idea was the clear distinction of gāndharva as a distinct musical form. Bharata's delineation of music as of the other arts constitutes basically a practical manual depicting actual forms and techniques to serve as a guide for performers of these arts, especially in relation to staging plays. His work is, to this end, a storehouse of injunctions, ordinances and decrees. Discursive, analytical problems are not disregarded, but they are secondary and they, too, consist of short dictums : as when Bharata says that certain alaṅkāras should only be formed in gāndharva and not in dhruvās and that the gītis should be formed in gāndharva alone. Bharata has, in view of the scope of his work, naturally taken for granted much of the conceptual and discursive framework underlying the art-forms he describes.

Yet though Bharata does not enter into detailed comparisons, he does give many pointers regarding the distinctiveness of gāndharva. We have already discussed the most significant hints in Bharata concerning gāndharva as an exclusive entity in dealing with Abhinava's analysis of the matter. It would not be out of place here to recapitulate some major pointers and also take up some others :

(1) The gāndharva uddeśa—the comprehensive and definitive enumeration of topics defining the limits and scope of this body of music—acts as a sure guide for judging what is and what is not gāndharva. It reveals that the matter relating to gāndharva ends with the 31st chapter.

(2) There are some verses that indicate the sacredness attached to gāndharva and show the adṛṣṭa-motive behind it. One such verse we have discussed, namely, verse 9 in chapter 28. Another verse—though occurring somewhat out of context—in the 33rd chapter recounts gāndharva as a very ancient form, its creator being Prapitāmaha, Brahmā himself :

gāndharvametat kathitam mayā tat (vah)
pūrvam yaduktam prapitāmahena (N.S. 33, 23).
“Gandharva, which I have described to you, was
propounded in ancient times by Prapitāmaha (Brahmā).”

A variant reading for 'prapitāmahena' in this verse is 'ihānāradena' (see footnote, N.S., Vol. IV, p. 402). Nārada was traditionally credited as being one of the earliest perpetrators of gāndharva. Dattila calls Brahmā the creator of gāndharva and Nārada the sage who taught the art to the mortals (Datt. 2).

3. We have observed that the chief use and function of gāndharva in ancient theatre was in the pūrvvaraṅga where it performed a propitiatory role. Bharata gives a mythic story relating the reason and the circumstances which led to different aspects of gāndharva being accorded slightly different propitiatory roles in the pūrvvaraṅga.

We have seen that the pada or the word-content in gāndharva could either be a hymn to Śiva, recognised as part of the gāndharva repertoire, or a collection of nonsense syllables strung together like a 'tarānā' and called nirgīta, bahirgīta or śuṣka. It was thought in Bharata's time that the meaningful hymns were pleasing to the gods, while the nirgīta served as propitiatory songs for mollifying the demons (daityas). The story, as told by Bharata, goes that saptarūpa or gāndharva was once being performed by Nārada and the gandharvas in an heavenly assembly where both gods and demons were present. Both nirgīta and hymns to the gods were sung. The demons were greatly enraged at hearing the praises of the gods. They then conferred together and announced that the nirgīta portion of gāndharva would belong to them. Gāndharva thus acquired the power to propitiate the gods and demons alike :

citradakṣiṇavṛttau tu saptarūpe pravartite
 sopohane sanirgīte devastutyabhinandite
 nāradādyaistu gandharvaiḥ sabhāyāṁ devadānavāḥ
 nirgītām śrāvitāḥ samyaglayatālasamanvitam
 tacchrutvā tu sukham gānam devastutyabhinanditam
 abhavankṣubhitāḥ sarve mātsaryāddaityarākṣasāḥ
 sampradhārya ca te'nyonyamityavocannavasthitāḥ
 nirgītam tu savāditramidāṁ grhṇīmahe vayam
 saptarūpeṇa santuṣṭā devāḥ karmānukīrtanāt
 vayam grhṇīma nirgītam tuṣyāmo' traivasarvadā

(N.S. 5, 31-35)

A few verses later, Bharata again reiterates :

gītakeṣu prayukteṣu devāstuṣyanti nityaśāḥ
 vardhamāne prayukte tu rudrastuṣyati sānugah

(N.S. 5, 47-48)

In the 31st chapter, Bharata has a verse extolling vardhamānaka which indicates its adṛṣṭa-end :

lakṣyalakṣaṇasampatyā mārgayuktividhikramaiḥ
 vardhamānaprayoktāro yāsyanti śivagocaram

(N.S. 31, 73)

"Those who perform vardhamāna, in accordance with its (śāstric) exposition and render it in the various mārgas (i.e., citra, dakṣiṇa and vṛtta) according to

the proper decrees following the true order of performance, can attain the nearness of Śiva Himself.”¹

(4) In his chapters on music, Bharata has left many indications revealing the distinctiveness of gāndharva in comparison with dhruvā, such as in describing alaṅkāras in the two forms, gitis, the nature of padas. There is another hint which, though a comparatively minor one, does add to the body of evidence. In delineating gāndharva Bharata addresses himself to the ‘gāndharvavedins’. Thus in specifying a certain point in gāndharva formations he states : “the jāti śadjodīcyavā should be rendered śāda-vita (hexatonic) by the gāndharvavedins through dropping the note ṛṣabha (śatśvary-amṛṣabhāpetam kāryam gāndharvavedibhiḥ N.S. 28, 108)”. Gāndharvavedin, as is clear from the context, evidently refers to those who knew gāndharva as a particular body of music and not generally to ‘knowers of music’. In the section on dhruvā, Bharata never speaks of gāndharvavedins but invokes the experts who know the rules of dhruvā” (dhruvāvidhānajñāḥ).² He also uses neutral addresses such as ‘those who know the subject’ (tajjñā) or those who are “experts in performing” (prayokṭi) or those who know (budhah) or “those who know singing”,³ but never gāndharvavid or gāndharvavedin.

(5) Gāndharva was as an art-form independent of nātya. Though it played a functional role in the pūrvvaraṅga of the ancient theatre, yet it was not moulded to the use of dramatic plots for creating programmatic effects. Bharata, therefore, mentions gāndharva and nātya separately in some places showing the independence of gāndharva from natya :

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| (a) gāndharvam caiva nātyam ca yah samyaganupaśyati | (N. S. 36, 78) ⁴ |
| (b) gāndharvam caiva nātyam ca dṛṣṭvā cintāmupāgamat | (N.S. 37, 2) |

¹ Abhinava comments :

लक्ष्य लक्षणसम्पत्तेति । मार्गीश्चित्रादयः । युचितयोजनम् । परिवर्त्तिम् को विधिः । यथाक्षरद्विसंब्यातत्रिसंब्यातरूप-क्रमपरिवर्तनेष्वासारितोत्पत्तिलक्षणः । एतेलक्षणस्य च सम्पदा घटितैरुपलक्षण वर्वामान ये प्रयुञ्जन्ते ते शिवगोचरं दृष्टादृष्टपरः श्रेयः प्राप्तिलक्षणं यास्यन्ति । भविष्यप्रयोगेण विविध फलानां धियः फलमुन्नतत्वकारणभित्याह । बहुवचनं प्रयोगेण गात्रादकनर्तकानां तुल्यफलत्वमाह ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 73.

² एष लक्ष्यकरपिण्डो विज्ञेयो वै ध्रुवाविधानज्ञः:

—N.S. 32, 240.

³ ध्रुवा प्रासादिकी कार्या तज्जैर्मैथ्यलयाश्रया

—N.S. 32, 325.

सानुबन्धा बुधैः कार्या गतिज्ञैरन्तरा ध्रुवा

—ibid., 32, 326.

उद्धता तृद्धता तस्मात् त्वया ध्रुवा बुधैः:

—ibid., 32, 330.

एवं भावान् विदित्वा तु श्रुत्वा कार्या प्रयोक्तृमि:

—ibid., 32, 344. etc.

⁴ We have quoted this verse from Kane's *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 19. In the G.O.S. edition of the N.S. the verse occurs in the 37th chapter towards the very end of the text, as No. 30. The line has a slightly variant reading :

गान्धर्वं चैह नाट्यं च यः सम्यक् परि (म्यमनु) पालयेत् ।

Professor Kane interprets the term gāndharva in such usages in a non-pāribhāṣic sense and understands them as meaning music in general: and as such—since music formed an integral part of ancient drama—he is not in favour of according an independent stature to gāndharva as separate from nāṭya. He says: “the *Nāṭyaśāstra* declares that sṛṅgāra is excited by flowers gāndharva and the reading of kāvya etc. (N.S. 6, 47). Too much emphasis should not, therefore, be laid (as is done in I.H.Q., Vol VI., pp. 72-80) upon the fact that gāndharva and nāṭya are separately mentioned in some places by *Nāṭyaśāstra* (as in N.S. 36. 49 and 78). This separate mention is due to the sāmānyaviśeṣanyāya or brāhmaṇaparivrājakanayāya” (*History of Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 19). Prof. Kane’s remark would be quite true if gāndharva meant music in general. But in view of the convincing evidence which reveals gāndharva as a specific body of music, which did not form an integral part of nāṭya, it would not be unjustified to interpret Bharata’s statements as indeed implying a separateness between gāndharva and nāṭya.

A statement of a somewhat similar intent by Bharata occurs in the 34th chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*:

gāndharvam caiva vādyam ca svātinā nāradena ca
vistāraguṇasampannamuktaṁ lakṣaṇakarmataḥ.

The verse does not occur in the reading accepted by Abhinava,¹ but is verse 3 in a somewhat different recension of the chapter (see N.S. Vol.IV, p. 464) which describes the various drums and modes of drum-playing used as accompaniment of ancient dramas. The above verse means: “Svāti and Nārada have described gāndharva and vādyā in detail along with their specific qualities and have expounded them in accordance with their functions.” The chapter where the verse occurs deals with vādyā as related to gāna in Abhinava’s sense of the term and hence gāndharva, in this context, must be understood as denoting a form quite separate from it. The association of Nārada with gāndharva is also significant, for Nārada has been reputed to be one of the earliest perpetrators of gāndharva. Narada’s connection with vādyā in general—not restricted to gāndharva alone—as indicated in this verse is also not surprising because apart from gāndharva Nārada’s name is associated also with dance, drama and music of all variety. Svāti was another ācārya of almost mythic repute like Nārada. His name occurs also among the ancient sage-like authorities on music whom Rāṇa Kumbha, for one, had studied: “vāyusvātimahendrakaśyapamarutsūnu...” (S. Raj. 1, 1, 1, 40).

¹ Where the corresponding verse is:

यथोक्तं मुनिभिः पूर्वं स्वातिनारदपुष्करैः । सर्वलक्षणसंयुक्तं, सर्वा (तथा) तोद्यविभूषितम् ॥

—N.S. 34, 2.

CHAPTER VII

SOME MINOR GĀNDHARVA FORMS

We see in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* that besides the seven gītakas of the gāndharva (which have been collectively termed ‘prakaraṇa’), other forms are also named in association with these and are also said to result in mokṣa or the attainment of Śiva’s supreme company. The *Smṛti* names these forms with the words :

ṛggāthā pāṇikā dakṣavihitā brahmagītikā
geyametattadabhyāśakaraṇānmokṣasajītām. (*Yājñavalkya Smṛti* 3, 114)

We find that four forms are named, ṛk, gāthā, pāṇikā and brahmagītika,¹ the third viz. pāṇikā is described as ordained by Prajāpati Dakṣa’ (dakṣavihitā), who according to Purāṇic accounts was a mind-born son of Brahmā.

An intriguing question here arises : What were these forms and what was their relation with gāndharva ? The gāndharva topic ‘prakaraṇa’ encompasses only the seven gītakas: madraka, oveṇaka, prakari, uttara, ullopyaka, aparāntaka and rovindaka (these were significantly, also named the saptarūpa). How were these other forms related to the seven gītakas ?

A passage from an unnamed ancient text quoted by Abhinava (perhaps from a Purāṇic chapter now lost) recounts some more forms of the same category as the four we have already mentioned :

ṛco vai brahmagītaśca brahmaṇābhīhitāḥ kila
dakṣena pāṇikāścāpi gāthā vai kaśyapena tu
mātṛbhiśca kapālāni sāmānyuktāni nandinā
gītakādi tu saptāiva nāradenoditāni vai (A.B. on N.S. 31, 54)

“the ṛks and the brahmagītas have been laid down by Brahmā. Dakṣa has ordained the pāṇikās and Kaśyapa, the gāthās. The kapālas have been propounded by the Mātṛkās and the sāmas by Nandi. The seven gitakas have been propagated by Nārada”.

Here, we are told of two other forms, kapāla and sāma, besides the four: ṛk, brahmagīta, pāṇikā and gāthā, mentioned in the *Smṛti* list. As in the *Smṛti* account, these forms are mentioned in conjunction with the seven gītakas constituting the topic prakaraṇa of gāndharva. Like the gītakas, these other forms, too, are accorded divine authorship.

¹ Vijnāneśvara in his *Mitākṣarā*, commenting on the verse, says :

ऋग्याथादाश्चतस्रो गीतिका इथेतदपरान्तकादिगीत जातमध्यारोपितात्मभावं मोक्षसाधनत्वान्मोक्षसंज्ञितं मन्तव्यम् ।

Śārṅgadeva also names these above mentioned forms along with the seven gītakas and the vardhamāna. His enumeration and accompanying remarks are interesting:

etaih prakaraṇākhyāni tālairyāni jagurbudhāḥ
tāni gītāni vaksyāmasteśāmadyām tu madrakam
aparāntakam ullopyām prakaryovenakām tataḥ
rovindakottare sapta gītakānityavādiṣuh
chandakāsārīte vardhamānakām pāṇikām tāthā
ṛco gāthā ca sāmāni gītānīti caturdaśa
Śivastutau prayojyāni mokṣaya vidadhe vidhiḥ

(S.R. 5, 53-56)

"The gītas termed prakarana which the wise have described as composed of these (aforementioned) tālas, we shall now describe: the first of these is the madraka, followed by aparāntaka, ullopya (ka), prakarī, oveṇaka, rovinda-ka and uttara—these have been termed the seven gītakas. Chandaka, āsārita, vardhamānaka, pāṇikā, ṛk, gāthā and sāma; (counting these) the gītas are fourteen in number. They are to be employed in singing praise to Śiva; Brahmā had performed them for attaining moṣka."

We observe that Śārṅgadeva intimately associates forms such as chandaka, āsārita, vardhamānaka, pāṇikā etc. with the saptarūpa and yet accords to them a separate category: after listing the gītakas of the saptarūpa (madraka etc.), he calls them 'the seven gītakas', then after recounting other seven forms he brackets them together with the gītakas. The fourteen forms are together called the 'gītas' that have a sacred significance. Of the non-saptarūpa forms that he enumerates, we have already become somewhat familiar with vardhamāna. The āsārita (named in Śārṅgadeva's list) was a limb or component of vardhamāna and perhaps also, at times, had an independent entity. Chandaka seems misplaced in this company and has indeed not been associated with pāṇikā and others by the older passages from the Smṛti and the ancient text quoted by Abhinava.¹ We notice that the gītas, kapāla and brahmagīta, are missing from Śārṅgadeva's list.

Kapāla, however, is mentioned in another context. Śārṅgadeva associates kapāla with the jātis though not with the gītakas. He says that the kapāla gītas are of seven kinds and each is born of a śuddha jāti (these being: śādji, āṛṣabhi, gāndāhri,

1. Chandaka was a component rendered at the end of the gītakas. Its formation seems to have been optional. In any case it seems to have had no independent entity. Śārṅgadeva himself qualifies chandaka with the words :

अन्ते गेयं गीतकानां छन्दकं

—S.R. 5, 180.

Kallinātha makes the purport explicit :

इदं छन्दकं मद्रकादिपु, एकं गीत्वा तदन्ते गेयमिति । अस्य स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रयोगो नास्तीति प्रतीयते ।

—Kalā on *ibid.*

madhyamā, pañcamī, dhaivatī and naiśadī). He adds that the kapālas resembled the rāgas born of these jātis (S.R. 1, 8, 1).

Although kapālas were born of jātis and were in this respect similar to rāgas, yet they formed a class quite apart from the rāgas. They were classed with the jātis both structurally and in spirit.

Of the 18 jātis, 7 were śuddha and the other 11 were mixed (samsargaja); they were born of the śuddha ones, so were the kapālas. Kallinātha commenting on Śāringadeva says that the kapālas were akin to the samsargaja jātis because they shared a common source with them. He clearly implies that kapālas should be bracketed with the jātis rather than the rāgas.¹ His words are worth quoting: "After the jātis have been described, now (beginning with S.R. 1, 8, 1) the kapālas, born of the śuddha-jātis, are being taken up; these kapālas are born of the seven śuddha-jātis, śādji etc.—this proclaims that the kapālas are not born of mixed (samsargaja) jātis. A question here arises: both śuddha and samsargaja jātis have common jāti-hood (jātitva); why then may the kapālas not be derivative of the latter? The answer is: the samsargaja jātis, like the kapālas, are also born of śuddha jātis; both thus share the same causal source from which they have directly and immediately descended; sharing this trait in common with the kapālas, the samsargaja jātis cannot be said to have caused the kapālas." Kallinātha clearly equates the kapālas with the samsargaja jāti and implies that they are as much a part of gāndharva as the 11 mixed jātis. He continues: "The purpose of knowing the kapāla forms is stated by (Śāringadeva) with the words 'rāga' etc. (see second line, S.R. 1, 8, 1). By the word 'janakajātīnām' in this context are denoted the 'śuddha' jātis. Rāgas born of them are the janya-rāgas and we shall later (in the rāgādhya) come across dictums—such as the one describing śrīrāga—which state 'śrīrāga is based on śadja and is born of the śādji jāti'. Rāgas of this type are akin to the kapāla born of the some parent jāti, as for example the śādji. These rāgas exhibit a structure similar (to the corresponding kapālas). The purpose underlying the description of kapālas is to help in understanding the raga-forms. Just as on seeing a kapāla (the bowl portion of a pitcher) which is, verily, a part of the pitcher-structure the pitcher itself can be recognised, similarly a rāga can be recognised in a kāpāla-gīta, which, has a structure akin to a portion of a rāga-structure. This is also the reason why kapālas have been so named." Thus kapālas had, like mixed jātis, some traits in common with rāga forms, and yet they were different from rāgas for they bore a closer kinship with the parent jāti.

¹ अधुना जातिस्वरूपनिरूपणानन्तरं शुद्धजातिसमद्भूतकपालानि शुद्धजातिभ्यः पादज्यादिभ्यः सत्प्रभ्यः समद्भूतानि कपालानि एतेन संसर्गजातिभ्यः कपालोत्पत्तिनर्त्युवतं भवति । ननु जातित्वात् विशेषात्ताम्योऽपि कपालोत्पत्तिः कुतो नेति वेत; उच्यते । कपालान्यपि ताभ्य एव उभयेषामयेक कारणादव्यवधानेत्यनन्तवस्याविशिष्टत्वात्संसग्नानां कपालजातीय प्रति कारणत्वायोगादिति; कपालपरिज्ञानस्य दृष्टप्रयोजनं तावहश्यति—'रागा' इति । जनकजातीनाम्; अत शुद्धजातयो जनकत्वेन विवक्षिताः; तासां रागाः जन्या रागाः; 'पदजे पाडजीसमुद्भूतं श्रीरागम्' इत्यादिनां वक्ष्यमाणप्रकारेण श्रीरागादयो रागाः; तत्कपालेष तासां पाडज्यादीनां कपालेष संमिताः सदशाकाराः प्रतीयन्ते । रागस्वरूप परिज्ञानमन्त्र कपालान्विति तेषां संज्ञाऽवग्नत्व्य । पथा घटैकदेशत्वैत कपालानि घटप्रतीति जनकान्येवमेतान्यपि रागप्रतीतिजननात्कपालानीव कपालान्विति तेषां संज्ञाऽवग्नत्व्य ।

—Kalā on S.R. 1, 8, 1.

The kapālas were not only structurally akin to the jāti, they were also governed by the same sacred, propitiatory spirit. Śāringadeva says that their musical structure as well as the hymns sung to them were composed by Brahmā. Also that kapālas were dear to Śiva and a person who sang them according to their ordained forms achieved spiritual welfare:

iti sapta kapälāni gāyanbrahmoditaiḥ padaiḥ
savaraīśca pārvatikāntastutau kalyāṇabhagbhavet (S.R. 1,8, 10).

"Such are the seven kapālas, which when sung to the words and music composed by Brahmā in praise of Śiva, result in spiritual well being (kalyāna)."

Kallinātha relates the mythic story of how Brahmā composed the seven kapālas. Once Śiva was out collecting alms. He was singing songs set to jātis such as the śādjī. So moving were Śiva's songs that on hearing them the Moon who dwells on Śiva's crest was moved to melt. Its amṛta (life giving water) began to drip on the skulls of Brahmās (dead Pitāmahas who had ruled over bygone 'kalpas') that Śiva was wearing as a garland. These skulls—kapālas—of bygone Brahmās immediately came to life and began singing songs in imitation of jātis being sung by Śiva. These songs sung by the kapālas of bygone Brahmās came to be known as kapāla-gāṇa.¹

Rāṇā Kumbha describes the kapālas in a like context—after having described jāti. In addition, he records hymns to Śiva supposedly sung by the kapālas. He also gives notations (svaralipi) for each of the kapāla songs. The source of the notations is unknown. Their authenticity appears dubious although Kumbha traces them to no less an authority than Mataṅga.² Unlike his predecessor, Śāringadeva, Kumbha notes three sets of kapāla-gānas, the first two sets contain 8 kapālas, the third contains 7. The first set is ascribed to Brahmā and termed brahma-kapāla-gāna; each kapāla of this set is named after a synonym of Brahmā. The second set is called the nānā-deva-kapāla-gāna: the eight kapālas in this set are ascribed each to a different god such as Āditya, Indra, Kāma, etc. The third set corresponds to Śāringadeva's description of the kapālas: each of the seven kapālas here are said to have been born of the different suddha jātis.

Regarding the mythic origin of kapāla-gāna, Kumbha relates a story similar in outline to the one related by Kallinātha, whom Kumbha in this instance, evidently, follows. In Kumbha's slightly altered version, the melting of the Moon takes place

¹ पुरा भिक्षाटनसमये शंभुना पादज्यादिपु गीथमानासु निरतिशयरसाभिव्यवतया रसात्मिकायां तन्मैलिगतचन्द्रकलायां च स्ववन्त्यं तदमृतससिक्तानि तद्भूषणबहूपकालानि तदा सजीवानि तद्वानामनुकृत्याग्यन् किल । अतः कपालगीत-त्वात्कपालसंज्ञानीत्येतिहम् । पादज्ञीकपालादिलक्षणानि स्पष्टायानि । एतेषां जातिभ्यः स्वृहपमेदस्तु न्यासादिभेदाद् द्रष्टव्यः । उच्यमाननियमेन कपालानां गातुरदृष्टकलयोर्गं चाह—‘इति सप्त कपालानीति’

—Kalā on S.R. 1, 8, 1-10.

² कपालगानं तदिवं प्रसिद्धं वेदसम्मतम् । विवृणोति महीपालो मतङ्गस्य मतादिह ।
— S.B. 2.1.4.121-125

-S.R, 2, 1. 4. 424-425

The extant Br. names and describes the jātis along the sanctioned lines of gāndharva, but mentions no kapāla-gāna.

during Śiva's dance; the kapālas that consequently come to life belong not only to the Brahmās of the past but also to the other gods.¹

Like Śārṅgadeva, Kumbha has in many passages noted the sacerdotal character of kapālas; he connects them like jātis, to sāma-gāna.²

Ancient texts, we have seen, speak of a brahma-gīta, ascribing its composition to Brahmā. Neither Kumbha nor Śārṅgadeva mention it. Perhaps it was this brahma-gīta, which was later embroidered with a mythic legend of origin, and was then termed kapāla-gāna. This explanation is attractive, but has one major snag: the brahma-gīta has been associated with the gītakas, not with the jātis and was probably a tāla-structure basically, but the kapāla as described above is clearly a svara-structure associated with jātis.³

Another gāna similar to the kapāla, namely, the kambala-gāna, is also described by Śārṅgadeva and Rāṇā Kumbha. Śārṅgadeva indicates its basic musical structure and possible variations on it, in two kārikās (S.R. 1, 8, 11-12). He ascribes its creation to the famed sage-musician of antiquity, Kambala. He remarks:

prītah kambalagānena kambalāya varam dadau
purā purāriradyāpi prīyate tairataḥ śivah

(S.R. 1, 8, 13)

"In ancient times Śiva, being pleased with kambala-gāna, granted Kambala his desired boon; even to this day these songs give Śiva joy."

Kallinātha says that the Kambala who composed the kambala gāna was a famed Nāga of this name.⁴

Kumbha also describes kambala-gāna after kapāla. His description is similar to that of Śārṅgadeva whom he has obviously followed in this context. Like his predecessor, he observes that kambala-gāna was sung by Kambala-Nāga in order to please Śiva: "yatkambalākhyanagenā prītaye pārvatipateḥ gītam" (S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 471).

¹ Kumbha deals with the kapālas at a considerable length.
—See S. Raj 2,1,4, 416-69.

² न तथा प्रीयते देवो नानाभावैः । यथा कपालगानेन सामगानसमेन च ॥
—S. Raj 2,1,4, 425-426.

कपालगानं वेदेनसमानमितिवर्णते । तेनेष्टं सकलेयं गीतं साममिरन्वहम् ।
एतत् स्वरपदैर्युवत्तं यो गायति शिवागतः । स सप्तजन्मजं पापं दहत्यग्निरिवेच्छनम् ।
—ibid. 2,1,4, 436-44. etc.

³ We must also not forget that the passage quoted by Abhinava ascribes different authorships to the brahma-gīta and the kapāla. Abhinava, moreover, quotes another passage in the same context, a line from which reads :

ऋगाथा ब्रह्मगीताश्च कपालानि त्योदशः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 54.

Here, too, brahma-gīta is clearly distinct from kapāla—it cannot be said that the pada 'brahma-gītāśca' qualifies 'kapālāni' for they bear different genders. It is not, however, unlikely that some text did speak of kapālas as sung by Brahmā, and this is what gave the later authors their cue.

⁴ कम्बलनाम्ना षष्ठपरशुकर्णं कुण्डलेन कुण्डलीन्द्रेण गीतत्वादस्य कम्बलसंज्ञा ।
—Kalā on S.R. 1,8, 11-13.

The *Märkandeyapurāṇa* (ch. 21) relates the story of two Nāga brothers who were granted supreme knowledge in music by Sarasvatī herself. Kambala was one of the brothers. The Purāṇa relates that these brothers worshipped Śiva through the seven gītakas—evidently the saptarūpa of gāndharva. There is no mention, however, of Kambala having composed new songs in praise of Śiva. It is the achievement of Kambala's brother Aśvatara which in the *Märkandeya* account comes out as the more creditable one : it was Aśvatara who worshipped Sarasvatī and received the boon of music, both for himself and for Kambala, from the Goddess (see also section VII). It is not unlikely, however, that other versions of this Purāṇic story described Kambala as the author of kambala-gāna.

Though kapāla is mentioned in connection with the gītakas (in the ancient passages that have come down to us), the kambala-gāna is not mentioned either in connection with jāti or with gītaka ; nor is its name to be found in the surviving ancient texts on music like the *Nātyaśāstra* and the *Dattilam*.¹

Bharata mentions by name only ṛk, gāthā and pāṇikā, and does so in the context of the gītakas :

“ṛggāthāpāṇikādīnāṁ saptarūpaṁ prakīrtitam” (N.S. 31, 368).

Here Bharata has used an ‘etc.’ after ṛk, gāthā and pāṇikā. This according to Abhinava was a pointer towards other similar forms such as sāma and kapāla : “ādiryeśā-mityupalakṣaṇadviniyuktena sāmakapālādīnā ṛggāthāpāṇikādī hi svarūpenaiva lakṣita-miti” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 368). Abhinava, too, we notice, uses an ‘etc.’ after sāma and kapāla. Probably he intended to include the brahma-gīta too within this class. We do not know what other forms besides these were also included in this class, for no definitive ancient list is available.

Other comments of Abhinava on the above verse from Bharata are worthy of attention. He says, firstly, that ṛk, gāthā etc. were tāla-forms. Secondly, he explains Bharata's statement as denoting the fact that the structure of these forms conformed to the gītaka.² Another line from the *Nātyaśāstra* reiterates : “yā ṛcaḥ pāṇikā gāthāḥ saptarūpāṅga eva ca” (N.S. 32, 2)—ṛks, pāṇikās, gāthās are, verily, composed with the components of the saptarūpa (also translatable as ‘they form part of the saptarūpa’).

¹. The extant Br. also makes no mention of kambala-gāna. It is significant that while Sāṅgadeva in his very uddeśa names kapāla and kambala-gāna along with the jātis :

जातिलक्ष्य ग्रहीशादि कपालानि च कम्बलम्

—S.R. 1,1, 36,

in Br. and its Vṛtti—though long sections on the jāti are found—nowhere are these two forms mentioned. The Br. section on the gitakas, if such a section was there, is not available.

² अथात् कम्प्यधिकमुगादितालस्वरूपमस्ति । तत् कस्मात्तोक्तमित्याशङ्क्याह । ‘ऋग्यायापाणिकादीनां सप्तरूपमिति’ । ऋग्यादीनां यद्युपं तत् सप्तैव । गीतकरूपानतिरिक्तमेवेति यावत् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 368.

elsewhere Abhinava says :

नन्वासारितवर्धमानकगीतकपाणिकाच्छन्दकप्रभूतीनां तावत् तालात्मकत्वम् ।

—ibid. 31, 26.

We find a similar observation in Dattila. After describing gītakas, Dattila describes the *vardhamānaka* and then has 4 kārikās on the pāṇikā (where the structure of this form is described in his compressed sūtra-like style, Datt. 232-236). He then remarks :

athehānuktatālānām gītāvayavasambhavaḥ
tālaḥ sa + + + + bhyām saṃsādhyo
yaktitāḥ kvacit

(Datt. 236-237)

"Now regarding tālas not here described ; their tāla (structure) is derivative of gīta(ka) components and can be fitly reconstructed with the help of (the two beats śamyā and sannipāta ?)."

These undescribed tālas (spoken of in context of the pāṇikā) obviously point to ṛk, gāthā, sāma, kapāla, etc. which were of the same class as the pāṇikā. Dattila says that the structures of these tālas were built of the same components as the gītakas—a statement parallel to that of Bharata. Dattila, indeed, thought that his description of the gītakas, along with *vardhamāna* and pāṇikā was enough for an expert to be able to formulate the other tāla-structures akin to these. Like Dattila, Bharata, too, has described the pāṇikā, and the pāṇikā alone, among tāla forms of this class. Uncharacteristically, he has only a single verse on pāṇikā (*viz.* N.S. 31, 325). Even Dattila, who was being deliberately brief, gives a fuller description.¹

We know of another gītaka, which though not a part of the saptarūpa, was quite as important as any saptarūpa form. This was the *vardhamānaka*. Both Bharata and Dattila have devoted a large section to the *vardhamānaka*. *Vardhamānaka* was formed with the same structural elements and on the same principles as the gītaka. Pāṇikā and other such forms emerge as kindred of the *vardhamānaka*; they, too, were shaped like the gītakas and were governed by the same transcendental, propitiatory adṛṣṭa spirit.

The saptarūpa, we have argued, resulted in the dhruvā through structural transformations. Ṛk, gāthā and pāṇikā were akin to the saptarūpa in this respect also (N.S. 32, 2). Abhinava names them along with the gītakas as the formal basis for the five dhruvās : "among the limbs or components of the gītakas and of Ṛk, gāthā and pāṇikā those components which shine out as the most excellent should, on the basis of the fact that they share some general characteristics (with dhruvā-forms), be turned into the five assemblages (saṅghātas) such as the prāveśika and other (dhruvās)—gītakānāmr̥ggāthāpāṇikānāmavagato yat kiñcitukṛṣṭamaṅgarupam lakṣyate tat sāmānyānuguṇaiḥ prāveśikyādibhiḥ pañcabhiḥ saṅghātaibhū sthāpitavyam" (A.B. on N.S. 32,

1. This is obviously the reason why later authors like Sāriṅgadeva and Kumbha in describing the pāṇikā have borrowed substantially from Dattila, though without acknowledging the debt. Bharata's descriptions on this point were too short. See 'pāṇikā' ch. IV.

4-6).¹ The gāthā structure, Abhinava giving an example remarks, was the source for the use of sweet and charming rhythms in dhruvās : "gāthābhyo hṛdayālhādakavṛttopayogaḥ" (A.B. *ibid.*)

Though considered as part of gāndharva, pāṇikā and others of its class are treated in a somewhat off-hand manner by Dattila and Bharata and are clearly not accorded the same importance and status as the saptarūpa and vardhamānaka. The reason is difficult to envision. There is, however, a short laconic statement by Abhinava which might have some bearing on this matter. Regarding the pāṇikā, he says that "the tāla-arrangement in pāṇikā though also constituted of śamyā etc. (like saptarūpa) has the measure or form of an inferior or destitute saptarūpa : pāṇikāyāstālavibhāgaḥ śamyādikamapi hīnasaptarūpapramāṇam" (A.B. on N.S. 32, 4-6).

In contrast to the gītakas and the vardhamānaka, pāṇikā and others of this class were, apparently, softer, gentler, more tender forms, perhaps also lighter in their ethos and expression. Abhinava quotes the opinion of one Bhaṭṭa ("bhaṭṭamatenaṇī") who remarked "gāthānām pāṇikānām ca gānam masṛṇasampadā : the songs of gāthās and pāṇikās are pervaded with softness." He adds that such qualities passed from these forms to the dhruvās and were the source for similar attributes (in them) : ityādi dhruvākārye kāraṇavat dharmānugamāt." (A.B. on N.S. 32, 4-6).

The 'feminine' character of pāṇikā and others is also testified by the fact that these forms were used as accompaniments for the lāsyā in the pūrvvaraṅga. Lāsyā, we have seen, was the dance suited to the sukuṁāra variety of plays where the dominant sentiments were śringāra and hāsyā. Abhinava relates pāṇikā to the lāsyā, and introduces Bharata's verse on the pāṇikā with the words : "atha sukuṁaraprāyāllasyadvareṇa pūrvvaraṅgopayoginīm pāṇikām lakṣayati : now the pāṇikā is being expounded which being largely delicate in character is useful in the pūrvvaraṅga through the lāsyā" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 325). Later, commenting on the same verse, Abhinava again says : "(pāṇikā) being itself delicate—sukuṁāra—is predominantly used in the pūrvvaraṅga of a sukuṁāra play when the (śāstra) enjoined dance movement of such a pūrvvaraṅga are being rendered." He adds : "It (the pāṇikā) belongs to the same category as the gītaka and thus its exposition in this context is quite appropriate."²

It seems likely that forms like the pāṇikā stood in the same relation with the gitakas of gāndharva as does the thumrī with the Hindustani classical forms of today, the khayāl and the dhrupad. The thumrī though quite as classical as the more austere khayāl and dhrupad is a 'light' classical form—it is classical and yet not quite classical—being more pliant and feminine in structure and spirit.

And yet pāṇikā and others of this class seem to have been quite unlike the thumrī of our analogy in one principal aspect : they do not appear to be, chronologically,

¹ See also :

नारत्राद्यैर्यन्ति गीतांगानि वर्णांगानि सप्तरूपांगमात्रा मुखप्रतिमुखानि सप्तरूपप्रमाणं च यश्चतुरथादि याप्तवर्णं क्रृत्याथः पाणिका इह नियुक्तानि तदेव "ध्रुवेति संज्ञितम्" । नान्यत् किञ्चिदिति नपुं सकेन गीतांगसप्तरूपप्रमाणानां सम्बन्धः । या इत्यनेन क्रृत्याथापणिकानाम्

—A.B. on N.S. 32, 1-2.

² मुकुमारप्रयोगे हि पूर्वरङ्गे तदरङ्गे वा चारीप्राये नियमे च प्रधानं मुकुमारत्वात् । एवं च गीतकतुल्यकक्षयतयैवेयं लक्षण्यतुः यत्का ।

products of a later development like the *ṭhumī* which bears a similar relation to older forms like *khayāl* as do Baroque and Roccoco to the historically earlier Renaissance forms in European architecture. If names are at all to be taken as guides, *pāṇikā* etc. would, rather, seem to be older than the *gītakas*. Some of these forms have names such as *ṛk*, *sāma* and *gāthā*¹—implying a relation with the Vedas. The relation is not clear but some connection is borne out by the description of these forms as found in Śāṅgadeva, who evidently based his descriptions on the authority of ancient sages.² In the *ṛk*, he says, the pada or word content could constitute of either secular or Vedic passages: “*laukikairvedikairvāpi gātavyamṛcamūcire*” (S.R. 5, 224). Further, such time units—*kalās*—as were devoid of words in *ṛk* could be filled in or ‘completed’ (*kalānām pūraṇam*) with the help of ‘words from mantras’ or, alternatively, with a series of prescribed nonsense syllables uttered by Brahmā (S.R. 5, 225).

The *gītaka* called *sāma* was rendered the *stobha* (nonsense) *akṣaras* of the Vedic *sāmagāna* : “*stobhaṇīm vijāniyatsāmno vaidikasāmavat*” (S.R. 5, 230). The Vedic *sāmagāna* was sung in (S.R. 5, 231-232) seven parts known as *prastāva*, *udgīthaka*, *pratiḥāra*, *upadrava*, *nidhana*, *hiṅkāra* and *oṅkāra*. The *gāndharva sāma* had a corresponding arrangement : its first five parts, parallel to those of *sāma*, were named *udgrāha*, *anudgrāha*, *sambodha*, *dhruvaka* and *ābhoga*; the last two were *hiṅkāra* and *oṅkāra* which were used as *pūrakas* or fillers of unworded, ‘empty rhythmic time units’.³ *Gāthā*, too, had structural elements akin to the *gāndharva sāma*, for besides other standard *gītaka* features it contained ‘many limbs of *sāma*’: “*sāmāṅgāni ca bhūyāmṣi*” (S.R. 5, 230).

¹ *ṛk* is the mantra in *Rgveda*; *sāma* means the musical composition to which a mantra was set and *gāthā* in Vedic times denoted ‘song’.

² Describing *ṛk* he says

विकलः पट्कलो वात्त स्तोमः स्यान्मूनि संमतः ।

—S.R. 5, 226

and describing *gāthā* he says :

कला मुनिजनेरुक्ता गायायाश्चतुरक्षरा

—S.R. 5, 228

We do not know which sages Śāṅgadeva had here in mind. Dattila and Bharata have not described *ṛk*, *sāma* and *gāthā*. Viśākhila, however, might have described them. It seems from a remark of Abhinava’s that Viśākhila had devoted a greater space to the *lāsyā* with which these forms were intimately connected than had Bharata. Abhinava, commenting on Bharata’s short description of the *catuṣpada*, which seems to have been an appendix to forms such as the *pāṇikā* and belonged to a genre of songs known as the *lāsyā gāna*, says :

बनया च विणाखिलादिलक्षितं सर्वं मेव लास्यगानं स्वीकृतमपलक्षितं च ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 328-329.

³ ब्रह्मणा च पुरा गीतं प्रस्तावोद्गीथको तथा । प्रतिहारोपद्रवो च निधनं पञ्चमं मतम् ॥
ततो हिंकार औंकारः सप्ताङ्गानीति तत्र तु । उद्गाहः स्यादनुद्गाहः संबोधो ध्रुवकस्तथा ॥
आभोगव्येति पञ्चानामाद्यानामभिधाः क्रमात् । हिंकारोकारयोस्तत्र कलापूरकता मता ॥

—S.R. 5, 231-233.

Kalā comments :

ब्रह्मणा च पुरा गीतमित्यत्र सामेष्यद्याहर्तव्यम् । प्रस्ताव इत्यादि । वैदिके सामनि प्रस्तावाभ्यस्य अङ्गस्य गीते सामन्युद्गाह इति संज्ञा । उद्गीथस्य अनुद्गाह इति संज्ञा । प्रतिहारस्य सम्बन्ध इति संज्ञा । उपद्रवस्य ध्रुवक इति संज्ञा । निधनस्य आभोग इति संज्ञा । एवं क्रमो द्रष्टव्यः । तत्र गीते हिंकारोकारयोः कलापूरकता द्रष्टव्या ।

The question then is : Were these forms—ṛk, sāma—etc. then really chronologically older than the saptarūpa as the description given by Śāringadeva (also Kumbha and others) suggests ? Were they, in other words, closer to the ancient sāma-gāna than the saptarūpa? And if so, how was it that they were accorded an inferior position in the gāndharva scheme? These are questions which cannot have satisfactory answers till more ancient works come to light. Perhaps we might still venture to make a conjecture—forms like pāṇikā etc. did really have a closer affinity with the Vedic sāma music, but they were at the same time (perhaps as a corollary to their being old) comparatively simpler structures and, consequently, when the more sophisticated and intricate saptarūpa evolved, these older forms were relegated to a lesser position of honour.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GENESIS OF GĀNDHARVA

Gāndharva was sacred music—it must have grown and developed as a musical expression of the ancient seer's sensitivity towards the divine and his experience of it. Over a period its forms became fixed and were treated as a reserved territory, so that they may not be contaminated by more vulgar, less divinely inspired forms. These stratified forms were dedicated as ritual and were preserved unchanged. This had happened also in Egypt.

Plato was, in principle, against innovations in music made simply for the sake of newness out of flippancy or a desire to seek sensuous titillations. He approved only of certain old and established musical forms which were known to have a sound moral influence on the character of citizens. He was in favour of dedicating the approved melodies to the gods, like the Egyptians did, because thus consecrated, the melodies could be perpetuated for generations to come; their purity could be guarded due to the divinity attached to them. (See *Laws VII*, paras 799-800).

Gāndharva, too, was perpetrated intact because of its supposed divine origin and its ritual dedication. Historically, however, the period when it became codified into a strict ceremonial form, looms as a large and tricky question. As in other fields of ancient arts and sciences not much material is available to help our speculations. Some conjectures, however, may be made.

Abhinava often calls gāndharva 'anādi': existing since the beginning of time (like the Vedas). Yet its beginninglessness was apparently not its own but was dependent upon the *Sāmaveda*, which was its source: "gāndharvavedavat svayamanādirvā sāmavedaprabhavate' pi vā" (A.B. on N.S. 33 1).

There was a general saying among ancients that all songs are born of sāma : 'sāmabhyo gitam'. Abhinava quotes this saying in the beginning of his comments on N.S. 28, 9-10 and adds that sāma was the penultimate cause of all musical forms; gāndharva, he says, originated in sāma and the gāna forms in turn originated in gāndharva : "sāmabhyo gitamiti kathitam, sāmāni cātra kāraṇakāraṇāni, gāndharvam hi sāmabhyastasmādbhavam gānam." Again, in his lengthy analysis of gāndharva with which he opens the 33rd chapter, he defines gāndharva as : "dṛṣṭādṛṣṭaphalasāmavedaprabhavānādikālānivṛttam . . . : (gāndharva) has both a dṛṣṭa and an adṛṣṭa phala, it is born of *Sāmaveda* and is without a beginning. . . ."

Regarding the gitakas of gāndharva (the saptarūpa), Dattila himself says: "ityevam ṛṣibhṛgitam sāmavedasamudbhavam saptarūpam . . . : such is saptarūpa, sung by the ṛṣis and born of the *Sāmaveda*" (Datt. 222). Bharata has a short cryptic

statement regarding the origin (*yoni*) of *gāndharva*: "its origin", he states, "is song, *vīṇā* and flute' (*asya yonibhavedgānam vīṇā vamśastathaiva ca*, N.S. 28, 10).

From this statement alone it is not quite clear whether Bharata is referring to a historical source of *gāndharva* or to the musical factors with which *gāndharva* is built-up (which in other words originate it) because the word 'yoni' can be construed in both the senses. Abhinava interprets the line as signifying a historical origin. The word *gāna* he says, (in this context) denotes the mantras sung as *sāma* song: "*gānamiti sāmayonigītiṣu samākhyā*." '*Vīṇā*', according to him, denoted the *vīṇā* used during the *mahāvrata* ceremony: "*vīṇeti mahāvratopayoginī auḍumbarī*". '*Vamśa*' was indicative of the tradition of flute-playing initiated by *Nārada*: "*vamśa iti nāradādigurusantānānuyāyītī*". These were the sources of *gāndharva*: "*gāndharvasya prabhavah*."

The *Sāmaveda* had numerous *śākhās*, many more so than any other *Veda*. The mantras sung were taken from the *R̥gveda*. *Śākhā* differences thus did not pertain to literary material and must have included differences as to musical renditions of ṛk mantras.

Sāma-gānas were classified into *grāma-geya*, *āraṇyaka*, *ūha* and *ūhya* songs. The first two were the basic compositions (*yonigāna*) of which the latter two were variations (*vikṛtigāna*). These *vikṛtigāna* forms may also have contained elements of improvisation since 'rūpāntara,' or formal changes during its learning and study, played an important role.¹ *Grāma-geya* (lit. 'to be sung in habitations') *sāma*-songs were compositions suitable for performance in the presence of the populace or the community. *Āraṇyakas* (lit. 'to be sung in forests') had a mystic significance attached to them and were also called *rahasya-gāna*; they appear to have originally developed in the secrecy and solitude of forest retreats. It is not unlikely that the nature of music in *grāma-geya* and *āraṇya-geya* songs was also different and that *grāma-geya* songs leaned toward folk forms while *āraṇya* songs were composed with more intricate art forms.

Evidence reveals *sāma* as a rich heritage of music comprising a wide range and variety of musical forms. Many characteristics certainly passed into *gāndharva* as a legacy and left their indelible stamp upon the younger form and, through it, upon all subsequent music. Yet, between *sāma* and *gāndharva* there seems to have occurred a great transition. This cannot be traced in detail because information regarding early musical forms is scanty. However, some symptoms of change are evident. The very nomenclature of the notes, we discover, underwent a basic change. In *gāndharva* the seven notes of the octave were named *ṣadja*, *r̥ṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, *madhyama*, *pāñcama*, *dhaiyata* and *nīṣāda*. These names have persisted in the musical tradition of India down to the present times—a period of over 2500 years, since these names already appear in the early epics and the *Sikṣās* as quite well-established. The *sāmic*

¹ The spirit of a free musical interpretation of the ṛks to be sung (at least during the early formative period of *sāma* music) was, perhaps, also the reason why many mantras were composed to over 25 tunes; one mantra (*Sāmaveda*, 9, 107, 4) in particular having as many as 61. Vide *Veda Mimamsā* by Sri Anirvāṇa (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, Vol. I. p. 59).

names were very different: kruṣṭa, prathama, dvitīya, tṛtīya, caturtha, mandra and atisvārya. These according to the śikṣākāra Nārada¹—by whose time the modern names had already become more current—corresponded to pañcama, madhyama, gāndhāra, ṛṣabha, ṣaḍja, dhaivata and niṣāda.

The notes of sāma, we notice, are counted in the avarohī order and not in the ārohī as in gāndharva and ever since. We also notice an odd point: the sāma octave does not follow a straight course in its succession of notes—dhaivata precedes niṣāda instead of following it. The reason for this irregularity is quite unknown; the irregularity had straightened out by the time gāndharva evolved.

When the Śikṣās were composed, there existed only two grāmas—the ṣadja and the madhyama—as in gāndharva. The musical structure of these grāmas must have been a legacy to gāndharva from the older form. The Śikṣās, however, speak of a third grāma—the gāndhāra, ‘no longer known in the world of men’. But evidently, it was a grāma current during an early period of sāma singing, though it went out of use later by the time gāndharva began taking shape.

Apart from grāma, the sāmic frame-work seems to have contributed tāna and mūrchanā to gāndharva.

Every mūrchanā and tāna had a distinct name.² They were used in specific Vedic rituals. Dattila, too, mentions the sacred character of tānas: “devārādhyanayogaṇa tatpuṇyotpādaka” (Datt. 31). Abhinava quotes injunctions from authoritative texts indicating the ritualistic functions of both mūrchanās and tānas.

In sāma-music every mūrchanā and tāna had evidently a specific independent ritualistic role. In gāndharva, mūrchanās and tānas were incorporated within the total musical structure and had no independent application. Abhinava thus, regarding mūrchanās, remarks: “mūrchanās (in themselves) have no application in this śāstra (i.e., gāndharva), but in sāmic rituals one can clearly observe their application. Thus it has been said (as part of a certain sāmic ceremony) ‘three gāthās should be sung to the mūrchanā uttaramandrā’. The same is true of tānas which have, in the Vāyupurāṇa etc., been thus described: ‘the first tāna should be the one called agniṣṭomīya, the second vājapeyika etc.’ their names themselves indicate their connection with the sacrifices corresponding to these names: “etaduktam bhavati—mūrchanānām yadyapīhāgame nāstyupayogaḥ, tathāpi dṛṣṭasāmakriyāyām va sphuṭa evopayogaḥ tathā hi darśitam ‘uttarmandrayā tisro gāthāḥ’ iti; tānānām agniṣṭomīyamādyām syād dvitīyam vājapeyikam’ ityādināmanirūpaṇadvārenaiva vāyupurāṇādau yajñopayogi sāmaṛggāthopayogaḥ pradarśitah” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 34).

¹ His Nāradī Śikṣā is an aṅga or branch of the Sāmaveda and was composed in order to help Sāma-vedins to know sāma music. The work is not very early and has been assigned to a period between the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D. The other Śikṣās like the Yājñavalkya Śikṣā, the Māndūki Śikṣā are equally late.

² The Nāradī Śikṣā lists 21 mūrchanās, the basis of which is not quite clear as it recognises only two grāmas as current. Two sets of mūrchanās have names entirely different from those in Bharata and Dattila; while the third set contains names in common with the names of both the ṣadja-grāma and madhyama-grāma mūrchanās as given by Bharata and Dattila. The names of tānas are not found in the extant Nāradī Śikṣā. But Dattila (cf. Datt. 31) speak of Nārada in connection with them. Tho tāna names are found in Vāyupurāṇa, (86, 20-27). Br. (106-17), S. Raj (2, 1, 1, 476-93) etc.

Abhinava also speaks of a sāma-song called the agniṣṭomika which was evidently composed to the tāna of the same name. A person who praised Śiva with this sāma acquired great adṛṣṭa as a result. Also—as a verse quoted by Abhinava testifies—‘the members partaking in a yajña ceremony (sadasya) could all be expiated of their sins on hearing the agniṣṭoma sāma and could conquer the transcendental worlds’: “agniṣṭomikasāmena śivam stutvā tatphalamiti ca prayokturaadṛṣṭam̄ śrūyate tathā ‘sadasyamagniṣṭomasāma sīrvataḥ pātakairmucyate, lokān jayati (A.B. *ibid.*)”.

Although in gāndharva, mūrchanās and tānas had no independent status, yet the fact that they did form part of gāndharva and were preserved as limbs of gāndharva in their ancient unaltered form, shows the indebtedness of gāndharva to sāma.

A basic musical factor which gāndharva owed to sāma was the indispensability of the note madhyama (“madhyamavyatiriktāḥ sarve svarā nāśināḥ madhyamasya tu nakvacidvināśah” A.B. on N.S. 28, 61-65). Bharata himself states that madhyama occupied an indispensable position both in sāma and in gāndharva, thus implicitly acknowledging the influence of sāma. Abhinava in this context, quotes a line from the *Nāradī Śiksā* and remarks that madhyama in sāma was the initial (prathama) note (the tonic?) and hence it was always used: “‘sāmasvapīti,’ tatra hyasau prāthamyan-
niyatprayogah. yadāha nāradamunih, ‘yah sāmagānāṁ prathamāḥ sa viṣenmadhya-
masvarah’, ‘veṇormadhyama’ itayanye paṭhanti” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 64-65). Our knowledge of sāma forms is so meagre that we can form no idea of the nature of the indispensability of madhyama in it—but the unique position this note occupied in gāndharva was certainly due to the influence of sāma.

We have already noted that the attitude to pada or the word-content of songs bears a great similarity in sāma and gāndharva. The nature of syllabic-distortions (vikāra) in gāndharva show a family resemblance to those in sāma singing, and this was certainly not accidental or due to a coincidence. Sāma must have exerted an influence on gāndharva in this region too.

Sāma must have also contributed many other factors of a more subtle nature to gāndharva, like graces and alaṅkāras; also it must have influenced the younger form in the very manner of throwing one’s voice, the inflexion of notes in singing or playing and a score of such seemingly minor points that loom so large in giving a distinct individuality to any musical culture. It also must have contributed melodies or melodic lines and phrases which later became stratified into gāndharva as part of jātis.

Though influenced by sāma, gāndharva was distinct from sāma. Gāndharva, historically, fell between the sāmic forms out of which it was born and later grāma-rāga, bhāṣā, rāga and other ‘gāna’ forms which were born of it: “gāndharvam̄ hi sāmabhyastasmādbhavam̄ gānam” (A.B. on N.S. 28,9). There must have been non-sāmic influence on gāndharva.

Abhinava has enumerated two other factors besides sāma-songs as sources of gāndharva: the audumbarī viñā and the flute as played in the tradition of Nārada.

The Vedic people took a keen delight in music and a variety of instruments were in vogue and professional musicians were quite common.¹ Many viñās were

¹ *History and Culture of the Indian People ; The Vedic Age*, p. 456,

known of which audumbarī was one of the most popular, Shri Ramakṛṣṇakavi has opined that "a careful examination of the Vedic rites and Śikṣās thereupon drives one to the irresistible conclusion that the origin of Indian music lay in certain rites where the priest and the performer chant some gāthās alternately while the wife (yajamānī) plays on viṇā and the closing of the sacrifice was enjoined with the conduct of a peculiar dance. The kind of viṇā mentioned for the above purpose is called the picchola and in another place it is called audumbarī, that is, made of audumbara wood".¹

Abhinava mentions the audumbarī in connection with the rites of mahāvrata. This was a festival in which girls and matrons whose husbands were still living danced around a fire to the music of lutes and flutes; 'dance music and song filled the whole day of moving'.² The lute played was apparently the audumbarī. It was evidently a kind of harp viṇā rather like a cembalo and contained a hundred strings made of muñja grass. It was played by striking the strings with sticks made of the vetasa plant. The viṇā was called vāṇa. The epithet audumbarī was attached to it because it was made of audumbara wood.³ It appears to have been similar to the modern santūra popular in Iran and Kashmir and recently reintroduced to Hindustani classical music. It evidently was the precursor of later viṇās like the mattakokilā—with 21 strings that could be tuned to the three octaves⁴—and also vipañcī and others that were used in rendering gāndharva and later musical forms.

Abhinava mentions the vamśa (flute), too, in connection with gāndharva. Flutes must have been known in a great variety. Though the term vamśa indicates a bamboo flute but Abhinava in his commentary on the flute section of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, quotes an ancient kārikā which mentions flutes made of many materials like silver (raupyah) bronze (kāmsyaja), gold (sakāñcanah) and wood (khadira).⁵ These must have descended from ancient models. The nature of flute-playing as developed by Nārada and his tradition is not known. Presumably—apart from technical peculiarities—the nature of the music played must have been the same as in sāma songs.

Yet it is very probable that the tradition of the flute and audumbarī-viṇā-playing incorporated new musical elements or carried old forms to further elaborations or intricacies not to be found in sāma songs. A demand for strict regulation attached itself to the musical movements with which mantras were sung in sāma especially during the later Vedic period when the sāma songs lost their creative impetus and

¹ Quoted in Bh. Sans. Iti (B) by Prajñānanand, Vol. I, p. 199.

² *The Sanskrit Drama*, Keith, p. 29.

³ औदुम्बरस्य वीणादण्डस्य दशदशातिमथितायेककस्मिन्नतिमथिते मोन्जान्स्तन्त्रप्रवयन्ति स वाणः शततन्तुः । अथेकेषां भूस्त्वयस्त्विंशततन्तव इति वयस्त्वं शतमध्यर्थः प्रतनोति । भूवस्त्वयस्त्वं शततन्तव इति त्यामित्वं शत् होता । सुवस्त्वयस्त्वं-शततन्तव इति वयस्त्वं शततमुद्गाता गृह्णपतिमुत्तमम् ।

—Kātyāyana's *Srautasūtra*, 21, 17.

⁴ तत्र मत्तकोकिला प्रधानभूता । एक विश्वातितन्त्रीकरवेनान्यूनाधिकं विस्थानगस्त्ररसारणा जातिगीति वीणाशरीरमुच्यते ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 12.

⁵ खदिरादिनिर्मितोऽप्यसौ भवत्येव । तथा चोक्तम् वंशे सृष्टा यदा पूर्वं वंशसंज्ञा तु वैणवी । वंशास्तु खदिरा रोप्याः कांस्यजा वा सकाञ्चनाः ॥

—A.B. on N.S. 30, 1.

became fixed and static. But instrumental music by its very nature cannot be so mantra-bound and perhaps evolved new forms which it handed to gāndharva.

Gāndharva must also have absorbed forms borrowed from the everchanging popular traditions. The gāndharva form is intimately connected with Śiva hymns. Tāṇḍava and lāsyā were dances complementary to gāndharva which formed their musical accompaniment. These dances, too, were associated with Śiva. This fact signifies a very definite Śaivaite inspiration behind gāndharva. Śaiva sampradāyas have always been liberal in adopting non-Vedic forms and ideas. It would, therefore, be quite in character for them to have fused non-Vedic popular musical forms with sāmic traditions in gāndharva.

Some influence of regional or folk factors in the jātis is, in fact, suggested by their names. Thus the musical idiom current in the North of India seems to have contributed in giving the jāti ṣaḍjodīcyavā its form ('udīcya'—the country to the north of the river Sarasvatī, i.e., the northern region)¹. We, too, have our 'regional' rāgas, incorporating stylised folk-idioms such as sorāṭha, baṅgāl-bhāirava, mānd etc.

Two other jātis evince a northern influence—the madhyamodīcyavā and the gāndhārodīcyavā. Another jāti, the āndhī (also called andhri) may have been influenced by local forms popular in the Āndhra region.

Some accounts of sāma-melody are available, but of sāma-tāla we know almost nothing. In gāndharva, tāla-structures were built of very complicated patterns. They may have borrowed some elements from sāma; but in tāla, more than in svara, non-sāmic influence seems to have acted as a great formative force. Many terms and topics relating to the svara aspect of gāndharva can clearly be traced to sāma-music, but no aspect of gāndharva tāla is similarly traceable. Indeed, accounts of sāma singing evince no trace of tāla playing.

It is likely that tāla, rendered as a rich structural pattern with its own independent forms, was absent from sāmamusic (as is also testified by the fact that none of the existing sāma-śākhās have anything like a tāla-accompaniment with the sāma chant) but evolved in the popular percussion music of Vedic times. This, then, was passed on as a legacy to gāndharva and through it to subsequent art-forms of Indian music.

The earliest mention of terms used in gāndharva in connection with tāla, is found in the epics and the Smṛtis. The *Sabhāparva* of the *Mahābhārata* contains a description of gandharvas and kinnaras who performed in Yudhisthira's newly built Sabhā or council hall. These musicians are called experts in śamyā and tāla and in laya (śamyatālavisāradāḥ pramāṇe ca laye sthāne kinnarāśca kṛtaśramāḥ, MBh. Sabha. 4, 46). Śamyā and tāla were names of two of the sounded beats in gāndharva.

¹ The geographical location of Uḍīcya, that we have given is from the Mbh. as quoted by Monier-Williams in his dictionary under 'udīcya'. Regarding ṣaḍjodīcyavā Abhinava remarks : उदीच्याः प्रयोक्तारो वाहुर्वेन सन्त्यस्यामित्युदीच्या । वान्ति गच्छत्तीति । उदीच्येऽपि च दश्यते । गीतं च देशनामधेयैवर्ण-हृल्यादिमिसुचितत्वापेक्षया व्यपदिश्यतएव टक्करागो मालवपञ्चमो गीडी मालवी काम्भोजीत्यादि ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 106-109.

The *Anuśāsanaparva*, mentions two other terms—*pāṇi* and *sāma*—along with *śamyā* and *tāla* ('*pāṇītālsatālaiśca śamyātālaiḥ samaitsthā*', MBh. Anu. 25, 19). *Śamyā* and *tāla*, indeed, are mentioned repeatedly (Sabhā 4, 44; Drona 69, 11 etc.).

The *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions *kalā* and *mātrā* which were technical terms denoting time-measures in gāndharva *tāla*. The mention is made in connection with the singing of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Lava and Kuśa ('*kalāmātrāvīśeṣajñau*', Ram. Uttara, 94, 6).

Evidently, some factors and aspects of gāndharva *tāla* were an established part of musical practice during the epic period. However, historically speaking, it is almost impossible to draw any conclusions regarding chronological priorities in this matter. Whether gāndharva was influenced by the *tāla*-forms referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* or whether in actuality it was gāndharva which arose first and in truth influenced the aforementioned forms, will remain a question which can be answered only in the realm of pure conjecture. Perhaps there were common currents and cross-currents of influences which entered into the formation of both the gāndharva and the more popular epic forms.

The language used in the Siva hymns sung in gāndharva, shows a Sanskrit that has left the Vedic stage quite behind it. The language bears an affinity to that of the epics. Gāndharva padas must have been composed sometime during the long period when the Sanskrit speech of the epics was taking shape. By the time of Bharata and Dattila, these hymns, as also the nonsense syllables sung as *nirgīta* or *śuṣka* along with gāndharva music, had already become stratified—unalterable to its last syllable as a Vedic mantra. A long time must have elapsed between the formulation of the gāndharva hymns and their attaining the sanctified status accorded to them by authorities like Bharata and Dattila.¹ The extent of this intervening period, however, remains a matter of pure conjecture.

It must, indeed, have taken a long time for gāndharva to reach the final immutable forms that it ultimately acquired in its total aspect of *svara*, *tāla* and *pada*. These were then put into codes. A period of more or less loose and flexible formulations must have preceded. No accounts of this stage, when gāndharva was in a state of flux, are available. The differences between the various descriptions of gāndharva found in early codifiers like Bharata, Dattila, Viśakhila (of whom we know only from quotations) and others, centre on relatively minor matters. They are not unlike slight differences in rituals found between different Vedic *śākhās* in their observances of ordained sacrifices. Yet it is not unlikely that these residual differences are traces of a period when a greater freedom in rendering gāndharva forms was not unknown.

¹ The gāndharva hymns have elements of pre-Pāṇini grammatical features. Commenting on a line from a hymn which reads :

पृथिवी॒(म्) सलिलं ज्वलनं॒(नः) सुर्यैश्चद्रो यजमानो व्योमार्थः॒(म्) कायः॑

Abhinava points out an irregularity in grammar and justifies it by saying that such usage is permissible, for the hymns are 'sung by Brahmā' or in other words they are 'ārṣa' ;

पृथिवी॒मित्यादि॑ व्योमार्थ॒मित्य॑ न्ते हन्दे॒॑पिञ्जवलन॑ इत्यादावलुग्॑ ब्रह्मगीतत्वात्॑ ।

—A.B., on N.S. 31, 114.

CHAPTER IX

GĀNDHARVA AND POST-DATTILA WRITERS

By the age of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Dattilam*, gāndharva and its codifiers already formed a long and established tradition. The tradition must have continued but works are not extant.

After *Dattilam* there is a long break in the available saṅgīta-literature, the next extant work being the *Brhaddeśī* of Mataṅga. This work avowedly deals with the popular, 'profane' deśī forms; and, moreover, only a portion of the work is available. *Brhaddeśī* is generally believed to have been composed in the seventh century.

After Mataṅga there is again a long period of over three or four centuries from which no works survive. Yet this period appears to have been quite fertile in the field of music. We do not hear of many independent works, but commentaries on *Nāṭyaśāstra* were continuously being written by great scholars of repute, versed in all the arts used in theatre including music, its various forms and traditions. Abhinava, who was born in the middle of the 10th century¹ and lived a long life till well into the 11th century² speaks of many preceding commentaries on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and often refers to commentators of repute.

Abhinava recounts the names of Lollata, Saṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka among other scholars who had commented upon the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Their commentaries, evidently, covered the entire span of Bharata's work including the section on music as did Abhinava's since Śārṅgadeva in his *Saṅgitaratnākara*, (a treatise devoted almost exclusively to music and dance), speaks of these authors as 'vyākhyātāro bhāratiyē'. He apparently had in mind those aspects of their commentary which touched upon music and dance.³ Śārṅgadeva also names a Kirtidhara, who is quoted by Abhinava too.

Other names mentioned by Abhinava are those of Bhaṭṭa Yantra and Śrī Harṣa. Besides these, we hear of Māṭṛgupta, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, Ghaṇṭaka and others. These scholars flourished at different dates from the 5th century (probable date of Māṭṛgupta) to Abhinava's own times.⁴

Many of these commentators—besides other authors who wrote independent works on music—had apparently discussed the distinctness of gāndharva and its specific

¹ *Abhinava Gupta* by K.C. Pandey, p. 9

² Ācārya Viśeśvar, in the introduction to his translation of 3 chapters of *Abhinava Bhāratī* into Hindi called *Abhinava Bhāratī ke Tin Adhyāya*, says that Abhinava flourished from 950-1125 A.D., preface, p. 22.

³ व्याख्यातारो भारतीये लोल्लटोदभट्टशङ्कुकाः । भट्टाभिनवगुप्तश्च श्रीमत्कीर्तिधरः परः ॥
—S.R. 1, 1, 19.

⁴ For details on their dates, see *Abhinava Gupta* by K.C. Pandey, pp. 187-198, also : *Abhinava Bhāratī ke Tin Adhyāya*, preface, pp. 12-15.

characteristics. Abhinava, we have seen, often refers to views of his predecessors in discussing certain aspects of gāndharva.

Although it is true that no saṅgīta-texts from the time of Bharata and Dattila to the 7th century (when the *Bṛhaddeśī* was composed) survive, yet we do have the Purāṇas, some of the earliest of which, contain sections on music. The Purāṇic tracts deal with the subject only incidentally and at second hand : lifting verses from standard works and heterogeneously juxtaposing and confusing them with semidigested matter borrowed from several sources. Still the Purāṇic records regarding music are valuable material. They give us an idea of the nature of music which the Purāṇas thought as worthy of description. Significantly for us, their account throws light on gāndharva and reveals the esteem in which it was held.

One of the earliest Purāṇas is the *Vāyupuārṇa*. The main body of its text is said to belong to the 3rd century A.D. Another early text is the extant *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (sometimes called the *Vāyavīya Brahmanḍa*). This is said to have once formed part of the original *Vāyupuārṇa*. Dr. R.C. Hazra is of the opinion that the separation of the two took place around 400 A.D.¹ Both these Purāṇas contain a description of music they term gāndharva. The context of the descriptions and the descriptions themselves are almost identical in both texts, with minor deviations which could be due to insignificant pāṭhabhedas.² It is evident that the two extant Purāṇas, in their description of gāndharva, relied on slightly different recensions of the same original undivided Purāṇic text. Hence the description occurring in them is earlier than 400 A.D.

The delineation of gāndharva in these two texts and its context is worthy of attention. The description occurs within an account of the genealogy of Manu (*manuvamśakīrtana*), where the story of King Raivata, son of Reva, is related. Raivata was the father of Revatī who became the wife of Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa.

The Purāṇa recounts the episode of Raivata's visit to Brahmā with his daughter in order to seek His advice regarding a suitable bridegroom for her. The story goes that Raivata was distracted by the 'gāndharva' being performed before Brahmā and tarried in Brahma-loka for a few moments. Meanwhile many mortal yugas passed away, for the time-scale in Brahma-loka is very different from that on earth : a single

¹ Purāṇic Records, p. 18.

² *Vāyu* ch. 86 is almost the same as *Brahmāṇḍa* ch. 61, 18-53. Some verses occurring as *Vāyu* 86, 43-52 are, however, missing from the *Brahmāṇḍa* account. Curiously, some matter which should have been there is absent from both accounts : *Vāyu* verse 19, in connection with mūrchanās, says : गान्धारग्रामिकाप्त्यन्या कीर्त्यमाना तिवोष्ट but the names of the mūrchanās are missing; the next verse enumerates names of tāṇas.

The same lacuna occurs in *Brahmāṇḍa*, after 61, 34. This would suggest that the matter in the recensions from which the accounts in the two Purāṇas are derived had an identical gap. Chapter 62 of *Brahmāṇḍa* is the same as chapter 87 of *Vāyu*, but about 3 verses occurring in *Vāyu* are missing in the *Brahmāṇḍa* account after verse 28.

The readings in both the Purāṇic texts concerning music are thoroughly corrupt. However, a critically edited and admirably restored text of the *Vāyu* chapters on music may be found in *Textes des Purāṇa sur le Théorie Musicale*, Vol. I by Alain Danielou and N.R. Bhatt, pp. 20-100. Unfortunately, a comparison with the *Brahmāṇḍa* text does not seem to have been made by the authors.

day of Brahmā is equal to a mortal caturyuga—a complete cycle of existence over millions of years after which pralaya or deluge takes place.¹

Hearing this episode the ṛṣi to whom the matter was being related became curious about gāndharva;² which is then described in two chapters.

Gāndharva, we have seen, was in general literature a term referring to music : any music whatever, and not a special form of the art. Yet interestingly the description of gāndharva found in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* reveals that what the Purāṇakāras here had in mind was basically the special body of music called gāndharva by Bharata and Dattila.

The Purāṇic account is by no means a complete account of its subject-matter. But though fragmentary, it is yet an account of what constituted the distinct gāndharva corpus of music. It contains an exposition of the following topics: svara, mūrchanā, tāna, varṇa, alaikara (among svara topics) and vṛtti, pādabhāga and the gītakas (among tāla topics). The exposition is partial, mainly containing classificatory lists. The treatment is not as clear and methodical as one would expect of a truly sāstric account. But the account is clearly that of gāndharva in its restricted sense. Indeed, in one or two ways it contains more details than the expositions of Bharata and Dattila. Neither Bharata nor Dattila have given us the names of the tānas. Dattila has a single indicative verse : "they (the tānas) are known by such names as agniṣṭoma etc. as stated by Nārada and others." (Datt. 31). The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* enumerate the names of all the tānas (*Vāyu* 86, 21-30).³ Adhinava was aware of the Purāṇic text on this point for he says that the names of the tānas are to be found in the *Vāyupurāṇa*; he quotes a line from this text (which is 86, 21A of the *Vāyupurāṇa*).⁴

One aspect of the purāṇic text tellingly reveals that the form being described was really gāndharva in Dattila's sense of the term. This is the inclusion of gītakas. Other topics discussed in the Purāṇa could also occur in a Śikṣā work dealing with sāma-music but gītakas were peculiar to gāndharva. The names of all the seven gītakas occur (*Vāyu*, 87, 34; 35; 40; 43; 44) and though their description is rudimentary and couched in terms which hardly make much sense in terms of music, yet their very inclusion is significant. The term saptarūpa, as meaning the seven gītakas, also occurs (*Vāyu*, 87, 38). At one place the Purāṇa hints vaguely at the nature of the melody to be associated

1 रेवस्य रंवतः पुनः ककुदनी नाम धार्मिकः । ज्येष्ठो भ्रातृशतस्यासीद् राजा प्राप्य कुण्ठस्थलीम् ॥
कन्धया सह श्रुत्वा च गान्धर्वं ब्रह्मणोऽन्तिके । मुहूर्तं देवदेवस्य मातर्यं बहुयुगं विभोः ॥
—*Vāyu* 86, 3-4.

See also *Brahmāṇḍa* 61, 20-21.

2 एतच्छुभूषमाणानो गान्धर्वं वद चैवहि ।.....
गान्धर्वं प्रतियच्चापि पृष्टस्तु मुनिसत्तमाः ततोहं सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि याथात्थ्येन सुव्रताः ॥
—*Brahmāṇḍa* 61, 26-28.

See also *Vāyu* 86, 13 which is the same as *Brahmāṇḍa* 61, 28.

3 The two Purāṇas list the names of tānas and of the mūrchanās of gāndhāra grāma as well as the other two grāmas.

4 We have quoted the A.B. passage in another context; but we repeat :

तानानी, “अग्निष्ठोपीयमाद्यं स्याद् द्वितीयं वाजपेयिकं” इत्यादिनां निरूपणद्वारेणवै वायुपुराणादौ यज्ञोपयोगी सामशृण्गायोपयोगः प्रदर्शितः

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 34.

with the gītakas (the relation is of a kind which neither Bharata nor Dattila speak of). The account, however, is couched in extremely cryptic terms and is so indistinct and indiscernible, besides being hopelessly brief, that hardly much of value can be made of it (*Vāyu* 87, 34-38). The Purānic text also speaks of the three vṛttis: citrā, vṛtti and dakṣinā,¹ which were modes of instrumental accompaniment to song. It also mentions certain tāla terms specifically involved in the technical descriptions of gītakas, such as pādabhāga, mātrā, kalā, upohana (*Vāyu* 87, 40; 42; 44; 47), but their use is such that beyond revealing the fact that the account shows an awareness of the relation of these terms with the gāndharva-gītakas, nothing more is manifest.

Howsoever vague and confused the Purānic record may be as far as śāstric account of musical forms, this much is clear that its exposition is not of gāndharva in a general sense but of the specific body of music called gāndharva, for only specifically gāndharva forms and topics have been discussed—and gāndharva is, indeed, the name under which the Purāṇa expounds the subject. The association of gāndharva with Brahmā (in whose presence Revata heard gāndharva being performed) further strengthens our point, because both Bharata and Dattila speak of Brahmā as the original perpetrator of gāndharva (Datt. 1, 2; N. S. 28, 39; 33, 23).²

Another Purāṇa, the *Mārkandeya*, also contains a passage on music, though a comparatively small one (consisting of a few verses only). *Mārkandeya* is another early Purāṇa which is believed to have reached its present form before the 5th or 6th century, when its latest part, the *Devīmāhātmya*, is thought to have been inserted in it. Other parts are earlier and the section on music, which forms part of chapter 21, was probably composed between the 3rd and 6th centuries.³

The Purāṇa relates the story of Nāga Aśvata, (brother of Kambala), who performs tapas in order to please the Goddess Sarasvatī and sings a beautiful hymn in praise of her (*Mārkandeya* 21, 32-48). Sarasvatī is pleased and appears before him. She tells him to ask for a boon. Aśvata asks her to reveal to him and to his brother Kambala “everything relating to svara or music”: (samastasvarasambaddhamubhayoh samprayaccha ca, *Mārkandeya* 21, 51). Sarasvatī promises Aśvata that both he and Kambala will become experts in music. She enumerates various

¹ तिसूणां चैव वृत्तीनां वृत्तिस्त्रिता च दक्षिणा।

—*Vāyu* 87, 47.

See ‘Vṛtti’ in Part III for its definition in Bharata, Dattila etc.

² गान्धवं नारदादिभ्यः प्रतमादो स्वयम्भुवा।

—Datt. 2.

जातयोऽष्टादशेत्येवं ब्रह्मणाभिहितं पुरा।

—N. S. 28, 39, etc.

³ R.C. Hazra, discussing his views regarding the chronology of *Mārkandeya* chapters, concludes: “The above conclusion about the date of the chapters under discussion agrees remarkably with the view of Pargiter who says:

‘The *Devīmāhātmya*, the latest part, was certainly complete in the 9th century and very probably in the 5th or 6th century A.D. The third and fifth parts (i.e., chapters 45-81 and 93-136 respectively), which constituted the original Purāṇa, were probably in existence in the third century and perhaps even earlier; and the first and second parts (i.e., chapters 1-9 and 10-44 respectively) were composed between these two periods’.”

elements of music in which they will become proficient (*Mārkanḍeya* 21, 52-56). The elements include mūrchanā, 49 tānas, the three grāmas, the three layas, the three yatis and also the seven gītakas. The two brothers then come to acquire an exceedingly specialised knowledge (agryam vijñānam) of pada, tāla and svara : "vijñānamubhayoragryam padatālasvarādikam" (*Mārkanḍeya* 21, 60). Aśvatara and Kambala later set out to worship Lord Śiva. The worship consists of propitiating Him through the gītakas. Śiva is finally pleased by their gītakas and appears before them.¹

This *Mārkanḍeya* passage is interesting from our point of view. Its enumeration of the elements of music is, evidently, an off-hand list of some aspects and terms connected with the subject which general audiences (who formed the readers and listeners of the Purāṇa) must have come to acquire as part of their common knowledge and must have associated spontaneously with the art. Thus a Purāṇa-like text of a later period, when speaking of music, would enumerate terms like rāga, rāginī etc., because these are terms which for the past few centuries are most generally associated with music.² The enumeration in *Mārkanḍeya* is suggestive; for the topics listed are—with a single exception of the grāma-rāga—all part of gāndharva; indeed, mention is made also of the seven gītakas.

Further, the gītakas are said to have been used by the two Nāga brothers in worshipping Śiva. This episode significantly suggests that the music taught by Sarasvatī to Aśvatara and Kambala was none other than the gāndharva. This form, we have seen, was said to be exceedingly dear to Śiva and was used in his worship.

We also note that the brothers are said to have acquired a knowledge of pada tāla and svara; this is reminiscent of the accepted śāstric definition of gāndharva as : "gāndharvamiti tajñeṣyam svaratālapadātmakam" (N. S. 28, 8).

The very names of the two brothers are again suggestive. Both Kambala and Aśvatara were renowned ancient authorities on music. Śāṅgadeva mentions them along with Viśākhila, Dattila, Bharata, Kaśyapa and other ancient authorities.³ Evidence shows that they, too, had written authoritative works on gāndharva: Śāṅgadeva brackets the names of Aśvatara and Kambala together as holders of a specific opinion—differing from Bharata—regarding the use of the sādhāraṇa notes in certain gāndharva jāti-forms.⁴ Rāṇā Kumbha claims to have studied their works.⁵ He too mentions the opinion of Kambala and Aśvatara regarding the prayoga of sādhāraṇa notes in

¹ ततः कालेन महता स्तूपमानो वृषद्वजः । तु गीतकस्तो च प्राह संगृह्यतां वरः ॥
—*Mārkanḍeya* 21, 63.

² See, for example, the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, Pūrvakhaṇḍa, chapter 44.

³ विशाखिलो दत्तिलश्च कम्बलोऽश्वतरस्तथा ।
—S. R. 1, 1. 16.

⁴ पञ्चमीमध्यापद्यमाऽऽव्यासु जातिषु । स्वरसाधारणं प्रोक्तं मुनिमिभरतादिभिः ॥
अणेषु सम्पेष्वेतद्यथा स्वनियमादभवेत् । एतदल्पनिगास्वाहुः कम्बलाश्वतरादयः ॥
—S. R. 1, 7, 21-22.

⁵ वामस्वातिमहेन्द्रकश्यपमस्तुन्वर्जुनार्द्दः । कृतान् रम्भातुम्बुरु कम्बलाश्वतररक्षोराजसन्दभितान् ।
श्रीसोमेश्वर भोजराजरचितान् ग्रन्थान् विलोक्य त्वम् तत्सारेण समुच्चितेन कुरुते श्री कालसेनो नृपः ॥
—S. Raj 1, 1, 40

jātis (S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 50-55). In addition, he speaks of a certain view held by Kambala regarding the beat-formation in one of the gītakas (the ullopyaka);¹ this evinces that Kumbha had either read a work on gāndharva ascribed to Kambala or had come across a quotation or an opinion ascribed to Kambala in an early work by another established author.

Another important work of Purānic literature is the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, classified as an Upapurāṇa. It is a large encyclopedic compendium dealing not only with the usual Purānic legends, stories and myths but also with a host of varied subjects such as law, politics, science of war, anatomy, medicine, cookery, manufacture of perfumes, horticulture, lexicography, rhetorics, dramaturgy, painting, dancing, etc. Music also forms one of the subjects dealt with. The Purāṇa has been dated to the 5th century A.D.²

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* has two short chapters on music (khaṇḍa 3, chs. 18 and 19). The subject is treated under the name of gīta-śāstra. The delineation is sketchy, replete with gaps and incomplete on many points. Yet, in keeping with the śāstric character of this encyclopedic Purāṇa, its account of music is the most systematic and methodical of the Purānic treatments.

Gīta-śāstra is divided into two main sections : song (gīta) or vocal music and ātodya or instrumental music. Chapter 18 (khaṇḍa 3) is devoted to gīta, the next chapter to ātodya. The topics covered under gīta are sthāna, svara, grāma, mūrchanā, tāna, cokṣā-prayoga (?), jāti, alaṅkāra and gītaka. Three grāmas are mentioned and mūrchanās are named as 21 in number—7 in each grāma. Tānas, too, are similarly classified on the basis of three grāmas; they have also been named.

The jātis are not named but three lines summing up the salient jāti-characteristics (jāti-lakṣaṇas) have been quoted with the words : “bhavanti cātra ślokāḥ” (“following are the ślokas on the topic”). However, inspite of the plural ‘ślokāḥ’, the number of ślokas quoted amount to only one and a half, hardly justifying the use of the plural.³ The first two lines on the quotation are identical with the verse enumerating jātilakṣaṇas in the *Nātyaśāstra*, that is, N.S. 28, 66. The last line corresponds with N.S. 28, 141A. In the *Nātyaśāstra*, more than 70 verses from 28, 66 to 141A expound jāti-lakṣaṇas in detail—verse 66 initiates the topic while verse 141A concludes it. In the Purānic account, only the lines initiating and concluding the exposition of the subject are

¹ प्रवेणं कम्बलं प्राह पूर्वमेव कलाविद्यम् ।

—S. Raj. 2, 4, 1, 187.

² R.C. Hazra after presenting his arguments in favour of this date concludes :

“From all the evidences adduced above it is clear that the *Viṣṇudharmottara* cannot be dated earlier than 400 A.D. and later than 500 A.D. Bühler also is of opinion that the date of its composition cannot be placed later than about 500 A.D.”

—*Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. 1, p. 212.

³ भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः— ग्रहांशस्तारमन्ते च न्यासोऽप्यनास एव च ।

अल्पत्वं च बहुत्वं च पाडवोडुविते तथा ॥

एवमेव वृद्धज्ञया जातयो दण्डक्षणा ॥॥

—*Viṣṇudharmottara*, khaṇḍa 3, Ch. 18.

to be found. It is likely that the Purāṇa once did contain the intermediary ślokas also as is testified by the use of the plural 'slokāḥ' with which the quotation is introduced.¹

After its all too brief treatment of jāti, the Purāṇa has a single verse on alaṅkāra, which is almost the same as N.S. 29, 20. Then come the gītakas.² They are named and characterized in lines identical with the Yājñavalkya Smṛti 3, 113-114 where gītakas have been enumerated and are said to lead to mokṣa. The Purāṇa, too like the Smṛti says that 'repeated performance of the gītakas leads to mokṣa' and adds: "I have recounted the gītakas, (though) briefly, because they propitiate the gods—'saṅkṣepena mayā proktam surārādhana kāraṇārat.' The next verse is again borrowed from the Smṛti (where it occurs as 3, 116) :

gītajño yadi gītena nāpnōti paramāṇ padam
śivasyānucaro bhūtvā tenaiva saha modate.

It is evident, from the account we have analysed above, that the Purāṇa in discussing music had gāndharva in mind. Though the description is short, it certainly pertains to gāndharva for it incorporates many of its topics and delas with jātis as well as gītakas calling them propitiatory forms.

There is, however, one puzzling note. The Purāṇa speaks of a cokṣā-prayoga in the context of 'prakaraṇa' (i.e., the generic term for the seven gītakas) : "coksā-prayogah svarorādhane rūpakeśu prakaraṇānugataḥ manyuvyapadeśena te bhavanti." The passage is extremely mystifying. Also, it obviously contains scribal errors. The phrase "manyuvyapadeśena" is obviously meaningless. 'Svarorādhane' should be either 'svarārādhane'³ or 'surārādhane' in which form the phrase occurs in the same context a few lines later. In the light of these obvious errors, it is not unlikely that 'cokṣāprayogah' is also a faulty reading.⁴

¹ It is, however, not unlikely that the Purāṇic lines have been borrowed not from the *Nātyāśāstra*, but from another text; a text such as the *Dattilam* where the three successive lines corresponding to those in the Purāṇa occur in a similar unbroken order as :

ग्रहांशो तारमन्द्रो च पाडवीडविते क्रमात् । अल्पत्वं च बहुत्वं च न्यासोऽपन्यास एव च ॥
स्वमेतद् यथाजाति दशकः जातिलक्षणम् ।

—Datt, 55-56.

True, such an hypothesis would still fail to account for the plural in the introductory words with which the three lines are presented in the Purāṇa, but such incongruities —we must not forget— are not uncommon in Purāṇic texts.

² अपरान्तकमुल्लोयं मद्रकः प्रकरी तथा । उवेणकं सरोविन्दमुत्तरं गीतकानि तु ॥
कृग्याया पाणिका दक्षविहिता ब्रह्मगीतिका । गीतमेतत्तदभ्यासः कारणान्मोक्षसञ्जः ॥

The original reads : कारणान्मोक्षसञ्जः apparently a faulty reading which we have corrected on the basis of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti 3, 114.

³ As amended by the authors of 'Textes des Purāṇa sur la Theorice Musicale', p. 134. A variant reading for प्रकरणान्तुगातः मन्त्रव्यपदेशेन, is noted as प्रकरणान्तुगतमन्त्यव्यपदेशेन (see *ibid.* fn. 7) which though better yet makes no sense.

⁴ The Br. speaks of a cokṣā-gīti :

स्वरैष्व श्रुतिभिः पूर्णा चोक्षा गीतस्वाहाता, Br. 292.

But this has nothing to do with the matter dealt with in the Purāṇa, where the word cokṣā is totally out of place.

Another feature of the Purāṇic description which is discordant with gāndharva, is its mention of three grāmas and of mürchanās and tānas pertaining to all three of them. This, however, seems to be a common Purāṇic trait—the two other Purāṇas we have just discussed also share it—and the explanation might be that the Purāṇas were in this matter leaning upon early Śikṣā works. The *Nāradī Śikṣā*, for example, while stating that only two grāmas exist in the world of men and that the gāndhāra-grāma is now to be found only with the gods, yet classifies the mürchanās and tānas according to three grāmas, listing 21 mürchanās by name. This perhaps was a tradition of enumeration going back to an early date when all three grāmas existed in musical practice.

Chapter 19 (khaṇḍa 3) of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which follows the chapter on gīta, treats of ātodya. Here, too, occur some topics clearly belonging to gāndharvatāla. They are mātrā, kalā, vṛtti and prakaraṇa. Their exposition, though brief, has been patently based on manuals of gāndharva : (1) the measure of a mātrā is described as consisting of five laghu akṣaras,¹ a characteristic peculiar to gāndharva; (2) the three gāndharva vṛttis—citrā, vṛtti and dakṣinā—are described in lines which closely echo Dattila and correspond to Bharata;² (3) the seven sounded and unsounded beats (the number as enumerated by Dattila) are listed and termed kalā (again as in Dattila);³ (4) the basic yathākṣara-tālas of gāndharva are listed⁴ and (5) the two ways in gāndharva of rendering the ‘prakaraṇa’ (i.e., the seven gītakas)—with a relatively shorter or longer frame—are mentioned : “prakaraṇam dvividham kulakam cchedyakam ca” *Viṣṇudharmottara*, khaṇḍa 3, ch. 19).

What follows this brief section on tāla in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is a small passage on avanaddha, percussion instruments, the sixteen basic syllabic ‘bols’ of drum playing are listed and the method of playing them is indicated. The association of different ‘bols’ with different rasas is enumerated and then follows the kutapa-vinyāsa—seating arrangement of a dramatic orchestra—with which the chapter ends. The avanaddha passage is clearly inspired by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,—chapter 34 (or a similar account from another text of the same nature); the kutapa-vinyāsa echoes lines of Bharata (N.S. 34, 215) almost exactly.

¹ पञ्चलघ्वक्षरोच्चारणकलामात्रा ।

—*Viṣṇudharmottara*, khaṇḍa 3, ch. 19.

² तिस्रो वृत्तयः । चित्रा वृत्तिर्दक्षिणा । द्विधामात्रा कलाचित्रं चतुर्मात्रा वृत्तो अष्टमात्रा दक्षिणायाः ।
—ibid.

compare द्विमात्रा स्यात् कला चित्रे चतुर्मात्रा तु वात्तिके ॥ अष्टमात्रा तु विद्वद्भद्रदक्षिणा समुदाहृता ।
—Datt. 16-17.

and चित्रे द्विमात्रा कर्तव्या वृत्तो सा द्विगुणा स्मृता ॥ चतुर्गुणा दक्षिणे स्यादित्येव कलासमूहो ।
—N.S. 31, 3-4.

³ ग्रन्था (आवाप) निष्क्रमो (निष्क्राम) विस्तेपः प्रवेशः शम्यातालः सनिपर्तिभेदः कलासमूहो ।
—*Viṣṇudharmottara*, khaṇḍa 3, ch. 19.
cf. Datt. 113-114.

⁴ युक्तच्चवत्पुटः अयुक्तच्चवत्पुटः लः प्लुतान्तः ।
—ibid.

We have quoted the text as restored in *Textes des Purāṇa sur la Théorie Musicale*, p. 150.

The chapter on ātodya in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* also evinces that the music intended to be expounded was gāndharva; but here some matter from the non-gāndharvic ātodya sector of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (ch. 34) has also crept into the account.

The early purānic accounts of music thus show an awareness of gāndharva—of its distinct forms and its characteristic adṛṣṭa or transcendental propitiatory function.

Gāndharva was the most prestigious form of ancient music (apart from sāma); it was the form-supreme, the source of all other forms and the Purāṇas, therefore, when describing music, describe the gāndharva, taking it as the eminent representative of all musical forms. Gāndharva was, moreover, a sacred ‘revealed’ form and must consequently have been the most noble, the most towering form for compilers and listeners of Purāṇas. The purānic audiences, indeed, must have heard gāndharva being performed as liturgical music in the worship and propitiation of the gods and must have associated this form with the idea of the highest in music. To them it must have been the essence of all music.

CHAPTER X

GĀNDHARVA AND POST-ABHINAVA THEORISTS

Let us now consider some later, post-Abhinava theorists : their opinions regarding gāndharva and the notions they nurtured regarding its nature, purpose and extent. The most influential, comprehensive and voluminously versatile author on music in the period following Abhinava was, certainly, Śārṅgadeva. His *Saṅgitaratnākara*, which treats with dance as well as music, remains one of the most authoritative works on ancient and medieval music. Śārṅgadeva composed his treatise in the early years of the 13th Century¹, about two hundred years after the *Abhinava Bhāratī*.

A period of two centuries is not a long one in view of the centuries of unbroken traditions of art and learning which India had known; but the period separating Śārṅgadeva from Abhinava was one of the most turbulent that India has passed through. Among other things, many traditions of śilpa—art and craft forms—and śāstra—the related doctrinal and technical knowledge—were broken or at least seriously impaired. Gāndharva, too, seems to have suffered.

We do not know if Śārṅgadeva, like Abhinava, had a first hand knowledge of gāndharva as a living art. It seems that his knowledge of the subject was mainly doctrinal; still, there are some hints in his treatment of the subject which tend to point towards a close second-hand if not a direct personal knowledge of some forms as actually rendered. His doctrinal knowledge of gāndharva, however, was quite thorough.

Śārṅgadeva has expounded all the topics and elements of gāndharva (including its musical structures, the jāti and the prakaraṇa or saptarūpa) with a wealth of detail. His exposition is mainly based upon that of Bharata, yet he had also studied other authorities like Dattila and Viśākhila and he often gives corroborative evidence from these authors or refers to their views as differing on points of detail from that of Bharata.

Śārṅgadeva clearly points at the sacred character and propitiatory-cum-expiatory function of the jātis. He remarks that their forms have to be maintained strictly as decreed and that no tampering is to be permitted in this respect ; for, the jātis were as inviolable and sacrosanct as Vedic mantras. He also points out that the jātis have given rise to the rāga-forms and that the knowledgeable can detect the subsequent derivative rāgas in the pristine structures of the parent jātis :

dṛṣyante janya rāgāṁśāstajjñairjanaka jātiṣu
brahma proktapadaīḥ samyakprāguktāḥ śāṅkarastutau

¹ Under the patronage of King Singhana of the Yādava dynasty who ruled in Deogiri, modern Daulatabad, from 1210 to 1247 A.D.

api brahmahaṇam pāpājjātayah prapunantyamūḥ
ṛeo yajūṁsi sāmāni kriyante nānyathā yathā
tathā sāmasamudbhūtā jātayo vedasammitāḥ

(S. R. 1,7, 113-115)

"The experts (tajjīna) can detect portions or limbs of rāgas in their parent jātis. (These jātis) sung to the words uttered by Brahmā—words we have already quoted—have their proper employ in praising Lord Śiva. The jātis can expiate even the sin of one who has killed a Brāhmaṇa. Just as the ḍk, yajus and sāma mantras cannot be altered in their form, similarly the jātis which are born of sāma and which are comparable to the Vedas, are also inviolable."

We observe in this characterization of the jātis, all the salient features we have noted as peculiar to gāndharva. Though Śāringadeva has not actually used the word adṛṣṭa (as Abhinava does) in describing the function of the jātis, he has ascribed to jātis the same adṛṣṭa attributes as Abhinava. And Kallinātha, in commenting on Śāringadeva, has here used the term adṛṣṭa—"atha yathāvidhi jātigānairadṛṣṭaphalātīśayam darśayati—'brahmaaprokteti'." (Kalā on S. R. 1,7, 113).

Śāringadeva states that an expert could detect the outlines or partial structures of a rāga-form in its parent jāti; and, in fact, while describing some of the jatis, Śāringadeva points out the names of the rāga-forms one could 'see' in them : in the jāti śāḍjī, he says, the rāga varāṭī was visible;¹ in āṛṣabhi, two rāgas could be detected, namely, desī and madhukarī;² in madhyamā, three rāgas, cokṣaśāḍava, desī and andhālī, could be felt as partially present;³ in śāḍjakaiśikī one could similarly 'see' the rāgas gāndhārapañcama, hindolaka, desī and velāvalī;⁴ and so on.

Śāringadeva has also recorded the verses which Brahmā had presumably composed in praise of Śiva to be sung in the jātis; in addition, he gives the actual musical notation to which these verses were to be sung. For example, the verse to which śāḍjī was sung was as follows :

taṁ bhavalalāṭanayanāmbujādhikam
nagasūnupraṇayakelisamudbhavam
sarasaṅktatilakapaṇkānulepanam
praṇamāmikāmadehendhanānalam

(S.R. 1,7,64)

¹ अस्यां पाडज्यां पद्मो न्यासः । गान्धारपञ्चमावपन्यासी । वराटी दृश्यते ।
—S. R. 1, 7, 64.

Kallinātha qualifies the statement वराटी दृश्यते with the observation : 'वराटी दृश्यते' इति । यदा विकृताऽवस्थायामपि काकली प्रयोगस्तदा वराटी प्रतीयते । अन्यदा वराट्येकदेशप्रतीतिरेवेत्यर्थः ।

² अस्यामांस्यामूषभोः न्यासः । अंशा एवापन्यासा देशीमधुक्योः दृश्यते ।
—S. R. 1, 7, 66.

Kalā : 'देशीमधुक्योः दृश्यते' इति देशी मधुक्योः सदृशरागत्वादृपभाष्टवेन प्ररुताया आर्षया गाने तथोर्पतीतिर्भवतीति भावः ।

³ चोक्षपाडवदेश्याऽधाल्यो दृश्यन्ते ।
—S. R. 1, 7, 72.

⁴ प्रागुक्ता गान्धारपञ्चमहिंदोलकदेशीवेलावल्यो दृश्यन्ते ।
—S. R. 1, 7, 80.

We do not know the source of these verses. Neither Bharata nor Dattila have them. The source of the notations seems to be the extant *Vṛtti* on the *Bṛhaddeśī*—or a similar work. The *Vṛtti* gives a series of notations for some jātis calling them ‘prastāraś’ (cf. modern Hindustani ‘vistāra’) of the jātis; that is, musical movements typical of the jāti. The *Vṛtti* does not note any verses to be sung to these prastāras and the notations are not arranged word-wise as in Śāringadeva.¹ Abhinava has given no verses or prastāra-notations of the jātis, though a few stray notational phrases do occur as illustrative of structural details.

The verses noted in connection with the jātis by Śāringadeva bear the stamp of a literary style belonging to a period certainly much later than the age of gāndharva: they are much more sophisticated and are dominated by a much later manner of Kāvyic diction than the few simple hymns quoted in connection with gāndharva by Bharata.

Śāringadeva speaks of a chronological development of musical forms which agrees with that given by Abhinava. Gāndharva, he says, was born of sāma, and then (in detecting living rāgas within the ancient jāti structures) he demonstratively reveals how gāndharva in turn gave rise to the rāgas. Regarding jāti-born forms, Kallinātha adds that some were direct derivatives of the jātis while others were indirectly derived through other intervening forms: “jātīnām sākṣatparamparayā vā janyarāgā eva” (Kalā on S.R. 4, 7, 113).

Gītakas, the tāla-counterparts of jātis in gāndharva, have also been described by Śāringadeva, and he does so with an eye to every available śāstric detail. He illustrates the forms of gītakas through charts giving exact beat formations and other structural details. Here again Bharata is his main source, but his indebtedness to Dattila—and also others—regarding tāla is quite obvious.

Śāringadeva has not described all gāndharva forms in a separate independent section. His fundamental framework, like Dattila’s, is to divide music into two broad categories: svara and tāla. He deals first with svara, of which the first chapter, the svarādhya, includes the jātis and an exposition of almost all the svara-topics listed by Bharata and Dattila under gāndharva. The second chapter deals with rāgas, the third and fourth with composers of music and rules governing the popular compositions called prabandha. Then follows the section on tāla. This begins with the gītakas, which are dealt with in a chapter covering all the topics concerned with gāndharva tāla. Next follow what have been termed desī tālas.

¹ The first line from the above verse was, for example, sung as :

सा	सा	सा	सा	प	नीघ	प	घनी
तं	भ	व	ल	ला		ट	
रि	गम	गा	गा	सा	रिग	धसा	घ
न	य	नं	बु	जा		धि	
रिग	सा	री	गा	सा	सा	सा	सा
कं							

—S. R. 1, 7, 64.

Gītakas, too, like the jātis, are described by Śārṅgadeva as having a sacerdotal function:

śivastutau prayojyāni moskṣāya vidadhe vidhiḥ (S.R. 5, 56).

“(These seven gītakas like madraka etc. and seven gītas like pāṇikā etc.) are to be employed in hymns addressed to Śiva; they were performed by Brahmā in order to attain mokṣa.”

Sāringadeva uses the term *gāndharva* in order to distinguish *gītakas* (and their component *tāla-limbs*) from *deśī tāla*-forms. He uses the term *gāndharva* also in context of the demarcation of *tāla* in the basic *tāla*-structures with which the complex *gītakas* were formed. With a view to the fact that it was necessary in *gāndharva* to render a *tāla* exactly as enjoined, he states:

gāndharvamārgakuśalaḥ kāṃsyatāladharo'paraḥ
gātuḥ sahāyah kartavyah pramādavinvrttaye (S.R. 5, 38-39)¹

In using the term *gāndharva* here, Śāṅgadeva obviously had the special sense of the form in mind. Kallinātha, in fact, makes this explicit in commenting: “*gāndharvasyātyantaniyatatvenādṛṣṭaphalasādhanatvāt*...: *gāndharva* is totally bound by rules, for only thus can it result in *adrsta*.....”

Sārṅgadeva's indebtedness to Abhinava, whose influence (especially regarding the doctrines of the *Nātyasāstra*) was far and wide, is evident, and, indeed, he mentions Abhinava as one of the vyākhyātṛs (commentators) on Bharata whom he had studied (S.R. 1, 1, 19-21). Like Abhinava, Sārṅgadeva has contrasted gāndharva and gāna forms, using the terms in the same sense as his illustrious predecessor. Introducing his fourth chapter which deals with prabandha, Sārṅgadeva says:

rañjakaḥ svarasandarbho gitamityabhidhīyate
 gāndharvam gānamityasya bhedadvayamudīritam
 anādisampradāyam yadgandharvaiḥ samprayujyate
 niyatam śreyaso hetustadgāndharvam jagurbudbāḥ
 yattu vāggeyakāreṇa racitam lakṣaṇānvitam
 deśirāgādiṣu proktam tadgānaṁ janarañjanam
 tatra gāndharvamuktam prāgadhunā gānamucyate (S.R. 4 1-3)

"A pleasing conglomeration of notes is called a *gīta*. It is of two kinds: *gāndharva* and *gāna*. That which has been handed down in an unbroken tradition since the beginning of time and which is sung by the *gandharvas* is called *gāndharva* by the experts; it is

¹ We have already discussed and translated the sloka in connection with the use of cymbals in gāndharva ; ch. V.

undoubtedly a source of spiritual well-being. That gīta, which is created by musician-composers (vāggeya-kāra) in desī rāgas and is endowed with qualities appropriate to it, is known as gāna; it has a great popular appeal. Gāndharva has been described earlier, now gāna shall be described."

Indeed, Śāringadeva uses the terms gāna and gāndharva as denoting two distinct musical forms even in his first chapter, the svarādhāya, where the jātis and related topics are delineated :

gāndharve mūrchanāstānāḥ śreyase śrūticoditāḥ
gāne sthānasya lābhene te kūṭāścopayogināḥ

(S.R. 1, 4, 91)

"Mūrchanās and tānas have been ordained in gāndharva by Vedic injunction, but in gāna they are of practical use (only) along with kūṭatānas, and help in attaining the location of notes (sthāna)."¹

Kallinātha clearly connects gāndharva—which he calls a particular species of song—with an adṛṣṭa goal and quotes some lines from an unnamed Smṛti which ordains the use of particular tānas and mūrchanās for propitiatory functions and promises great transcendental merit thereby. He adds that kūṭatānas when associated with gāna have only a dṛṣṭa or non-spiritual goal.²

One clearly notices the influence of Abhinava in Śāringadeva's statements. But Śāringadeva, we observe, uses the term gāna in a wider sense than is evinced by the use of the term in the *Abhinava Bhāratī*. Abhinava uses the term to mean profane and popular gāndharva-born forms adapted and moulded for the purpose of theatre ; Śāringadeva, however, uses gāna as denoting all profane and popular forms.

Though Śāringadeva uses gāndharva to denote a specific body of music, gāndharva according to Śāringadeva's notion included many more melodic forms than are warranted by Bharata's and Dattila's definitive description and by Abhinava's analysis. In S.R. 4, 1-3, (quoted above) Śāringadeva implies the extent of forms included in gāndharva ; these include not only the jātis but also non-gāndharva forms like grāma-rāgas, bhāṣās, antara-bhāṣās etc. Śāringadeva says : "gāndharva has been described before, now gāna shall be described." This statement comes as an introduction to the fourth chapter, from which the realm of gāna avowedly begins. The inference, clearly, is that forms from jātis to the antarabhāṣās, all of

¹ Kallinātha commenting on sthāna here says :

स्थानस्य तत्त्वमूर्छनावशेन सारितानां स्वराणामाधारश्रुतेर्लभेन परिज्ञानेन

—Kalā on S. R. 1, 4, 91.

² 'गांधर्वे' वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणो गीतविशेषस्तत् । मूर्छनास्ताना इति । तानाः शुद्धातानाः । ते च शुद्धा इति प्रकरणात्तलम्यते । तत्साहचर्यन्मूर्छना अपि शुद्ध एव विविक्षितः । श्रेयसेऽदृष्टफलाय.....कूटतानातां तु केवल दृष्टफलत्वेनोपयोगमाह= 'गानं' इति । गानं च वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणं तस्मिन् ।

—ibid.

which have been expounded in preceding chapters are to be included under gāndharva. Indeed, Kallinātha on this passage comments : "gāndharva denotes forms beginning with jāti upto antara-bhāṣās described in the first and second chapters" (svaragatarā-gavivekayorjātyādyantarabhāṣāntam yaduktam tadgāndharvamityarthah; Kalā on S.R. 4, 1-3). Again in the chapter on the gītakas, Kallinātha in commenting on the term gāndharva (used by Śāringadeva in S.R. 5, 38-39) names the same extent of forms ; however, in this case, he also names the gītakas as included in gāndharva : "the fourteen gītas, such as madraka, the jātis such as śāḍjī, the six variety of rāgas such as the grāma-rāgas : these are the forms denoted by the word gāndharva."¹ The six varieties of rāgas alluded to were : grāmarāgas, upa-rāgas, rāgas, bhāṣās, vibhāṣās and antara-bhāṣās listed and named by Śāringadeva in the second chapter of his work (S.R. 2, 8-47). These were the so called mārga-rāgas.

Mārga is, in fact, another term which Śāringadeva uses as synonymous with gāndharva and its use is more copious. Right at the beginning of his work Śāringadeva introduces a two-fold classification of musical forms, mārga and deśī, distinguishing them on the same lines as gāndharva and gāna :

mārgo deśiti tad dvedhā tatra mārgaḥ sa ucyate
yo mārgito viriñcyādyaiḥ prayukto bharatādibhiḥ
devasya purataḥ śambhorniyatābhuyadayapradaḥ
deśe deśe janānām yadrucyā hṛdayarañjakam
gītam ca vādanam nṛttam taddesītyabhidhīyate

(S.R. 1, 1, 22-24)

"That (*i.e.* saṅgīta) is two-fold : mārga and deśī.

Mārga is that which has been discovered (mārgita)²
by Brahmā etc., and was performed by Bharata and others
before Lord Śiva. Mārga certainly bestows spiritual
well-being. But that music—instrumental and vocal—
and that dance, which delights people of different
regions and is born of different aesthetic tastes,
is called deśī."

We observe only one small difference here from his statements distinguishing gāndharva and gāna : the terms gāndharvā³ and gāna in Śāringadeva's usage concern music alone while mārga and deśī embrace dance as well.

¹ 'गान्धर्वं' इत्यादि । वक्ष्यमाणाणि मद्रकादीनि चतुर्दश गीतानि प्रागुक्ताः । पाद्यादिजातयो ग्रामरागादयश्च पद्मिपा रागा गान्धर्वशब्देनोच्यते ।

—Kalā on S.R. 5, 38-39.

² मार्गित इति 'मार्ग अन्वेषण' इत्यस्माद्वातोः कर्मणि निष्ठायां रूपम् । Kalā. यो मार्गित इति । मार्गितोऽन्वेषितो दृष्टः । Sudhā. The phrase may also be translated as 'which has been revealed to Brahmā etc.'

³ Śāringadeva has also used the word 'gāndharva' in classifying vāggeyakāras, *i.e.*, musician-composers. Gāndharva was the name for the most superior vāggeyakāra : he was proficient in handling both mārga and deśī forms :
मार्गं देशीं च यो वेत्ति स गान्धर्वोऽभियते

—S.R. 3, 12.

This use of the word is clearly quite distinct from its denotation as an ancient body of music.

In his chapter on tāla, too, we notice that Śāringadeva uses the word mārga as synonymous with what he understood as gāndharva. In his preamble on tāla he remarks : "the nature of tāla is known as two-fold by the wise: one pertains to mārga, the other to deśī. Mārga is denoted by two kinds of actions, sounded and unsounded"¹ This section on mārga tālas ends with gitakas and pāṇikā etc.

Then deśī tālas are taken up and Śāringadeva introduces this new section with an appropriate maṅgala-śloka (a customary propitiatory verse). Bowing to Śiva, Śāringadeva says:

śrīkīrtivijayānandam pārvatīlocanotsvam
rājacūḍamaṇīm natvā tālam deśīgatam bruve

(S.R. 5, 236)

There is a double-entendre (śleṣa) here. Though the epithets used apply obviously to Śiva, they also denote names of prominent deśī tālas.²

The section on mārga-tāla treats with the same topics as are included under gāndharva tāla by Bharaṭa and Dattila. In fact, Śāringadeva has also used the word gāndharva to denote this mārga body of tāla-forms (S.R. 5, 38-39),³ thereby clearly indicating that he thought gāndharva as co-extensive with mārga. Two lines further Śāringadeva again uses the word gāndharva as denoting what he had called the mārga-body of tāla forms. He uses the word deśī in this context as denoting a set of forms quite distinct from gāndharva.⁴

¹ स च द्वे धा बृद्धैः स्मृतः । मार्गदेशीगतत्वेन तद्रूपस्य किया द्विधा । निःशब्दाशब्दयुक्ता च.....

—ibid. 5, 3-4.

² 'श्रीकीर्तिविजयानन्दमिति' । अत तालेश्वरयोविशेषणानि शिलष्टानि द्रष्टव्यानि।

—Kalā on S.R. 5, 236.

³ We have already had occasion to discuss the verse in question. It says that in gāndharva a person playing cymbals should assist the main singer so that errors can be avoided. In this verse Śāringadeva uses the word mārga in conjunction with gāndharva गान्धर्वमार्गकुशलः; the terms according to Kallinātha were used as synonyms : तस्मिन् गान्धर्वे मार्गे कुशलः!

⁴ In classifying yugma and ayugma tāla-structures in mārga-gāndharva forms, he says that these structures gave rise to many mixed (saṅkīrṇa) forms; but adds that according to some authorities only 5 saṅkīrṇa structures were permitted in gāndharva. Then he points out that tāla-structures had many sub.classes consisting of irregular number of time-units; these he says will be described in the section on deśī tālas, implying that structures not permitted in gāndharva were quite valid in the deśī forms:

युग्मस्य ये तथो भेदाः पञ्चायुग्मस्य कीर्तिताः । तेषामन्योन्यसंसर्गत् संकीर्णः वहवो मताः ॥

अन्ये पञ्चैव संकीर्णानि गान्धर्वेऽभिदध्युद्धाः ।

पञ्चसप्तनवापिस्युद्देकदेश तत्कलाः । तालाश्चत्वार इत्यन्ये चतुर्दशकलादिकाः ॥

चच्चत्पुटादिभेदास्तु सन्ति खण्डामिधाः परे । देशीतालप्रपञ्चेन तानपि व्याहरामहे ॥

—S.R. 5, 39-42.

(see part III section II for technical discussion on the point).

Again, in defining the specific features of the mārga dances, Sārṅgadeva clearly reveals this coextention of mārga and gāndharva forms. The mārga dance, he says, is of two varieties, tāṇḍava and lāsyā; their musical accompaniment consists of vardhamāna, āsārita etc.¹ As in Bharata, gāndharva has here been related to its sacredotal dance counterpart, again showing that in Sārṅgadeva's scheme of classification the term mārga was interchangeable with gāndharva.

The word mārga has not been used as a broad category to classify musical forms by ancient authorities like Bharata or Dattila.² Mataṅga uses the term, though, evidently, not quite in the sense as found in Sārṅgadeva. The latter has defined mārga as a corpus of music both ancient and immutable, quite distinct from and contrary to deśī forms which were more or less contemporary and were still in a variable and fluctuating state. Mataṅga on the other hand uses mārga in a context where the term evidently denotes a sub-category of deśī forms and not a corpus of music distinct from the deśī. Defining deśī-music he says :

abalābālagopālaiḥ kṣitipālaiḥ nijecchayā
giyate sānurāgena svadeśe deśīrucyate
nibaddhaścānibaddhaśca mārgo'yaṁ dvividho mataḥ
aplāpadi? (ālāpādi) nibaddho yaḥ sa ca mārgaḥ prakīrtitah
evamprakaro deśī yā jñatavyā gītakovidaiḥ
evametanmayā prokataṁ deśyā utpattilakṣanam

(Br. 13-15)

"That (music) which is sung by women, children, cowherds and kings (or, in other words, by the general populace) out of spontaneous inclination and desire, in the regions where these people dwell (svadeśe), is termed deśī. It spath (mārga) is two-fold : regulated (nibaddha) and unregulated (anibaddha). That which is regulated through ālāpa (*i.e.*, a free tāla-less unfoldment of a rāga) etc. is called mārga. Such is deśī and it should be known (as such) by the experts in music. Thus I have related how deśī (forms) arise.

¹ आङ्गिकाभिनयेरेव भावानेव व्यनक्ति यत् । तन्त्रयं मार्गशब्देन प्रसिद्धं नृत्यवेदिनाम् ॥
गानविक्षेपमात्रं तु सर्वाभिनयवर्जितम् । आङ्गिकोक्तप्रकारेण नृत्यं नृत्यविदो विदुः ॥
ताण्डवं लास्यमित्येतद् द्वयं द्वीधा निगद्यते । वर्धमानासारिताद्यगीतेस्तत्तद्ध्रुवायुतम् ॥

—S.R. 7, 26-28.

Tāṇḍava and lāsyā are themselves said to be of two types : mārga-nṛtya and nṛita. Vardhamānakā etc. were associated with mārga nṛtya while the dhruvās were related to nṛita.

² Mārga is a topic in gāndharva tāla where it denotes the various 'ways'—fast, slow etc.—of tempic usage. This meaning, clearly, is entirely different from the sense in which Sārṅgadeva uses the term as a general category defining a body of musical forms.

Mataṅga's definition of deśī is the same as that of Śārṅgadeva (S.R. 1, 1, 23-24), but his notion of mārga clearly does not comply with what was considered as mārga by the latter. Mārga in the above passage is a name given to those deśī forms which were comparatively more regulated or rule-bound than the others.

Abhinava, too, has used the word mārga. He, too, couples the term deśī with mārga; but it is quite clear from his usage that mārga according to him was quite distinct from gāndharva. It will be worthwhile to consider his use of the term:

1. There were 18 jātis accepted in gāndharva. 7 were śuddha and another 11 were born of two or more śuddhas combined in certain ways. Beyond these 11 mixed or samsargaja svara-forms, no more mixtures were permitted in gāndharva. But other forms, born of the jātis through a further series of combinations and permutations did exist; these were forms such as rāgas etc. derived mainly on the basis of jāti-amśas. A possibility of their being mistaken for a jāti was to be guarded against. Thus Abhinava, commenting on N.S. 28, 46 where the 7 śuddha and 11 samsargaja jātis have been listed, remarks : "anyastu bhavantu jātaya iti amṣarāgavibhāṣādeśīmārgādiṣu pradhānabhūtāntaramārganyāsādyanugamabalenānugatapratyayakāritvāda-ṣṭādaśamārganyāsāvityarthah.—other forms could (imaginably) become jātis; for the amśa (born) rāga, vibhāṣā, deśī, mārga etc. bear the appearance of (jātis) since they copy them in their major features such as antaramārga (specific movements) and nyāsa (the note of rest) etc.; (to avoid this confusion) the (antara) mārga and the nyāsa of the 18 jātis has been definitively given." Here mārga, bracketed with the deśī, has been clearly listed as a non-gāndharva form.

2. In his long analysis of gāndharva and its distinctiveness at the beginning of N.S. ch. 33, Abhinava lists both mārga and deśī as belonging to the gāna form of music and associates both with non-gāndharva forms like rāga, bhāṣā and vibhāṣā : "kiyadvā rāgabhāṣāvibhāṣādeśīmārgādigatānām svarāṇām śrutivacitryam brūmah."¹

3. In another passage he links both mārga and deśī with the great variety of gāna forms such as grāma-rāgas and bhāṣās that had arisen out of various jāti-amśas (the dominant notes in a jāti) : "vistaravivakṣayām tu jātyamśakagrāmarāgabhbāṣādeśīmārgavaicitryeṇānanantā eva svarāḥ" (A.B. on N.S. 29, 8).

4. Yet again he brackets mārga and deśī with forms like bhāṣā where unlike gāndharva, madhyama was a dispensable note and could be dropped at will : "anena bhāṣādeśīmārgādiṣu madhyamasyāpi vināśitvamabhyupagatam bhavati" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 64-65).

Abhinava gives no specification or definition of mārga as a form. All we can gather from him is that he includes it among forms which he classes collectively as gāna and which arose from gāndharva.

¹ This occurs in a passage where A. Bhinava describes the great variety of śrutis that can be employed in gāna in contrast with gāndharva.

गाने तु काकल्यन्तरश्चतिप्रभ्रमणाद् विचित्रश्रुतिप्रहणम् । स्वराणां मालवकैश्चिके चतुश्रुतिकाङ्गस्य दण्डनात्: कियद्वा रागभाषाविभाषादेशीमार्गदिगतानां स्वराणां श्रुतिवैचित्र्यं त्रूमः ।

— A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.
see also ch. V.

Kallinātha has the most explicit definition of mārga vis-a-vis deśī. "Those forms", he says, "that are created in various areas and regions (of the country) for the pleasure of the populace are in the deśī state; with this end in view their composition follows a free and spontaneous course."¹ He quotes an authority named Añjaneya who had defined deśī rāgas as :

yeśām śrutiśvara grāma jātyādiniyamo na hi
nānādeśa gati chāyā deśī rāgastu te smṛtāḥ

(Kalā on S.R. 2,2, 159-160)

"Those (rāgas) which are not governed by rules regarding śruti, svara, grāma, jati, etc. and contain echoes of musical movements popular in regional (or folk) music of various areas, are known as deśī rāgas."

Kallinātha adds that like song-forms, even instrumental music and dance, are known as deśī when they are composed on the basis of pure whim, without imperative rules to control them : "evam vādyāṇīttayorapi kāmacārapravartitayordeśītavamavagantavyam" (Kalā, *ibid.*). Mārga, he says, is opposed to desi and hence from the above definition of deśī it follows that musical compositions and forms that were governed by rules were called mārga : "niyame tu sati teśām gitādinām mārgatvameva" (Kalā, *ibid.*).

Sārṅgadeva, too, evidently had a similar notion regarding mārga in his mind. And mārga understood in the above way would naturally include the jātis within its fold, for jātis were forms in which rules were imperative—but mārga could also include much else besides. And it did.

Kallinātha says that svara forms beginning with jāti and extending upto antara-bhāṣa are mārga (or gāndharva, for he took the terms as synonyms).² Thus mārga according to Kallinātha includes grāma-rāgas, upa-rāgas and rāgas born of grāma-rāgas, bhāṣās, rāgas born of bhāṣās, vibhāṣās, and finally the antara-bhāṣās. In other words, in addition to jāti, all those forms which Sārṅgadeva has listed in the first prakaraṇa (section) of his second chapter (called rāgavivekadhīyāḥ) are called mārga forms.³ Let us explore the possible reason for this classification.

Grāmā-rāgas were very ancient forms and were very intimately connected with the jātis. They were the first-born of the jātis. The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī quotes a dictum, ascribing it to Bharata, that grāma-rāgas are direct off-springs of jātis : "tathā cāha

¹ देशीत्वं च तत्तदेशमनुजमनोरञ्जनैकफलत्वेन कामचारप्रवर्तितत्वम् ।
—Kalā, on S.R. 2, 2, 159-160.

² गान्धवं मार्गः । गानं तु देशीत्यवगन्तव्यम् । अनादिसम्प्रदायभित्यनेन गान्धवस्य वेदवदपौरुषेयत्वमिति सूचितं भवति । गानं तु वाग्येयकारादि परतन्तत्वात् पौरुषेयमेव । तत्र गान्धवं सुकृतं प्रागिति । स्वरगतरागविवेकयोजात्याद्यन्तर भाषात्तं यदुक्तं तद्गान्धवं भित्यर्थः ।

—Kalā on S. R. 4, 1-4.

³ The colophon of S.R. 2, 1, thus defines the scope of the first prakaraṇa, chapter 2 as : इति द्वितीये रागविवेकाध्याये ग्रामरागोपरागरागभाषाविभाषाविभाषान्तरभाषाविवेकाख्यं प्रथम् प्रकरणम् ।

bharatmunih—jātisambhūtatvādgrāmarāgāṇamiti” (Br. Vṛtti on 321). Bhāṣā, vibhāṣā etc. were born of the grāma-rāgas and not directly of the jātis. The Brhaddeśī notes a chronological genealogy of these forms as follows :

grāmarāgodbhavā bhāṣā bhāṣābhyaśca vibhāṣikāḥ
vibhāṣābhyaśca sañjātastathā cāntarabhāṣikā

(Br. p. 105. This verse occurs in the chapter incorporated into the Br. from *Sarvāgamasaṃhitā*)

“Bhāṣās are born of grāma-rāgas, vibhāṣikās are born of bhāṣās and from the vibhāṣās arise the antara-bhāṣikās.”

Even a late author like Kallinātha, explaining the significance of the name grāma-rāga and its relation to ‘grāma’, connects this form directly with the jātis : “though the grāma-rāgas are not directly born of the grāmas but only by way of the jātis, yet they are less removed from the grāmas than such forms as bhāṣās, rāgas etc.—hence are they called grāma-rāgas.”¹

Realising the closeness of the grāma-rāgas to the jāti-form, Abhinava, indeed, calls them gāndhaīva-kalpa : ‘almost gāndharva’. The remark occurs in connection with the compulsory use of madhyama in gāndharva. Bharata—we have seen—has a dictum that the note madhyama was never to be dropped in sāma gāna and in forms that were gāndharva-kalpa (N.S. 28, 65). Abhinava interprets the term gāndharva-kalpa as embracing not only gāndharva, but also the grāma-rāgas which were gāna forms closest to the jātis; they were so to speak just on the other side of the line demarcating gāndharva. “By the phrase ‘gāndharva kalpa’,” Abhinava says, “is meant the gāndharva śāstra, but also forms where the extent of gāndharva almost does not end, namely, the grāma-rāgas; this decree, however, clearly indicates that in bhāṣā, deśī, mārga etc. madhyama is a dispensable note.”²

Abhinava’s observation reveals the great proximity of the grāma-rāgas to the jātis. Already in the bhāṣā, a direct offshoot of the grāma-rāga in the lineage of forms descended from the jatis, the note madhyama had lost its honoured position. We also notice significantly that Abhinava here relegates mārga-forms to a position not only removed from the jatis but also away from jāti-born grāma-rāgas.

¹ ग्रामरागा इति । ग्रामयोज्जितिव्यवधानेनोत्पन्नानामपि भाषारागाद्यपेक्षया व्यवधानात्पत्वादेतेषां ग्रामरागत्वव्यपदेशः ।
—Kalā on S.R. 2, 1-8-14.

Explaining the connection of grāma-rāga with grāmas Kumbha also says :
गस्य ग्रामस्य संबन्धे या जातिरिह वर्तते । तथा यो जन्यते रागः स तद्ग्राम ईरितः ॥
—S. Raj, 2, 2, 1, 141.

² गान्धर्वशास्त्रं ईषदसमान्ते गान्धर्वे ग्रामरागरागरूप इति वानेन भाषादेशीभागंदिषु मध्यमस्यापि विनाशित्वमभ्युपगतं भवति ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 65.

However regarding bhinnaśaḍja, a grāma-rāga, he says that ‘ma’ could be omitted in it (see ch. V, p. 93).

The grāma-rāgas must have shared other rules with the jātis besides the indispensability of madhyama. Certain grāma-rāgas—those classed as the śuddha ones—were so close to the jātis that each of them was born of a single unmixed jāti.¹ Others were born of a mixture of jātis through a process which they shared with the 11 samsargaja or mixed jātis. Their structural resemblance to the jātis must have been very great.

Yet, howsoever ancient and howsoever close the grāma-rāgas may have been to the jātis, they were in essence malleable forms and usable as gāna. They were, indeed, the prototypes of all gāna-oriented forms. Abhinava, to this effect, quotes a predecessor of his—referring to him as the Tīkākāra—who had aptly shown the basic aesthetic and musical difference between jātis and grāma-rāgas in saying : “the jātis serve as the basic svara-structure from which gāna forms have originated and are thus useful for gāna. But jātis are not the source of the peculiar charm (rakti) of gāna forms; this quality is imbued in them through grāma-rāgas.”² This suggests that though jātis and grāma-rāgas had a close structural kinship, the musical approach in rendering the two forms was entirely different in spirit : jātis were sacred liturgic, hieratic melodies, absolutely unbending and uncompromising in their form and spirit; grāma-rāgas, on the contrary, seem to have been early embodiments of a freer, more pliable and hence a basically secular and profane attitude to music (many rules—we have seen in ch. V—binding in the jātis, in fact, did not apply to them in a strict manner). They must have had a more ‘popular’ appeal and were thus called ‘rāga’ : Mataṅga defines rāgas as those forms which had the power to please the populace (rañjako janacittānām sa ca rāga udāhṛtaḥ; Br. 281) and he includes grāma-rāgas with forms belonging to the rāga-mārga³, the corpus rāgas as distinct from the jātis.

Like other gāna forms, grāma-rāgas, too, played an inherent role in the ancient dramatic structure : the plays employed them as essential nātya-sāmagrī (as important to the unfoldment of the plot and revealing the moods of characters). The Vṛtti on the Bhaddesi has an interesting passage where it distinguishes what it calls a gīta from a rāga : rāgas, it says, are songs such as the grāma-rāgas, which conform to the ten characteristics that govern musical structures;⁴ these rāgas become gītas when

¹ Regarding these, the ‘śuddha’ grāma-rāgas, Mataṅga says :

निरपेक्षात्यजातिर्यं स्वजातिमनुवर्तकाः । स्वजात्यन्यतमाशैव ते शुद्धाः परिकीर्तिताः ॥

—Br. 317-318.

² टीकाकारास्त्वाहुः । आश्रयस्वरस्वरूपेण जातीना गान उपयोगो न तु रवित्सम्पादकवेन तत्तु ग्रामरागाणामेव ।
—A.B. on N.S. 29, 14.

³ Grāma-rāgas are the very first of the rāga-forms which Mataṅga describes, obviously, because of their being closest of all ‘rāgas’ to the jātis.

⁴ See the ten jāti-lakṣaṇas, part III section I. Like the jātis, grāma-rāgas were governed by the same lakṣaṇas or formal characteristics such as amśa (dominant note), graba (initial note), nyāsa (note of rest) and other modal features; though, of course, a greater freedom was permitted them.

they are moulded to the five kinds of dhruvās used in dramas.¹ In support of his view the Vṛttikara quotes the authoritative statement (āptavacana) of the ancient ācārya Kaśyapa who had spoken of the intimate connection between grāma-ragas and dhruvās :

kvacidamśah kvacinnyāsaḥ śāḍabauḍubite kvacit
alpatvam ca bahutvam ca grahāpanyāsasamyutam
grāmarāgā prayoktavyā vidhivad daśarūpake
praveśākṣepaniṣkrāmaprāsādikamathāntaram
gānam pañcavidham yat tad rāgairebīḥ prayojayet
pūrvvaraṅge tu śuddhā syāt bhinnā prastāvanāśrayā
vesarā mukhayoḥ kāryā garbhe gauḍī vidhīyate
sādhāritāvamarše syāt sandhau nirvahaṇe tathā.

(Vṛtti on Br. 364A)

"The wise should know the amśa (dominant note), nyāsa (note of rest), apan-yāsa (subsidiary note of rest), graha (initial note), the weak notes (alpatva), the notes used copiously (bahutva) the structural range in the lower and upper registers (mandratārau) and (rules regarding) śāḍava and auḍuva (governing grāma-rāgas) and formulate them accordingly. These gaāma-rāgas should be appropriately employed in dramas: the five kind of gānas—praveśa, ākṣepa, niṣkrāma, prāsādika and antarā—should be sung to these rāgas. The śuddha (variety of) grāma-rāgas should be employed in the pūrvā-raṅga, the bhinna during prastāvanā, the vesara during the two mukhas, the gauḍa during garbha and the sādhārita during avamarṣa, sandhi and nirvahaṇa."²

We must make a clarification before proceeding. We have said earlier that śuddha, bhinna, vesara and others were names of gītis and that different gītis were different styles of rendering rāgas (see p. 121). In the above passage from Kaśyapa, śuddha, bhinna, vesara etc. are used in the sense of different classes of rāgas, not just different styles of rendering the same rāga. This apparently introduces an incongruity. How can a gīti be both a style of rendering and a classificatory category of forms? In current musical practice the same rāga sung in a different style does not become a different rāga unless significant structural differences are also introduced. Different gītis evidently entailed such structural differences besides a difference in style. After describing the stylistic characteristics of different gītis (Br 291-308), Mataṅga proceeds to enumerate rāgas and to place them in different classes, again on the basis of the same gītis. This was not just as an odd way of classifying the same forms on the basis different styles. For, the names of rāgas enumerated under different gītis are not identical. And when the same rāga does occur under different gīti-classes, a difference of

¹ ननु गीतरागयोः को भेदः । उच्यते । दशलक्षणलक्षितं गीतं रागशब्दाभिधेयम् । गीतं चतुरज्ञोपेतम् घूवायोगात् पञ्चविधम् ।

—Br. Vṛtti. on 364A.

The term, we notice, closely approximates the sense of the term gāna as used by Abhinava. An ancient dramatic plot was divided into various parts; prastāvanā mukha, garbha, avam-arsa, sandhi and nirvahaṇa were technical names for these parts.

more than style or manner of rendering is clearly implied. An example discussed in the Vṛtti will bear this out. The rāga kaiśika is listed both as śuddha form (śuddha-kaiśika) and a bhinna form (bhinna-kaiśika). Both śuddha and bhinna kaiśika were derived from the same parent jātis (kaiśika and kārmāravī). The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī in describing bbinna-kaiśika raises the question : is this rāga identical with śuddha kaiśika? The reply made is that it is not. The Vṛtti then points out important structural differences and concludes : bhinna kaiśika is different for it has a different form : rūpānyatvenāyambhidye" (Vṛtti on Br. 330).¹

With this in mind we can return back to the matter at hand.

At the end of his commentary on the 28th chapter of the Nātyasāstra, Abhinava quotes a long ancient passage in which specific grāma-rāgas are traced to their jāti-origins. The passage is presumably from Kaśyapa, but whether or not it is the same Kaśyapa who is quoted in the Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī we do not know.² Here, too, the grāma-rāgas are described as being employed in dhruvāgāna :

eṣā vibhāṣā gīti tu grāmarāgāśrite mate
dhruvāgānopayogāya tadeṭadgītisaptakam

Bharata also (in the 32nd chapter, the dhruvādhyāya) has a passage defining the connection of grāma-rāgas with the dramatic plot. Like Kaśyapa he lays down the types of grāma-rāgas appropriate to the various junctures of a play (N.S. 32, 426-429). Though Bharata does not use the word grāma-rāga as such, it is clear from the epithets he uses that the reference is to grāma-rāgas.³

¹ We quote the passage at length. The purport is clear inspite of a faulty reading of some crucial words:

मिन्नकैशिको मध्यमग्रामसम्बन्धः कैशिकीकामरवीजात्युत्पन्नत्वात् । ग्रहोऽशश्च षड्जः । पञ्चमो त्यासः । निशादोऽत्र काकलिः । पूर्णश्चायम् ।

(cf. śuddha-Kaiśika which has been identically described in Vṛtti on Br. 321)

शुद्धकैशिकं उ दय (?) यचपि रागः तथापि भेदोऽरितः । मन्त्रबहुलोऽयम् । येन संस्थाने (न) शुद्धकैशिके स्वरलापः क्रियते तत्संस्थानं विहा(प्र) ते रेव स्वरैरालापः कर्तव्यः । विभिन्नकैशिके हि तारस्वरैरालापः कर्तव्य इति । रूपान्यत्वेनायं मिच्छते ।"

To us it appears that the above difference between śuddha and bhinna kaiśiki was somewhat akin to the difference between such Hindusthani rāgas as sohanī and pūriyā.

² It appears not, because Kaśyapa in Abhinava's passage has seven gītis whereas Kaśyapa in the Br. passage has only five.

³ पूर्वरङ्गविधाने तु कर्तव्यो रागजो (पाठभेदः 'पाड्वो') विधिः । देवपूजाधिकारस्तु तत्र सम्पर्कीतिः ॥ तत्रश्चकाव्यवन्वेषु नानाभावसमाश्रयम् । ग्रामधयं तु कर्तव्य यथासाधारणाश्रयम् ॥ मुखे तु मध्यमः ग्रामः षड्जः प्रतिमुखे भवेत् । साधारितस्तथा गम्भे विमर्शे चैव पञ्चमम् ॥ कैशिकं च तथा कायां गानं निर्वहणे वृद्धिः । सन्निवृत्ताश्रयं चैव रसभावसमन्वितम् ।

—N.S. 32, 426-429.

Bharata is here referring to the grāma-rāgas named śadja-grāma, madhyama-grāma, śuddha, pañcama, kaiśikamadhyā, sādhārīta and kaiśika (see Kaśyapa quoted at the end of A.B. on N.S. 28, 141. also S. R. 2, 189.) Note the comments of A.B. :

काश्यपमुनिप्रशृतिभिन्निरूपितमपि ग्रामरागनागरगानं स्वीकरोति । मुखे मध्यमग्रामः । षड्जः प्रतिमुखे गम्भे साधारितः । पञ्चमोऽत्रमश्च ।

—A.B. on N.S. 32, 428.

The *Vṛtti* on *Bṛhaddeśī*, in fact, quotes this passage from Bharata (with a reading somewhat variant from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*) at the end of the section on the śuddha grāma-rāgas: the purpose being to authoritatively establish the connection of these śuddha grāma-rāgas with the theatre.¹ Kallinātha has also quoted this passage with yet another variant reading. He quotes it as being quoted in the *Bṛhaddeśī*; his version of the passage establishes the connection of the entire gamut of grāma-rāgas (and not only the śuddha ones) with the theatrical plot and its various divisions.²

We observe that the grāma-rāgas were not only the closest to gāndharva of all later forms, some of them like gāndharva were also accorded a role in the propitiatory pūrvvaraṅga. The grāma-rāgas which were thought exalted enough for this function were the śuddha grāma-rāgas; perhaps, as the name implies, the nearest in structure to the jātis.

Indeed, Mataṅga has said that in the pūrvvaraṅga even the jātis employed should be the śuddha ones : “pūrvvaraṅgakṛte śuddhā kartavyam gitayoktibhiḥ” (Br. 241). The śuddha grāma-rāgas were each born of a single jāti and hence they, too, were comparatively śuddha or ‘pure’, unadulterated forms.

Of the seven śuddha grāma-rāgas, the rāga called śādaba has been named most often in connection with the pūrvvaraṅga by the authorities. The *Vṛtti* on *Bṛhaddeśī* describes it as “saṣṭu rāgeṣu mukhya iti śādabah— it is supreme among the (other) six rāgas, hence called śādaba ” (Br. Vṛtti on 318) and adds “pūrvvaraṅge pracuraprayogatvādasya śuddha śādabasjādau nirdesāḥ: śuddhaśādaba is the first (rāga) to be described because of its profuse employ in the pūrvvaraṅga” (Br. Vṛtti, *ibid.*).

The ancient pūrvvaraṅga was predominated by the gāndharva forms like gitakas, vardhamānaka etc.³ which were propitiatory forms *per se*, but some dhruvā forms, too, seem to have had a place in the total pūrvvaraṅga scheme. Bharata has, in fact, named the avakṛṣṭā dhruvā in connection with the pūrvvaraṅga.⁴ Its propitia-

¹ ननु अमो विनियोगवि शेषाः कस्मात्लभ्यन्ते । वचनादेव लभ्यन्ते । तथा चाह भरतः—
मुखे तु मध्यमग्रामः पद्जः प्रतिमूखे भवेत् । गर्भे साधारितश्चैवावमर्थे तु पञ्चमः ॥
संहारे कैश्चिकः प्रोक्तः पूर्वरङ्गे तु पाठवः । चित्रस्याष्टादशाङ्गास्य त्वन्ते कैश्चिकमध्यमः ॥
शुद्धानां विनियोगोऽप्यन्नां त्रह्णाणा समुदाहृतः । इदानीं भिन्नानां लक्षणमाह.....

—Br. Vṛtti on 322.

We can clearly see that this passage names the very seven grāma-rāgas enumerated in the foregoing footnote.

² Kallinātha quotes the same passages as quoted in the footnote above. However, he adds three extra lines at the beginning of the passage which are not to be found in the extant Br.: पूर्वरंगे तु शुद्धा रथादिभन्ना प्रतावनाश्रया । वेसरा मुख्योः कार्या गर्भे गौडी विशीयते ॥ साधारितावमर्थे स्यात्संघी निर्वहणे तथा.....

—Kalā on S.R. 2, 2, 30-32.

³ Note Abhinava's dictum:
पूर्वरंगे तु गान्धवेमेव प्रधानम्

—A.B. on N.S. 33,1.

This implies a dominance of gāndharva but not the absence of other forms.

⁴ ततश्चोत्थापनं कार्यं परिवर्तनमेव च । नान्दी शुष्कावकुष्टा च रञ्जद्वारं तथैव च ॥

—N.S. 5, 14.

tory function was to please lesser deities like the pitṛs and the nāgas.¹ The avakīṣṭā when employed in the pūrvvaraṅga may have been moulded on austere lines, more in accordance with the gītaka form. One of the grāma-rāgas, perhaps the śāḍaba, may have formed its melodic content.

One gathers from Abhinava that other dhruvā-forms were also apparently employed as part of the pūrvvaraṅga, and these were perhaps composed to grāma-rāgas when so employed. But, though the grāma-rāgas could have an additional function in the pūrvvaraṅga, their main function was to accompany the unfoldment of the dramatic plot proper, as the verses we have discussed from Kaśyapa and Bharata indicate.

The grāma-rāgas—in contrast to the jātis which were essentially fixed and closed forms—must have been open forms, capable of assimilating new elements and of change. Through a process of change, grāma-rāgas must have given rise to bhāṣās and these in turn to vibhāṣās etc. Over a period as yet newer forms were evolved, the grāma-rāgas themselves became old or ‘classical’ and also, apparently static. They became in other words, ‘ribaddha’ forms and, evidently, for this reason, came to be included in the category of mārga. In our own period, we may take the example of dhrupad and compare it with the later forms, the khyāl and the thumrī. The former is now a more or less closed form and does not permit of new innovations or creations, while the other two are still open forms and capable of assimilating new elements both from folk music and parallel musical art-forms such as those of Karnatic music. Yet khyāl and thumrī, too, have the seeds of rigidity in them and may some day become closed forms like the dhrupad.

A statement by Śārṅgadeva suggests that grāma-rāgas did have the kind of history as suggested above and were not always ‘mārga’ or rule-bound forms, which they definitely had become by the period of Śārṅgadeva. While Śārṅgadeva unhesitatingly classifies grāma-rāgas etc. as mārga or nibaddha forms, he yet refers to theorists who thought that these forms were desī: “prasiddhā grāmarāgādyāḥ keciddeśityapīrītāḥ: some call the well established grāma-rāgas etc., too, as desī.” (S.R. 2, 2, 3). Śārṅgadeva is here certainly referring to the works of those ancient authorities in whose times grāma-rāga etc. must have been desī forms—still fluid to some degree and capable of ‘kāmacārapravartitva’, or ‘being moulded according to urge’, the basic principle underlying desī forms. Mataṅga, too, includes them in the broad category of desī, though he certainly must have considered them relatively more ‘nibaddha’ well-regulated (or in his use of the term) a ‘mārga’ variety of desī; but still it is in his classification a ‘rāga’ form and undoubtedly desī.

¹ युक्तायामवकृष्टायां प्रीता नागा भवन्ति हि । तथा शुष्कावकृष्टायां प्रीतः पितृगणो भवेत् ॥
—N.S. 5, 50.

Śuṣkāvakīṣṭā was avakīṣṭā sung to meaningless syllables (śuṣka) :
अत शुष्काकरेव ह्यवकृष्टा ध्रुवा यतः । तस्माच्छुष्कावकृष्टेयं
—N.S. 5, 25.

Note A.B.:

वकृष्टा समस्ततलक्षणोपेता केवलं शुष्केरक्षरेवानर्थकः ज्ञाणदुमाद्यैः ।

Śāringadeva himself includes only much younger forms within the deśī class, namely, rāgaṅga, bhāṣāṅga, kriyāṅga and upāṅga.¹ These younger forms were ultimately linked with forms such as grāma-rāgas and bhāṣās, which have been classed as mārga by Śāringadeva, but the link was a remote one. A passage quoted by Kallinātha from Mataṅga (it is not in the extant *Bṛhaddeśī*, which, as we have argued, is full of lacunae) says that rāgāṅgas were mere shadows of grāma-rāgas and that bhāṣāṅgas were constructed with elements that were shadows of the bhāṣā proper.²

Interestingly, deśī forms, too, are divided into two categories by Śāringadeva: (1) pūrvaprasiddha or those which were already well established as old and traditional rāgas when Śāringadeva wrote of them and (2) adhunāprasiddha rāgas or those rāgas which were comparatively recent formations and were in a state of flux. These adhunāprasiddha rāgas were still undergoing structural changes, some of them of great import, when Kallinātha wrote his commentary on the *Śārigitaratnākara* (15th century A.D.). He notes that great incompatibilities existed between the adhunāprasiddha rāgas as described and as actually rendered and enumerates some important changes.³ Intriguingly enough, change had also affected some grāma-rāgas which were still in use, revealing the fact that they were after all deśī forms and were thus not immune to transformations. Thus hīṇḍola, a grāma-rāga of the vesara variety, was originally sung as pentatonic by omitting ri and dha but during Kallinātha's age, the actual usage was to drop ri and pa.⁴

Mārga, then, emerges to have been initially a term for the more regulated, relatively older, 'classical' forms within the deśī fold itself. These were forms the structure of which had become fixed due to traditional usage over a long period.

Mārga, in fact, in medieval musical parlance was often applied to anything old. Śāringadeva, we observe, classifies even a drum called paṭaha into the two types of mārga and deśī (S.R. 6, 805); mārga paṭaha has, evidently, nothing to do with gāndharva—it was the old 'classical' form of the instrument while deśī paṭaha was a latterly evolved form. Śāradātanaya (placed towards the end of the 12th

¹ अथ रागांगभाषापांगक्रियांगोपांगनिर्णयम् । केषांचिन्मतमाधितत्य कुरुते सोऽलात्मजः ॥
रञ्जनाद्रागता भाषारागादेरपीव्यते । देशीरागतया प्रोवतं रागांगादिचतुष्टयम् ॥
—S.R. 3, 2, 1-2.

² रागांगादिशब्दानां निरुक्तिर्मतंगोक्ता इष्टव्या । यथा—
ग्रामोक्तानां तु रागाणां छायामालं भवेदिति । गीतज्ञः कथितः सर्वे रागांगास्तेन हेतुना ॥
भाषाछायाश्रिता येत जायन्ते सदृशा किल । भाषांगास्तेन कथ्यन्ते गायकः स्तौतिकादिभिः ॥
—Kalā on S.R. 2, 2, 1-2.

³ इदानीमध्युनाप्रसिद्धरागांगादीनां लक्ष्ये प्रतीतानां लक्षणविरोधानां परिहारारथं मुच्यद्यमः क्रियते.....
—ibid. 2, 2, 159-160.

⁴ ग्रामरागेषु हिन्दूलस्य लक्षणे रिधत्यक्तत्वेनोक्तौ रिपत्यागेन प्रयोगः ।
—Kalā, ibid.

Even to this day the Hindustani hīṇḍola is sung as a pentatonic rāga, minus ri and pa; but what resemblance it has to the ancient form of this name cannot at all be ascertained. It is not unlikely that Kallinātha, too, is here confusing a rāga current as hīṇḍola in his days with the ancient grāma-rāga of the same name, while, in fact, the latter was entirely lost.

century A.D.) in a similar spirit, classifies some melodic alankāras and movements as mārga-gamakas to indicate their oldness. These mārga-gamakas, 22 in number, bear names such as bhrāmita, dīrghalalita, urastāra, śiroguru etc. and are certainly post-gāndharva (they are not named under gāndharva anywhere) but they were already 'classical' and old melodic graces by the 13th Century, hence the appellation mārga was used to distinguish them.¹

Mārga was, thus, quite distinct from gāndharva which was a class apart. But gāndharva-born forms themselves formed a very large and ever growing group. Within this group, some forms were very old and well-established; these were the mārga forms.

Abhinava clearly denotes through mārga a sub-class of what he terms gāna forms and keeps the term quite distinct from gāndharva. He, too, evidently had in mind a similar notion of mārga as that suggested by Mataiiga, though he makes no explicit statement on the point.

Sāringadeva, unlike Abhinava, has not been careful to distinguish mārga from gāndharva; on the contrary he confuses the range of forms denoted by each and makes them so overlap each other as to make the terms apparently synonymous. Maybe by his time gāndharva was on the way of becoming more a memory than an actually living form and for him it was just one of the old 'mārga' forms. He therefore groups together all old well-regulated forms—including the gāndharva—as mārga.

Yet he does not totally confound mārga with gāndharva. He does keep the gāndharva forms quite apart from other mārga forms by giving them a separate niche in his work. The adṛṣṭa-motive he so pronouncedly ascribes to the jātis and the gītakas is not ascribed to grāma-rāgas etc. And though he has used gāndharva and gāna as almost synonymous with mārga and deśī as connotative of the same distinct groups of musical forms, still there are instances of his use of these terms which reveal that a perspicuous impression, a gradually weakening yet definite residual imprint of the earlier distinction between mārga and gāndharva, had remained in his mind. Let us study instances of note :

In his discussion of vāggeyakāras (literally, 'composers of words and music'),² the medieval name for expert musician-composers, Sāringadeva remarks that these

¹ निस्वानितं च स्फुरितं विततं विघृतं तथा । भ्रामितं दीर्घलिलितमुरस्तारं शिरो गुरु ॥
उल्लोलिताक्षिप्तके च लीलोत्सारितकुञ्चिते । प्रतिश्रुतमुरःक्षिप्तं कण्ठाक्षिप्तकमेव च ॥
समाक्षितं कोमलं च मूर्धाक्षितं विकृष्टकम् । उद्वतितं परावृत्तमपवतितमेव च ॥
एतानि मार्णगमका इतिविद्विभरीरिताः ।

—*Bhāvaprakāśana*, ch. 7, lines 10-16 on p. 192 of the G.O.S. ed.

The scholarly editors, Yatiraja Svami and Ramasvami Sastri, of the G.O.S. edition of the *Bhāvaprakāśana* have adduced many arguments to conclude that the work was composed in "a period ranging between 1175-1250 A.D." see Introduction p. 76.

Sāringadeva defines vāggeyakāra as an expert who could both compose a new poem as well as set it to music.

वाढमातुरुच्यते गेयं धातुरभिधीयते । वाचं गेयं च कुरुते यः स वाग्मेयकारकः ॥

—S.R. 3, 2.

composers were free to handle and mould according to their desire—of course within the given rules—both desī and mārga forms.

The vāggeyakāras are described in the third chapter. This chapter (on prakīrṇaka) deals not only with vāggeyakāras but also with such related matter as various types of vocalists, their qualifications and drawbacks, the musical vocal-tone in singing, its nature and qualities and its various flourishes, the various types of musical movements and their relation to the rāgas and also compositional aspects, such as the rules of ālāpa in rendering a rāga. The entire exposition contained in the chapter, according to Śāringadeva, applied to both desī and mārga forms :

atha prakīrṇakam karṇarasāyanamanākulam
desīmārgāśryam vakti śāringadevo vidām varah

(S.R. 3, 1)

Kallinātha's comments are elucidative. He remarks : "the actual forms of grāma-rāgas etc. described in the second chapter can only be experienced directly through the efforts of singers and composers (nirmāṭ); the chapter on prakīrṇaka has been written in order to lay down the characteristics of these latter two (*i.e.*, singers and composers) and aspects related to their skill (tadādilakṣaṇa-param).¹ Expert vāggeyakāras were thus free to make new creations not only in desī rāgas but also in mārga,² which included in this context grāma-rāgas as well as subsequent 'classical' or old forms. The best vāggeyakāra, according to Śāringadeva, was he who could compose with equal ease and skill in both mārga and desī forms. Vāggeyakāras of this type were known as gāndharva (not to be confused with the ancient term). Those vāggeyakāras who had proficiency only in mārga forms were known as svarādi :

mārgam desīm ca yo vetti sa gāndharvo'bhidhiyate
yo vetti kevalam mārgam svarādi sa nigadyate

(S.R. 3, 12-13)

One of the qualities of a vāggeyakāra of either category was that he could compose a song at the spur of a moment (drutagītavīnīrmāṇam, S.R. 3, 8). The best vāggeyakāras were capable of new compositions in which both the poem and the music to which it was set were new and fresh creations; these creations were, moreover not mere copies of older models: "anucchiṣṭoktinirbandho nūtanadhātuvīnīmitih" (S.R. 3, 7).

¹ द्वितीयेऽभिहितलक्षणानां ग्रामरागादीनाम् स्वस्पसाक्षात्कारस्य गातृनिर्मातृपरतन्त्रवेन तत्स्वरूपजिज्ञासायाम् तदादिलक्षण-परं प्रकीर्णकं वर्णयितुं प्रतिजानीते—अथ प्रकीर्णकमित्यादिना ।

—Kalā on S.R. 3, 1.

² Kallinātha in the same passage commenting on the second line of S.R. 3, 1, adds:

'देशीमार्गश्रयमिति' विशेषणमन् लिलक्षयिष्यतानाम् वाग्मेयकारादीनाम् देशीमार्गोभयसाधारणत्वात् तलक्षणपरस्य ग्रन्थस्यापि देशीमार्गोभयाश्रयत्वेन प्रकीर्णकत्वद्योतनार्थम्।

It is clear from the above that the mārga forms which the vāggeyakāras were free to handle could not have included gāndharva. Kallinātha, indeed, points at grāma-rāgas as their upper limit.¹ This is quite within reason, since Śāringadeva has himself pointed out that jāti forms were as good as 'revealed' forms similar in this respect to the Vedas; they were only to be sung to the words composed for them by Brahmā himself and nothing in their decreed form was permitted to be altered (S.R. 1,7, 113-15). New creations in such forms were quite out of the question. Thus by mārga, in the context of the vāggeyakāras, Śāringadeva evidently means non-gāndharva forms—though, indeed, forms of an older, more 'classical' variety, such as grāma rāgas, bhāṣās etc.

Śāringadeva has also used Abhinava's term gāna and we have seen that he equates the term with deśī. Yet again the equation is not quite total. He has stated that gāna forms are those which are composed by vāggeyakāras in 'deśī-rāgas etc.' (S.R. 4,3) implying, evidently—through the 'etc'—the inclusion within this fold, of mārga-forms like grāma-rāgas which were according to him within the sphere of the vāggeyakāras' activity.

In spite of a covert distinction, Śāringadeva does confuse between gāndharva and mārga. This, we suggest, was perhaps due to the fact that in the iconoclastic period intervening between Śāringadeva and Abhinava, gāndharva became extinct as a living form. It was a form which demanded special protection and care and needed to be sustained and maintained intact with great diligence and perseverance. Even during Abhinava's period and for quite some time earlier, it must have remained in the hands of very special groups or sampradāyas which must have protected and propagated gāndharva as a sacred art. These groups must have been one of the first casualties of the great historical upheaval after Abhinava. Hence Śāringadeva probably knew of gāndharva only indirectly.

But he certainly seems to have had a first-hand knowledge of the grāma-rāgas. These were old but profane forms. They survived perhaps because of their profane character and a relatively freer form. Śāringadeva knew through available texts—and certainly also through musical tradition which was still close enough to living gāndharva to retain a memory of many of its distinctive attributes—that the grāma-rāgas were close relatives of the gāndharva forms. He could, consequently, imaginatively reconstruct gāndharva and record its structures through his immense textual and theoretical knowledge and the known resemblances of jātis to grāma-rāgas and other older jāti-born forms.

After Śāringadeva the next great comprehensive work on music (apart from the commentaries on the *Saṅgitaratnākara*), is that of Rāṇa Kumbha who composed his *Saṅgitāraṇa* during his reign over the kingdom of Mewar in the 15th century A.D. Kumbha was a great scholar of music and had studied many ancient and modern texts on the subject. He was also a versatile musician. He claims not only to have

¹ He clearly says that only 'the second chapter onward and forms beginning with grāma-rāgas etc.' described therein constituted the field of the vāggeyakāra :

द्वितीयेऽभिहितलक्षणानाम् ग्रामरागादीनाम्.....
—Kata on S.R. 3, 1.

studied and mastered ancient texts but also to have actually realised in practice the forms expounded.¹

It is not possible to fully assess how close his reconstructions were to ancient forms. Yet, however much we may applaud his attempt, it is evident that much in Kumbha's restoration was of dubious authenticity. We can, indeed, infer from his descriptions that contemporary forms had crept into the recaptured old ones. Take for instance the gītakas of gāndharva: Kumbha has drawn up charts of the actual beat-cum-tāla structures of gītaka-formations on the basis of descriptions in the ancient texts. Śāringadeva, too, has given similar charts which, indeed, must have inspired Kumbha. But Kumbha goes much beyond Śāringadeva; he gives not only the tāla-charts of the gītakas but also adds an accompanying svara and pada structure to which the gītakas are supposedly to be sung. The pada-structures of some of the gītakas consist of long verses and are clearly Kumbha's own creations as they bear his name.² The accompanying svara-structures are not jāti structures but compositions in rāgas, some of them very late desī forms like malhāra-rāga (S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 135), karṇāṭa-baṅgālā-rāga (S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 219) and turuṣka-gauḍa-rāga (S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 219). These rāgas are listed as adhunāprasiddhā or currently popular desī-rāgas by Śāringadeva (S.R. 2, 2, 9-10); they were evolved very much after gāndharva. Other rāgas like dhāraṇī which Kumbha prescribes as melodic accompaniment for gītakas (S. Raj. 2, 4, 1, 219) appear to be even later forms, since they do not appear on Śāringadeva's lists. Obviously, gāndharva as a sacred, unalterable form was, by the age of Kumbha, a dead form, living only in musical texts, and Kumbha in trying to revivify it was, to a very great extent, making it sing to his own tune.

Kumbha, like Śāringadeva, uses the two pairs of terms, gāndharva: gāna and mārga: desī, much in the same way as his predecessor. Gāndharva forms he says are śuddha or pure forms; they extend in his work (he says) from the section on śruti upto antarabhāṣā and comprise also the gītakas like madraka etc. In other words, gāndharva in his view, as in that of Śāringadeva, included not only the jātis and gītakas but

¹ ग्रन्थान् सम्यगधीत्य वद्दिविषयं नीत्वान् भूयार्थतः । कृत्वा दर्शनगोचरानभिनयैर्नामिनेयाश्रितैः ॥
तात् शिष्यप्रतिशिष्यशिक्षणपथं नेतुं यथावस्थितान् श्रीमत् । कालुजिभूपतिः प्रयत्ते स्वोपक्षसन्दर्भतः ॥
— S. Raj. 1, 1, 1, 37.

Although Kumbha here explicitly claims to have actually reconstructed only dramatic performances, the claim certainly also applied to music which formed the main subject-matter of his treatise. And, indeed, a total reconstruction of an ancient drama must inevitably have entailed a reconstruction of its musical aspect, too.

² eg. the verse to be sung to madraka includes the line:
प्रणतातिहरं मायारूपं, प्रणमति शिरसा, नवरत्नमहं तं कृष्णनरेणः;
another verse contains:
प्रणमामि सदा कृष्णनूपतिजयदं हरमजेयमहम्;
yet another reads:
जयपृथ्वीपुरन्दरश्रीकालसेनजयदानोदयकराभयकर शिव नमस्ते
and so on.
— see S. Raj 2, 4, 1.

also grāma-rāgas, bhāṣās and their progeny upto the antarabhāṣās.¹ Gāna he defines as comprising those forms which were handled by and moulded into a variety of shapes by the vāggeyakārās.²

Gāndharva, Kumbha says, was a sacred form with an adṛṣṭa end proclaimed by Brahmā himself. It was sung by expert musicians who did not deviate in the slightest from its set traditions and was for this reason called gāndharva ("gāndharvairiha sampradāyavibhīṣaṇ hitvā yato gīyate tad gāndharvamidaṁ vidah prāṇigadanti"; (S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 4). Regarding jātis, Kumbha, again like Śāringadeva, says that jātis were immutable like the Vedas and if sung in praise of Śiva in accordance to their decreed forms they could expiate the awful sin of brahmahatyā. He quotes Purāṇas to conclude that a musician who sings or plays the jātis, as well as those who listen to them, attain the transcendental abode of Śiva. He adds that jātis should not be mutilated to the slightest degree for dire consequences might follow. Rāgas, he says, are born of the jātis and can be identified as such (S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 408-414).

The 'śuddha' forms beginning with śruti and extending upto antarabhāṣās which Kumbha defines as gāndharva are again in the same context also identified as mārga.³ The definition of mārga in Kumbha is, in spirit, the same as in Śāringadeva: mārga was a body of forms created by Brāhma for spiritual and transcendentally uplifting ends (mahodayanimitta). He ascribes the same characteristics to gāndharva. Deśī, too, is defined on the same lines as in *Saṅgitaratnākara* which views it as co-extensive with gāna.⁴

In Kumbha's usage of the terms gāndharva : gāna and mārga : deśī, the same ambiguity and equivocality are to be found as we have witnessed in Śāringadeva. Gāndharva is described as consisting of forms ranging from jātis to the antarabhāṣās; mārga is implied as being coextensive with these and yet jātis have been apportioned a section quite to themselves. Further, we notice that not jātis but only the jāti-born forms ranging from grāma-rāgas onwards are divided into the mārga and deśī classes (S. Raj 2, 2, 1, 23-24). A vāggeyakāra, as in Śāringadeva, is said to handle both mārga and deśī forms (S. Raj 2, 3, 1, 9-10.) in which he is expert at creating ever-new musical compositions (navanavaracanādhātunirmāṇavedī ; (S. Raj 2, 3, 1, 3). Mārga thus (in Kumbha's scheme, as in that of Śāringadeva), excludes the jātis in which, according

¹ गान्धर्वं च तथैव गानमिति तत्राद्यं तु शुद्धाभिधं । श्रुत्याद्यन्तरभाषिकान्तमुदितैस्तैर्मन्त्रकार्यैर्गृह्णतम् ॥
गीतस्तेऽर्थशिष्यचर्तुर्भिरघिकं रसस्तुतो यीजितैः । सर्वं चंतादिहाप्यमुत्रफलदं ब्रह्मादिभिः कीर्तितम् ॥
—S. Raj, 2, 4, 1, 3.

Śāringadeva has nowhere specifically and in so many words, recorded that gāndharva is 'antarabhāṣikāṇīam': He has only implied it. Kallinātha, his commentator, however, makes the point explicit (Kalā on S.R. 4, 1-4). Kumbha has evidently followed Kallinātha.

² अन्यत् पुनर्गीयंते । यद् वाग्गेयकृतांवरेण विलसद्वैचित्र्यविन्यासवत् तत्त्वलक्षणलक्षितं पुनरस्तो द्वे धा निवद्धं तथा अन्यः स्यादनिवद्धम् ।

—S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 4-5.

³ मार्गाश्रितत्वात् श्रुत्यादिलक्षितं शुद्धसंज्ञितम् । तत् प्रसंगात् प्रवक्ष्यन्ते गीतकानि सविस्तरम् ॥
—ibid. 2, 4, 1, 6.

⁴ गीतं वाद्यं तथा नन्यं नयं संगीतमुच्यते । तदद्विधा भिद्यते मार्गदेशी मेदेन तत्त्वतः ॥
मार्गितत्वाद्विरच्छेन प्रयुक्तत्वादथर्थिणा । महोदयनिमित्तत्वाद् विडशतो मार्गं उच्यते ॥
तदेव रुचिवैचित्र्यात् चित्तरञ्जनकृजननैः । प्रयुक्तं स्वस्वदेशे यत् ततोदेशीति कीर्तितम् ॥

—S. Raj 1, 2, 3, 2-4. cf. S.R. 1, 1, 21.24.

to Kumbha, not a single mātrā could be changed without fear of divine retribution just as in words constituting sāma-mantras: "tataḥ sāmākṣarāṇīva mātrāmātramapi sphuṭam/etaśām nānyathā kāryam pratyavāyabhiyā kvacit" (S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 414).

After Kumbha, the terms gāndharva and gāna fell almost out of use. Mārga and deśi survived. The definition of these two terms as given by Śāringadeva was religiously copied and paraphrased by one author after another.¹ Mārga became the general term for all old forms described by Śāringadeva and his predecessors. These forms had apparently become extinct by the 16th-17th centuries: Veṅkaṭamakhin, writing in the 1620s says, in his *Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā*, that grāma-rāgas, uparāgas, rāgas, bhāṣās, vibhāṣikās and antara-bhāṣās—i.e., the six forms described as mārga by Śāringadeva—are sung only by the gāndharva deities and not by men.² Indeed, not only mārga-rāgas but also the 264 deśi rāgas enumerated by Śāringadeva (S.R. 2, 2, 19) were no longer extant by the time of Veṅkaṭamakhin.³ Already in the 14th century we notice that many of the forms—both old and new—current during Śāringadeva's age were on their way to extinction. Prabandhas—one of the major forms of compositions to which rāgas, both mārga and deśi, were set—seem to have travelled a long path towards oblivion by the period of Sudhākalaśa, the Jain author of *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra* (1350 A.D.).⁴ He remarks that composers and singers of prabandhas were becoming rare in his days and thus excuses himself from describing these in detail:

prabandhabandhakartāro viralā bhūtale'dhunā
tadgāyanāśca na prāyo'to noktāste savistarāḥ

(Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra 1,37)

By the 18th century the range of forms described by Śāringadeva were definitely extinct. King Tulajā who ruled from 1729 to 1735, observes (like Veṅkaṭamakhin) that mārga rāgas were performed only in the abode of gandharvas⁵ and that many of the other rāgas too, current in an earlier period, had gone out of use.⁶

¹ See for example the Ra. Kau of Śrikanṭha (16th century A.D.), 1, 14-16; *Rāgavibodha* of Soma-nātha (early 17th century) 1, 6-7; *Saṅgītarāpana* of Dāmodara Pāṇḍita (circa 1625 A.D.) 1, 3-5; *Saṅgītoparijāta* of Ahobala (latter part of the 17th century) ch. 1; etc.

² अर्थतलक्षणान्तरगाननुदिशाभिं क्रमदहूम् । रागास्तावद्वाविद्या भरताद्यरुदीतिः ॥
ग्रामरागाचोपरागा रागा भाषाविभाषिकाः । तथेवान्तरभाषाद्या रागाज्ञाहयास्तः परम् ॥
भाषाज्ञाणिं क्रियाज्ञाणिं ह्युपाज्ञानीति च क्रमात् । दशस्वेतेषु रागेषु ग्रामरागादयः पुनः ॥
रागास्त्वरन्तरभाषान्ता मार्गंरागा भवन्ति पट् । ततो ग्रन्थवर्लोकेन प्रयोज्यास्ते व्यवस्थिताः ॥
— *Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā* 5, 17-20.

³ तस्माद्वागा भाषाक्रियाज्ञोपाज्ञासंज्ञिताः । रागास्त्वत्वार एवंते देशीरागाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
तत्त रत्नाकरग्रन्थे शांगंदेवेन धीमता । चतुःषष्ठ्यविकं रागशतद्वयमुदीरितम् ॥
लक्ष्यन्ते न कुवापि लक्ष्यवर्मनि संप्रति ।
— *ibid.* 5, 21-23.

⁴ See Introduction pp. 5-6 in the G.O.S. edition of the work for date of the author.

⁵ तेष्वनेकविधेष्वेषु ग्रामरागादयः पुनः । रागा अन्तरभाषान्ता मार्गंरागाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
अतो ग्रन्थवर्लोकेषु प्रयोज्यास्ते व्यवस्थिताः ॥
— *Saṅgīta Śārāmrta* 9, 8-9.

⁶ तत्र प्रसिद्धिविधुरास्त्यक्त्वा रागांस्तु कांशचन । सर्वत्र लक्ष्यमार्गेऽन्त संप्रति प्रचरन्ति ये ।
त एव संग्रहीतव्या रागा इति विनिश्चयः ।
— *ibid.* 9, 14-15.

Thus, mārga in the 16th century, and later, became a general term for all old forms—forms by now totally lost in oblivion and described in texts such as the *Saṅgitaratnākara*. Deśī was a more resilient term, for by definition it could apply to any form that happened to be current and thus the term was retained as applicable to all extant forms.

One or two authors did use the terms gāndharva and gāna. They used them as synonymous with mārga and deśī. The definition of the terms as found in these later authors is simply a close paraphrase of Śārṅgadeva's definition (in S.R. 4, 1-5).¹

Experts during Śārṅgadeva's period seem to have had an inkling of the actual outlines of gāndharva forms through their direct knowledge of grāma-rāgas and other ancient forms which were close relatives of gāndharva. Moreover, musical forms in that period seem to have shared a doctrinal as well as schematic organisation with the ancients; music still, evidently, referred to a largely common system of interpreting and viewing musical forms, even if many of the old forms themselves had been lost. Experts like Śārṅgadeva could still imaginatively visualise the jātis and discover likenesses with existing rāgas in their structure.

But gradually the musical system itself underwent some very crucial changes. Kallinātha writing in the 15th century gives some revealing clues regarding these changes.

In the ancient system the dual grāma-division of the octave was a very basic structural factor in understanding and rendering musical forms whether they were jātis or grāma-rāgas etc. By Kallinātha's age the grāma-system had disintegrated and all forms were referred to a single common octave-structure. Thus Kallinātha observes that many rāgas which, according to the sāstra, should have been rendered in the madhyamagrāma, with the note madhyama of the middle octave as the initial note, were actually sung with the śadja of the middle octave as the first note. This points towards a great transformation.

Each rāga in the ancient system was allotted a mūrchanā within a grāma and this presumably gave the rāga its particular scale or a fixed arrangement of tones (which we now call a thāt or mela). Any of the seven notes of an ancient grāma could become the tonic, the ādhāra-śruti. A given mūrchanā could only become a

¹ Śrīkanṭha describes gāndharva and gāna as:

गीतं स्यात् स्वरसदैः श्रोतृणां वितरञ्जकः । सूरिभिस्तदद्विद्याप्रोक्तः गान्धवंगानभेदतः ॥
गान्धवंगीयते स्वरं तद्गान्धवमुदाहृतम् । यत्तु वाग्येयकारेण कृतं तद्गानमुच्यते ॥
पृथिव्यामुपयोगित्वाद्गानमेव निगद्यते । निवर्द्धं चानिवर्द्धं च तद्गानं द्विविधं भवेत् ॥

—Ra. Kau. 3, 6-8.

also see Govinda's remarks.

संगीतं द्विविधं प्रोक्तः गान्धवं गानमेव च । देवगन्धवलोकेषु प्रसिद्धं सम्प्रदायतः ॥
गान्धवं सकलाभ्योष्टदायकं देवपूजितम् । गान्धवंलक्षण्यूक्तं प्रीतिदं शुभदायकम् ॥
गानं तु भरताचार्यशाङ्कदेवादिलक्षितम् । मनुष्याणां श्रुतिमनोरञ्जनं चेष्टसिद्धिदम् ॥
लक्षणसंयुक्तं नित्यं श्राव्यं मनीषिभिः ।

—*Saṅgraha Cūḍamani* 2, 11-14.

distinct scale if the note on which it began was the tonic. But in Kallinātha's age, ṣadja seems to have become the common tonic for all forms.¹ The grāma-mūrchanā system was giving place to the modern mela-kartā or thāṭ system with the tonic always being called ṣadja (or sa).

We notice in the ancient system that ṣadja was no more important than any other note. In many jātis, in fact, it could be dispensed with, and the same was true of it (with, indeed, a greater degree of freedom) regarding grāma-rāgas and other ancient forms.²

Pañcama in the two grāmas was fixed at different pitches. But in Kallinātha's period all notes were referred to a single ādhāra-śruti which was invariably the ṣadja, hence pañcama, which stands in a natural harmonical relation with this fixed ṣadja, too, had to become constant. The dual pañcamas of the ancient grāma-system had to go, and pañcama became, as in modern music, fixed on a single immovable pitch.³

Later authors clearly testify that only a single-octave system, which they termed the ṣadja-grāma (because of ṣadja having become the invariable tonic), had survived in practice. To have called this octave-fabric a 'grāma' was logically a misnomer, for it had a single fixed tonic, other notes having variable positions to give new scales; but old terms die hard.

Veṅkaṭamakhin in his *Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā* remarks that madhyama grāma had become 'non-existent': "asmābhirmadhyamagrāmo'pi asatprāya itīryate" (*Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā* 3, 69). No reasonable man, he adds, would accept this grāma, because it was not to be found in practice: "ayukto madhyamagrāmo lakṣyamārgavirodhataḥ" (*ibid.* 3, 71). There was, consequently, only one grāma—the ṣadja-grāma: "eka eva tataḥ ṣadjagrāma ityavadhāryate" (*ibid.* 3, 72). Veṅkaṭamakhin was one of the main theorists of the melakartā system, a system which was a living testimony to the fact that the grāma-mūrchanā system had been now replaced.

Somanātha in his *Rāgavibodha* (1609 A.D.) also implies the existence of a single grāma. The reason he gives (like Kallinātha) is that pañcama was no longer a moveable note: it was no longer established on two different śrutis as in the ancient

¹ ग्रामद्वयाज्ञात्यादिपरम्परयोत्पन्नानामेतेषां रागाणां मध्यमस्थपड्जमध्यमस्थानयोरेव तत्त्वमूलं नापक्षाश्रयणे शास्त्रविहिते संभवत्यपि मध्यमग्रामोत्पन्नानां मध्यमादितोडीप्रभृतीनाम् च मध्यमध्यमारम्भं विहाय मध्यपड्जस्थान एवारम्भो लक्ष्यते ।

—Kalā on S.R. 2, 2, 159-160.

² Madhyama in gāndharva was said to be indispensable. But this could not have made it the constant tonic like the modern ṣadja. For, with madhyama as the only tonic gāndharva would have had only a single scale, namely, the scale of the mūrchanā beginning with madhyama. This seems to be an extremely unlikely proposition. Moreover, madhyama in gāndharva could be rendered an extremely weak note in some jātis—a position quite unthinkable of the constant modern tonic ṣadja which is stressed with a continuous drone. Utpaladeva has suggested that madhyama was called indispensable in jātis because it just happened to be the only note which was never actually dropped. There seems to be quite some truth in this observation, because in many jāti-born forms which shared a common musical scheme with the jātis, madhyama could be dropped.

तिचतुःश्रुतिक्त्वेन ग्रामद्वयभेदकस्य पञ्चमस्थालोप्यत्वेन प्रयुज्यमानस्यापि सर्वरागेष्वेकरूपता ।

—Kalā on S.R. 2, 2, 159-160.

two-grāma system but had become fixed and immovable.¹ Somanātha, in fact, quotes Kallinātha in support of his views.²

Other important post-Kallinātha theorists such as Śrīnivāsa (in his *Rāgatattvavibodha*³), Puṇḍarikavīṭṭhala (in his *Rāgamāla*⁴) and Ahobala (in his *Saṅgitapārijāta*) all testify to the existence of only a single grāma.⁵

Pandit Bhatkhande had as early as 1916, come to the conclusion that by the time of the *Rāgataranginī* of Locana-Kavi (written some time after Vidyāpati, late 14th century A.D., whom Locana quotes) ṣadja grāma was the only grāma in existence and the system deeming mūrchanās and jātis as parents of rāgas had become obsolete; the melakartā or thāt system had come into full usage.⁶ A careful perusal of Kallinātha and the major post-Kallinātha authors cannot but lead to these conclusions.

The chief reason for this major upheaval in the system of music was perhaps the emergence and the gradual dominance of the drone. Today, Indian music without the drone is unimaginable. And in current practice, the tonic,—the ādhāraśruti of the drone (usually the tānapūrā except with instruments like the shahnāi) is always called the ṣadja; in fact, the terms ṣadja and ādhāraśruti or tonic have now become synonyms. The emergence of ṣadja as the basic note, with which as the constantly droned tonic, all other notes are realised, was the new emergent system to which latter-day theorists pointed in stating that 'ṣadja is the only existent grāma'.

The pre-drone system had, in all probability, the harp as its central instrument, as many eminent scholars have concluded.⁷ In this system a harp-like vīṇā was tuned to a certain grāma : the seven (or nine) svaras were placed at fixed śruti-distances from each other.⁸ Any note could then become the tonic and the mūrchanā based on that note gave a distinct scale.

¹ स्वान्त्यश्रुतावपान्त्यश्रुतो च सति पञ्चमे क्रमात्स स्यात् । किं तु विकारो देशं न पञ्चमे तदिह स्वीकृतः ॥
—*Rāgavibodha* 1, 40.

² किं च रागविवेककाध्याय्याभ्याने कल्लिनाथोऽपि लक्ष्यलक्षणविरोधपर्हारप्रसङ्गादुक्तवान् विचतुःश्रुतिकर्त्तवेन ग्रामद्वयमेदकस्य पञ्चमस्यालोप्यत्वेन प्रयुज्यमानस्यापि सर्वरागविवेकरूपता इत्यादिना ।

—Authors own comm. following *Rāgavibodha*. 1, 40.

³ गान्धारमध्यमग्रामी न तो लक्षणगोचरो ।
—*Rāgatattvavibodha*, 39.

तदेव मध्यमग्रामः सो(स) च रागे न दृश्यते । पड्जग्रामाश्रितान् रागान्सर्वे गायन्ति गायकाः ॥
तस्तान्मुख्यतमः पड्जग्राम एव न मध्यमः ।

—*Rāgamāla* 1, 27-28.

We have consulted IICMS copy of manuscript No. 1985 of the Oriental Institute of Baroda.

⁵ Pandit Bhatkhande in his *Śrimallaksyasaṅgitam* 1, 25-41, written under the pseudonym of Catura, gives a fairly long list of quotations from post-Kallinātha authors testifying to the existence of only the so called ṣadja grāma.

⁶ See his *A short Historical Survey of the Music of Upper India*.

⁷ See for example "Emergence of the Drone in Indian Music" by Dr. B.C. Deva, J.M.A. 1952; also B.B. pp. 167-71 (part of the editor Chaitanya P. Desai's epilogue) etc.

For further discussion see ch. IV.

See *Bharata kā Saṅgīta Śāstra* (Hindi) by Ācārya Bṛhaspati, pp. 5-13 for a well-reasoned description of the tuning process.

All ancient musical forms, whether gāndharva, mārga or deśī (of the ancient variety) were based on the grāma-mūrchanā system. True, mārga and deśī incorporated and accepted many more śrutis and intervals as musically valid tones than were permitted in gāndharva, but the system remained common. It must have been a major transformation in musical practice that caused a change from the ancient grāma-mūrchanā system to the current drone system. During the course of this transformation the mārga-rāgas were gradually lost. Or perhaps they were moulded to suit the new framework and were in the process so transformed that latter-day theorists could not see them as ancient mārga-rāgas.

The drone probably originated in a class of deśī (or may be purely folk) forms which during medieval times used a tānpūrā-like instrument to sound the tonic throughout musical performances. This system then gradually became dominant to the exclusion of the older one. The historical upheavals during which the old order speedily disintegrated must have surely helped this drone-system to establish itself. Whatever the historical process responsible for this change, the change from the old to the new system was certainly a marked one as Pandit Bhatkhande¹ and many noted subsequent authors have observed.

In the light of Śāringadeva, his commentators, and subsequent authors whose works are most accessible to us, it is not surprising that most modern scholars have bracketed gāndharva together with mārga. Even those perceptive scholars who have recognised that gāndharva, indeed, was a definite body of music in itself, yet reveal a vague and sometimes conflicting notion regarding its scope, extent and nature. The reason, we believe, is that Abhinava's exposition and masterly analysis has not received the attention it deserves. Śāringadeva has far too excessively overshadowed our vision of ancient forms. We do not wish to decry Śāringadeva, who was certainly a very painstaking and thorough scholar with a vast, almost encyclopaedic, knowledge of musical practice and theory. He stood at the threshhold of change and opens for us an illuminating window through which we can look back at ancient forms. But Abhinava is certainly a more reliable guide in many crucial matters of ancient music. Post-Abhinava authorities were no longer in the happy position of having a direct knowledge of ancient musical forms.

Following Abhinava, we have, in our analysis of gāndharva, made an attempt at sifting and distinguishing it from other forms and of establishing its separate identity. We have (to use an ancient philosophical term) discussed the 'tatastha' attributes of gāndharva: we have, that is to say, considered it mainly in relation to other forms. Let us now turn to the svarūpa-lakṣaṇa of gāndharva and try to understand its forms

See his monograph entitled *A Comparative Study of Some of the Leading Music Systems of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries*, besides the work cited earlier,

in themselves. For this purpose we can have no better guide than the *Dattilam*. It is the one available text which is devoted completely and exclusively to gāndharva. It has, moreover, the advantage of being short and pithy: it deals with the subject in a very precise, methodical way. It follows a logically organised manner of procedure in moving neatly from one topic to the next.

PART III

TEXT WITH EXPOSITION

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The *Dattilam* may be analysed structurally into three distinct sections:

1. the preamble, consisting of five verses;
2. the section on svara comprising 12 topics, (from verse 6 to 108).
3. the section on tāla, beginning with a short introductory remark, from verse 109 to 242. (Then the end of the treatise is announced in verse 243.)

We have also divided the exposition that follows into these three divisions.

The *Dattilam* is short and very often cryptically brief. It can, on most points of detail, only form the embryonic centre of our study. We shall take recourse, for elaboration, to other texts. The most ancient of these is the *Nātyaśāstra*. But the *Nātyaśāstra*, too, needs clarifications. Abhinava provides these on many points. Other important texts like the *Bṛhaddeśī*, the *Bharata Bhāṣya* of Nānyadeva, the *Saṅgīta-cintāmaṇi* of Vemabhūpāla, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Saṅgītarāja*—to name the more prominent ones—also provide many useful clues and necessary details.

As is only to be expected regarding a body of music as ancient as the gāndharva, the details available in later works are sometimes conflicting, confusing and ambiguous. Our attempt shall be to sift the details as critically as possible and after examining evidence, to present gāndharva in a logically schematic manner with *Dattilam* providing the ground. This will give us an imaginative idea of the forms of gāndharva (as much as is feasible with a dead and bygone form) and also show us the relative viewpoint of Dattila as a gāndharva theorist in comparison with others.

The *Dattilam* was printed from a single manuscript. No truly critical edition is possible till more manuscripts may be discovered. Yet we have seen that quotations from the *Dattilam* abound in saṅgīta literature. These provide us with some important pāṭhabhedas. They also help fill in many gaps in the printed edition. Some lacunae still remain. We have attempted to bridge a few important ones through considerations of parallel matter elsewhere, and also, at a place or two, through deductive considerations.

DATTILAM

THE PREAMBLE

- 1A. (*pranamya paramesānam*) *brahmādyāṁśca gurūmstat hā*
 B. *gāndharvaśāstrasaṅkṣepaḥ sārato'yañ mayocaye*
- 2A. *gāndharvam nārdādibhyach prattamādau svayambhuā*
 B. *vidhivannāradenātha pṛthivyāmaṁtvāritam*
- 3A. *padasthaḥ svarasaīghātastālena sumitastathā*
 B. *prayuktaścāvadhānenā gāndharvam abhidhīyate¹*
- 4A. *lokād vidyātpadānīha² śabdaśāstrādyanugrahāt*
 B. *prasiddhamavadvadhānam tu samyagbuddhyādiyojnam*
- 5A. *dvayamanyadato vācyamiha saṅkṣepamicchatā*
 B. *tatra svaragatam pūrvam meyatvād updiṣyate*

Having bowed to the Supreme Lord and to the Teachers, beginning with Brahmā, I [shall now] in a concise form enunciate the essence of the śāstra pertaining to gāndharva. The Self-Born One conferred gāndharva first on Nārada and others. Nārada, then, duly brought it down to the world. A group of notes well measured through rhythmic beats (tāla) and set to words (padasthāḥ) when rendered with [due] intentness (avadhāna) is termed gāndharva.

One should in this context, know the [nature of] words (padas) through common usage (lokāt) and with the help of grammar and lexicons etc. [The term] intentness (avadhāna) is well understood to mean the right direction (yojanam) of the intellect (buddhi) and other [faculties]. It is necessary for me, with my intention here to be brief, to expound only the two elements other than the [two just explained]. Therein svara is being elucidated first since it is that which is to be measured.

NOTE :

Dattila begins with the customary mangala-śloka after which he states the subject-matter of his work.

'Gāndharva', we have shown, stands for a specific body of music. Śāstra technically means the authoritative delineation of a subject in a methodical, schematic way.

Any god considered as the supreme deity can be referred to as 'svayambhū' (self-born). The epithet is thus commonly applied to Brahmā and Viṣṇu as well as Śiva. However, the two gods who are most intimately associated with gāndharva—indeed with music in general—are Śiva and Brahmā. Here the reference seems to be to Brahmā, who is stated in the *Nātyaśāstra* to be the prime (ādi) teacher of gāndharva (N.S. 33, 23; 28, 39, 31, 104).

¹ T. ed. reads. पदस्थस्वरसंचातस्तालेन. Datt. 3 has been often quoted : A.B. quotes 3A with 'ततुक्' दत्तिलाचार्यैण'. The line reads पदस्थः a happier reading, we think. Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 15-16 quotes this verse with यदाहू दत्तिलः . Here too the reading is पदस्थः

S. Raj 1, 2, 3, 48 is the same as Datt. 3. It occurs as a quotation, but Dattila is not explicitly named as the source. The reading is same as in A.B. and Sudhā.

² T. ed. reads पदा (हीनं ? नीहू).

Though Brahmā was the first teacher who revealed gāndharva to Nārada, the god who was chiefly propitiated through gāndharva was Śiva.

Dattila says that Nārada had brought gāndharva to the world of men according to vidhi (vidhivat). The phrase is suggestive of the strict rule-bound character of gāndharva in which, as we have seen, a faulty formation meant the loss of adṛṣṭa.

After stating his subject-matter and its ultimate divine origin, Dattila defines it. Gāndharva, he says, consists of four elements : pada, svara, tāla and avadhāna. Bharata and Viśākhila have defined gāndharva in similar terms. Abhinava has discussed the relative merits of the definition as given by Dattila, Viśākhila and Bharata (See ch. I).

Dattila has included avadhāna as an essential element of gāndharva, but neither Bharata nor Viśākhila incorporate it in their definition. The only other ācārya who had included it was Dakṣaprajāpati. A definition of gāndharva ascribed to him is quoted by Śimhabhūpala, who also quotes Dattila's definition in the same passage. Dakṣaprajāpati states that avadhāna is the chief element in gāndharva (Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 15-46).

Though Dattila includes avadhāna as an element of gāndharva, he does not seem to give it much importance. He cursorily explains it in a single line. And his explanation shows avadhāna as a quality which is necessary in the pursuit of any vidyā; for a proper concentration and the right direction of the necessary faculties is essential for any serious pursuit or study and is not specific to music. This is the reason why, as Abhinava points out, Bharata and Viśākhila had not included avadhāna in defining gāndharva ("avadhānādvinā kutrāpi siddherayogāt", A.B. on N.S. 28, 11-12).

The inclusion of avadhāna as an element of gāndharva was perhaps due to the adṛṣṭa nature of this corpus of music. A line from Viśākhila quoted by Abhinava reads : 'if a musician intently fixes his mind, (samavadhāna) as in japa, on the self-revealed final śruti (where svara is manifest)¹ then a special adṛṣṭa accrues to him' ('tatra viśākhilācāryaprabhṛtibhiḥ svasaṁvedye śrutidhāmni samavadhānam japa vaddiyamānam viśiṣṭādṛṣṭāya prayokturbhavati iti darśitam' A.B. on N.S. 28, 23).

Having defined gāndharva as a conjunction of four elements : svara, pada, tāla and avadhāna, Dattila takes up two of these—pada and avadhāna—and indicates their nature in a single verse. Pada literally means a word, in fact, a grammatically inflected word, which can be used meaningfully in a sentence. A knowledge of the nature of pada—the grammatical and semantic rules which govern it are matters which lie outside the field of music. Thus Dattila rightly refers his readers to grammar, general usage and dictionaries regarding matters pertaining to pada. Bharata, too, in summing up the topics constituting the pada element of gāndharva lists a string of technical terms associated with grammar and also with alaṅkāra-śāstra, (N.S. 28, 16-17).

¹ Such as the fourth śruti of ṣadja, the third of ṛṣabha, the second of gāndhārva etc.

However, there were certain peculiar traits pertaining to pada and its musical treatment in gāndharva which neither Dattila nor Bharata have listed as specific pada topics. But they have dealt with the matter piecemeal as it comes up in other topics.

Coming to verse 5 we notice that it is in direct continuation with the previous verse. The main link-word is 'ataḥ'. Dattila's language in the first line of verse 5 is somewhat cryptic, but his purport is clear. In verse 4 he had said that the nature of pada could be learnt from non-musical fields of study like grammar etc. and that avadhāna was a commonly understood state of mind. Therefore, he now says, it is not necessary for him to expound pada and avadhāna (especially since he wants to be brief) but only to describe the remaining two elements besides these (ataḥ anyad-dvayam)—meaning svara and tāla. Of these two, he says, he will take up svara first.

He gives a reason for his choice. Bharata also describes svara before tāla, but he does not state the reason for this preference. The reason Dattila gives for describing svara before tāla is that the svara part of gāndharva constituted the 'meya'—the object to be measured.¹ Tāla, by implication, formed the measure. In such a relationship, the meya is unquestionably the primary object; the cloth, in other words, is more fundamental than the yardstick.

We must note that svara as an aspect of gāndharva signified not 'notes' alone but the entire melodic part of gāndharva constituting specific structures created through patterns of notes. In defining gāndharva Dattila calls it a svarasaṅghāta, a compact collection of notes or, in other words, a well-composed melody. All the doctrines, laws, rules and regulations which formulated, in a śāstric manner, the nature of this svara-saṅghāta are grouped together under svara.

¹ The text says 'meyatvāt'; literally, 'because of the quality of being that which is measured'.

SECTION I : ON SVARA

SVARODDEŚA

- 6A. śrutayo'tha svarā grāmau mūrchanāstānasamyutāḥ
 B. sthānāni vṛttayaścaiva śuṣkam sādhāraṇe tathā
 7A. jātayaścaiva varṇāśca nānālāñkārasamyutāḥ
 B. esa svaragatoddeśāḥ,¹ saṅkṣepenāth nirṇayah

The śruti-s, the svara-s, the two grāma-s, the mūrchanā-s with tāna-s, the sthāna-s, the vṛtti-s, the śuṣka and the two sādhāraṇa-s—this is the uddeśa (the list of topics) linked with svara. These [topics] will now be considered² and decreed in brief.

NOTE :

By the age when *Dattilam* was composed, the study and elucidation of gāndharva had become a well-organised śāstra. As with other śāstras, the subject had been logically analysed into proper divisions and subdivisions and arranged neatly into topics. Such a list of topics was known technically as uddeśa. Bharata calls it 'saṅgraha' which Abhinava explains as uddeśa.³

Dattila's uddeśa of svaras has 12 topics while Bharata has 13. Dattila has left out the topic dhātu which concerned instrumental technique, for, as he states in verse 96, he refers his readers regarding vīṇā and other instrumental playing to other works, in his zeal for brevity.

We have already discussed the comparatively different order in which Bharata lists⁴ and expounds these very topics and the doctrinal implications of this difference

Datt. T. ed. reads स्वरगतो (दे ? है) शः. Nijenhuis has translated uddeśa as 'a mere discription of things relating to the notes' (*Dattilam : A compendium of Ancient Indian Music*, p. 17). This is misleading, for uddeśa as we have discussed in ch. I was a technical term in śāstras which indicated a definitive list of all topics pertaining to the matter under discussion.

² Dattila says संक्षेपेणाय निर्णयः which in this context can bear more than one rendering. It may, for example, be translated as : 'now in brief will follow an authoritative verdict on these'. निर्णय means 'to investigate', 'to ascertain', 'application of a conclusive argument', 'discussion', 'consideration', 'verdict' etc. (See *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by Monier Williams). We have incorporated the two major aspects of the notion of 'nirṇaya'—to weigh or consider and to pass a final verdict—in our rendering.

³ गान्धवंसंग्रहो ह्येष

—N.S. 28, 20.

A.B. : गान्धवंसंग्रहो ह्येष इत्यन्तेनोद्देशव्ययमेकविषयीकरोति ।

⁴ स्वरा ग्रामो मूर्च्छनाश्च तानाः स्थानानि वृत्तयः । शुष्कं साधारणे वणा ह्यलकाराश्च धातवः । श्रुतयो यतश्चैव नित्यं स्वरगतात्मकाः ॥

—N.S. 28, 13-14.

(see ch. 1). All works on gāndharva, apparently, had the same standard list of topics but the order of arrangement and the implied hierarchical importance given to one topic over another evidently differed from ācārya to ācārya. From Abhinava we have some idea of Viśākhila's uddesa. Like Bharata, Viśākhila, too, had listed and discussed dhātu, for Abhinava refers to him five times in connection with details of instrumental technique and in fact speaks of his difference with Bharata regarding sub-divisions within dhātu.¹

Among topics concerning svara we notice that svara itself is a topic. Svara in a general sense implied the entire melodic (as opposed to the tāla) aspect of gāndharva. Svara as a specific topic meant the musical tones used in gāndharva.

After listing the topics concerning svara, Dattila says that he shall now give, in brief, a 'nirṇaya' regarding these topics. 'Nirṇaya' is listed along with 'niścaya' by the Amarakoṣa as standing for ascertained knowledge and is opposed to such words like saṃśaya and vicikitsā etc. which stand for uncertain or doubtful knowledge.² Thus Dattila, in effect, tells us that the exposition he is going to present stems from his authentic and ascertained cognizance of the subject-matter. Here, certainly, speaks an authoritative ācārya who has a confident command over his subject.

¹ Bharata introduces the topic dhātu with
गीतयो गदिताः सम्यग् धातृश्चेव निवोधतः ।

— N.S. 29, 50.

Abhinava comments :

धातृश्चेव निवोधते ति । चकारेणालङ्कारत्वमप्येषां समुच्चिनोति । एवकारेण चतुष्प्रहरणं विप्रहरणमङ्गुलीनाम् विभागो
द्वै वृत्ती समलेखा चित्तलेखेत्यादिकं विशाखिलाचार्यप्रोक्तं सर्वथैव ध्रुवागानज्ञानवैकल्योपयोगान् मया नोक्तमिति सूचयति ।

² अध्याहारस्तकं ऊहो विचिकित्सा तु संशयः । संवेदहृदापरी चाय समी निर्णयनिश्चयो ॥
—Amarakoṣa, 1, 5, 3.

TOPIC 1

ŚRUTI

- 8A. *nṛṇāmurasi mandrastu dvāviñśatividho dhvaniḥ*
 B. *sa eva kanṭhe madhyah¹ syāt, tāraḥ śirasi gīyate*
- 9A. *uttarottaratārastu vīñāyām tvadharottarāh²*
 B. *iti dhvanivīśeṣāste śravaṇācchruti samjñitāḥ*

In the human chest reside sounds of twenty-two kinds [termed] mandra ; the same [range of sounds when sounded] in the throat is called madhya [and] in the head, tāra. Thus we obtain a successively higher pitch as we move up (uttarottara-tārastu). Conversely, on the vīñā a successively higher pitch [is obtained on] successively lower [strings]. These specific sounds are termed śrutis for they are audible.

NOTE :

These two kārikās contain in gist a great deal of matter.

Dattila begins by describing the anatomical basis for the production of musical sounds in singing. In ancient singing, as in most contemporary vocalising, the range was three octaves. Each of these octaves was thought to be produced

¹ T. ed. reads : कण्ठमध्ये स्यात्. However, the editor refers to another reading : कण्ठे मध्यः स्यात् इति शीरस्वामिना नाट्यवर्गे स्मृतः पाठः. Nānyadeva has quoted Datt. 8 but the manuscript reading is faulty : दत्तिलाचार्येण तु वितमद्य (?प्य) भिहितम् यथा—

नृणामुरसि मन्द्रस्तु द्वाविशतिविधो ध्वनिः । स पष्कं चैव मध्यः स्यात्तारः शिरसि गीयते ॥
 —B.B. (I) 6, 33.

² Datt. T. ed. reads वीणायामधरोत्तरः. We have adopted Abhinava's reading who quotes the phrase as : यथाह दत्तिल—वीणायाम् त्वधरोत्तर इति
 —A.B. on N.S. 29, 54.

Verse 34 in the *Nātyacūḍāmani* of Somanārya (Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, Manuscripts No. 12998) is, obviously, borrowed from *Dattilam* with a minor change. Datt. 9B reads here as : श्रीवीणाश्रुतिरंजिताः. Another echo of Dattila's description is to be found in the S.S.S., a medieval work :

त्रीणि स्थानानि हृकण्ठशिरांसीति समासतः । एकैकमपि तेषु स्याद द्वाविशतिविधायुतम् ॥
 द्वाविशतिविधो मन्द्रो ध्वनिः संजायते हृदि । यथोत्तरमसो नादो वीणायामधरोत्तरम् ॥
 स एव द्विगुणो मध्यः कण्ठस्थाने यथाक्रमम् । स एव मस्तके तारः स्यान्मध्याद् द्विगुणः क्रमात् ॥
 इति स्वरगता ज्ञेया श्रुतयः श्रुतिवेदिभिः ।

—S.S.S. as quoted by Sudhā on S.R. 1, 3, 7.

¹from a different section of the human frame. The lower octave was said to reside in the chest, the middle octave in the throat and the high octave in the head.

The *Brhaddesi* relates in greater detail the anatomical process through which sound or *nāda* was said to be produced in the human physique. In the centre of the body, the text says, is the brahmagrāntha,² the abode of Brahmā. Within brahmagrāntha resides the vital breath, *prāṇa*. *Prāṇa* gives rise to a vital fire, *vahni*, and the conjunction of this fire and breath produces *nāda* or sound.

yaduktam brahmaṇah sthānam brahmagranthiśca yaḥ smṛtaḥ
 tanmadhye saṃsthitaḥ prāṇah prāṇād vahnisamudgamaḥ
 vahnimārutasamyogānnādaḥ samupajāyate (Br. 18-19)

This anatomy and the process of sound production was clearly Tantra-inspired and, indeed, Śāṅgadeva, who speaks of the process at much greater length, gives an account, in this connection, of the human frame in terms of the Tantric anatomy of cakras (S.R. 1, 2; the section on piṇḍotpatti). Such an account of the production of nāda features in numerous works on sangīta.³

In Dattila's account of the physical location within the human frame of three octaves, we notice that the higher the octave, the higher its position in the body: mandra resides in the chest, madhya in the throat and tāra still higher in the head. The musical sounds rise gradually in pitch as their location climbs higher, reaching up from the torso to the head. The Vṛtti on the *Bṛhaddeśī* explains the concept through the image of the stair-case. The nāda born of the conjunction of the vital fire and breath, it explains, rises from the navel through human effort. Climbing steps by step like smoke propelled by a wind on a stair-case, it assumes the form of the different śrūpis.⁴

Other theorists explained the gradually rising sequence of musical sounds and their location at successively higher positions on the frame, through yet another metaphysical-cum-anatomical concept. Śāringadeva has put the concept succinctly: Tāntric anatomy recognises many subtle nāḍis; two main nāḍis or arteries, which scale the frame from the base of the spinal column to the tip of the skull, are called idā and

¹ व्यवहारे तस्वीरेद्या हृषि मन्त्रोभिषीयते । कण्ठे मध्यो मूढिन् तारो द्विगुणश्चोत्तरोत्तरः ॥
तस्य द्विविभातिभेदाः श्रवणाच्छुतयो मताः ।
—S.R. I. 3. 7-8.

also S. Raj 2. 1. 1. 24-27 and other works.

² The Br. does not give the location of the brahmagrantbi. Sāṅgadeva gives it (S.R. 1, 2, 145-48). The brahmagrantbi is said to be located near the navel and in the middle of the brahma-grantbi is the nābhicakra of Tāntric anatomy.

देहस्य शरीरस्य कंदो विस्तारकारणम् । उत्सेष्वो दीर्घोऽच्छायः । नाभिस्थितश्चतुरज्ज्ञ लप्रमाणकः । तस्य नाम ब्रह्मग्रन्थिरिति । तन्मध्ये इति । तस्य ब्रह्मग्रन्थेमध्ये नामिचकार्यं चक्रं द्वादशलमस्ति ।

³ eg. S. Raj 2, 1, 1, 1-27 and *Aumāpatam* 1, 1-19 among others

⁴ तत्वादौ तावदिहामिनपवनसंयोगात् पुरुषप्रयत्नप्रेरितोऽधं नाभेरूच्चवाकारार(?) देशमाक्रामद् धूमवत् सोपानपदक्रमेण पवनेच्छया आहाहरोहन्तभूत(?) आरोहन्तभूत(?) पूरणप्राप्ति निषार्थपाद्यतया (?) श्रुत्यादिभेदभिन्नः प्रतिभासः। —Br VIII on 27A.

piṅgalā. They are positioned on either side of the human frame (S.R. 1, 2, 150-154). On the chest, across iqā and pingalā are twenty two nāḍis stretched horizontally one above the other in a step-wise manner. These produce the twenty two graded sounds of the octave. The lowest nādī produces the lowest pitch and the pitch gradually rises as the higher nāḍis are struck by the vital breath (mārutahāti). A similar set of twenty-two nāḍis resides in the throat and another in the head (S.R. 1, 3, 8-10 and Kalā). This concept, too, was evidently quite ancient and Kohala, as quoted in the Vṛtti on Br̥haddeśī, refers to this notion (in connection with svaras¹).

The image suggested by the concept is that of a triangular harp situated within the human body with a range of three octaves, having its broad base at the bottom, with successively shortened strings rising to a pyramidal tip; the higher the string, the higher the pitch of its sound. Dattila clearly hints at this very image when he says that in the human frame the sound rises in pitch, the higher its location (uttarottaratārah) while in the viṇā, (viṇāyām tu) the process is reversed; the lower the string, the higher its pitch (adharottarah).

Abhinava expresses the notion with another analogy : the location of the mandra and tāra on the viṇā (and the flute) was, he says, quite opposite to that on the human frame ; one could liken the position to a mirror image where the left becomes the right and the right becomes the left.²

Though Dattila does not state it in so many words, the viṇā he is referring to was certainly a harp-type of viṇā, shaped like a bow and placed with its tips away from the ground. Such a viṇā is found sculpted on a Sanchi gateway (2nd century B.C.). A relief of musicians from Bharhut carved almost in the same period, shows a man playing another such viṇā. The lady sitting on a stool who is shown playing the viṇā in the Sanchi relief is holding it with its narrow end towards the ground. In this viṇā, a higher note would obviously have been struck on a lower string. King Samudragupta (ca. 4th century A.D.) in a famous coin minted by him, is shown playing a similar viṇā. An Amaravati sculpture of approximately the same period, shows a girl playing an identical type of viṇā.³ Examples can be multiplied: an ancient figurine dug at Rupar shows a woman playing such a harp (see *Roopalekha*, a journal concerned with the arts published by The All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, Vol. XXV, No. 2, 1954, p. 27) a small plaque from Pawaya, Gwalior; shows a dance scene where an accompanying musician plays another such harp.⁴ Representations

तथा चाह कोहलः—

आत्मेच्छया महितलाद् वायुरुद्यन्धायंते । नाडीभित्ती तथाकाशे ध्वनिरक्तः ध्वस्वरः स्मृतः

Again in the same passage: तथा चाह कोहलः

ऊर्ध्वनाडी प्रयत्नेन सर्वभित्तिनिघट्टनात् । मूँछितो ध्वनिरामूष्टः स्वरोऽसौ व्यापकः परः ॥

— Br. Vṛtti on 63.

² प्राणभिहननेनैव हि तीव्रातीव्रोण शरीर इव वंशेऽपि स्वरतिष्ठति । वीणायां तु आदर्शे वामदक्षिणविपर्यासिवत्तारमन्द्रविपर्यासः ।

— A. B. on N. S. 28, 11-12.

³ See Bh. Sang. Iti p. 258 and 482. Sketches of these sculptures may be seen in the appendix of the same work; see sketches Nos. 7, 8, 62, 63.

⁴ For a sketch see Bh. Sang. Iti (B), Vol. II, Appendix p. 38.

are to be seen even in the Indian-inspired art of South-East Asia at such sites as Borobudur and Angkor Thom.¹ A harp of this variety survives to this day in Burma (see *Die Musikinstrumente Indiens und Indonesiens* by Curt Sachs, p. 141). In India we have the 'sakoda yazh' from Tamilnad which is a direct descendant of the ancient harp (for an illustration see the article entitled 'Music Instruments of India' by Smt. N.C. Indira Devi in *Roopalekha*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 facing p. 31).

Bharata's directions for tuning the *vīṇā* also reveal that he had the harp in mind. In rendering a *tāna* on the *vīṇā*, when certain notes had to be dropped, the technique was twofold: the process could be accomplished either through *praveśa* or through *nigraha*. *Nigraha* meant to avoid touching the notes to be omitted (*nigrahastvasaṁsparśah*, N.S. 28, 34). In *praveśa* the note to be dropped was tuned either to the pitch of the note lower to it or the one higher to it (*tatra praveśanām madhurasvaraviprakarṣāduttaramārdavādvā*, N.S. *ibid*). This, as Abhinava says, was done either by tightening the string to which the note to be dropped was tuned or loosening it. On rendering a *tāna* on the *vīṇā*, Abhinava says, if one is not skillful enough or cannot avoid striking the note to be dropped, then the string to which this note is tuned should itself be 'omitted' (*lopyasvaratantrītvām kriyate*) by loosening it so as to make it become one with another note or, alternately, tightening it to the pitch of the note higher to it.²

Bharata himself has described the processes of lowering and raising the *śrutis* on a *vīṇā* through the words *mārdava* and *āyatatva* (*mārdavādāyatatvādvā*, N.S. 28, 27). Abhinava explains these terms as: " *mārdava* is the loosening of a string while *āyatatva* is the converse process."³ Clearly the *vīṇā* Bharata had in mind was the harp.

The process of the production of musical sounds through the human frame was conceived on the analogy of this harp-*vīṇā*. As in the *vīṇā*, so in the human frame, there were string-like *nāḍīs* (arteries, in this case, of the subtle body) stretched horizontally which were responsible for the graded musical pitches produced in singing. It is almost as though the ancients thought that there existed a concealed harp within the human frame (as it does in the piano) except that this human-harp was constructed upside down in contrast to the ancient wooden *vīṇā* or harp.

It was perhaps the physical, wooden harp itself which gave rise through metaphor to the postulation of a harp-like process within the human frame. Influenced further by Tāntric thought and its system of subtle anatomical *nāḍīs*, theorists built up a picture of the existence of a *nāḍī*-built harp concealed within the body.

The concept of the body as a harp was an ancient one. It can be traced back to the Vedic Age. In the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, there is a long passage where a man-

¹ *ibid.*, p. 18.

² वीणायां यदा तानक्रिया तदा लोप्यस्वरतंत्रीत्वं क्रियते, यदि तावत्कौशलं न, स्पृश्यते यदि वा, शिथिलीकरणे (जेन) समस्वरसाम्यं फीडनेन चोत्तरस्वरसाम्यं नीयते ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 34.

³ मार्दवं तन्त्र्याः शिथिलीकरणं विपरीतत्वमायतत्वं क्रियत इत्याह ।
—*ibid.*, 28, 27-28.

made vīñā is compared to the god-created human body : "just as the human body has śira (head) similarly does the vīñā have one; just as the body possesses a belly, similarly does the vīñā have an ambhaṇa (the sound box); the strings of the vīñā correspond to the fingers; the skin covering of the vīñā corresponds to the human skin, the tongue to the plectrum"¹

In Śikṣa works this idea becomes more crystallised and the human frame is conceived of as a musical instrument and called the gātra (or śārīra) vīñā. The harp, in contrast, was known as the dāravī vīñā or the wooden vīñā. Just as different notes were produced on the vīñā through different fingers, analogously different notes were indicated on different fingers in singing sāma.² The practice continues and is traditionally known as the hasta-vīñā.³

The Nāradī Śikṣā says: "there are two vīñās used for rendering various types of songs. The sāmic vīñā is the gātra-vīñā. Its characteristics are as follows: that vīñā is known as the gātra-vīñā, on which sāma-singers sing; it consists of vowels and consonants and makes use of the fingers and the thumb".⁴ The term gātravīñā here clearly refers to the human frame conceived as a vīñā with words echoing the Aitareya Āraṇyaka. Bharata, too, conceives the body as a musical instrument that produces song and calls it the śārīra-vīñā (a synonym of gātra-vīñā). He calls the wooden vīñā, dāravī-vīñā (N.S. 28, 14-15),

There is some misconception regarding the term gātra (or śārīra) vīñā. Some have thought it to have been a kind of ancient lute or lyre.⁵ But an examination of the comments of Abhinava and Nānyadeva reveals beyond doubt that gātra vīñā denoted the human frame. Commenting on the word śārīra vīñā, Abhinava says: "when Sarasvatī in the form Speech arises out of the human frame this is known as vīñā; śārīre vīñā, vāgrūpā hi sarasvatī vīñāśabdenocye". (A.B. on N.S. 28, 13-15). Dāravī-vīñā was, on the other hand, the vīñā with a wooden frame.⁶

Elsewhere, Abhinava states that in relation to the śārīra vīñā one always speaks of 'singing' and the effort needed is of an internal nature: "śārīre tu gāyat�eveti vyavahārah, āntarasyaivātra prayatnasya bhāvāt" (A.B. on N.S. 30, 3). But

¹ अथ खल्विं देवीं वीणा भवति तदनुकृतिरसी मानुषीं वीणा भवति यथास्या: शिरः एवममूर्ध्याः शिरः यथास्याः उदरमेवममूर्ध्या अभ्यग्नाम् यथास्यै जिवैवममूर्ध्ये वादनम् यथाऽऽयाततद्य एवममूर्ध्या अंगुलयः यथाऽस्याः रवरा एवममूर्ध्याः स्वरा: यथाऽस्याः स्पर्शां एवममूर्ध्या स्पर्शां यथा हृवेयं शब्दवती तदेवमवेवमेवाऽसो शब्दवती तदेवमवती यथा हृवेयं लोमशेन चमणाऽपिहिता भवत्येवमेवासो लोमशेन चमणाऽपिहिता । लोमशेन ह स्म वै चमणा पुरा वीणा अपिदद्यति ।

—Aitareya Āraṇyaka 3, 25.

The passage is quoted and explained in Bh. Sang. Iti, p. 24-25.

² अङ्गुष्ठस्थोत्तमे कुप्तोहृङ्गुष्ठे प्रथमः स्वरः । प्रादेशिन्यां तु गान्धार ऋष्यभस्तदनन्तरम् ॥
अनामिकायां पृज्ञस्तु कनिष्ठकायां च धैवतः । तस्याधस्ताच्च योऽयास्तु निपावं तत्र विन्यसेद् ॥
Nāradī Śikṣā as quoted in Bh. Sang. Iti (B), Vol. I, p. 318.

³ See the article entitled 'Sāma-Saṅgīta' by V.S. Agrawal, in Nāda Niñāda-Śrī, p. 33.

⁴ दारवी गात्रवीणा च द्वे वीणे गान जातिषु । सामिकी गात्रवीणा तु तस्याः शृणुत लक्षणम् ॥
गात्रवीणा तु सा प्रोक्ता यस्यां गायत्रि सामगा: । स्वरव्यञ्जनसंयुक्ता अङ्गुल्यङ्गुष्ठरच्छिता ॥

—Nāradī Śikṣā quoted in Bh. Sang. Iti (B), Vol. I, p. 299.

⁵ See for example Bh. Sang Iti (B) Vol. I, p. 299.

⁶ दारुणोऽपत्यं वीणा वाग्रूपा भगवतीति दारवी । तेन तत्र न.....प्रत्ययः । "दारुणोहयसौ जाता वाक् एत.....स्म ।
गां प्रनष्टा 'मित्यादिनो विशाखिलाचार्यः प्रादीदृश्यत् । तदाधारत्वाच्च काष्ठमयोऽपि सर्विवेशो वीणेत्युच्यते ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 13-15.

regarding the instrumental *vīṇā* one speaks of 'playing', because the activity is external and involves the striking of strings: "vīṇāyāṁ tu vādayatyeveti; bāhyasyaiva tantrihananakāriṇah prayatnasya bhāvāt" (A.B. *ibid.*).

In parenthesis, we may here note a curious ancient controversy. Some predecessors of Abhinava believed that the svaras produced on the instrumental *vīṇā* were a 'reflection' of the *sārīra* *vīṇā*.¹ Abhinava has strongly argued against this view (in the context of discussing the two-fold division of svara topics on the basis of *dārvā* and *sārīra* *vīṇās* by Bharata). The mere fact, he says, that the same organ of perception, namely, the sense of hearing, was the cognitive tool for experiencing the tones of both the *sārīra* and the instrumental *vīṇā*, was no reason to think that the latter was a reflection of the former. Does the human frame as reflected in a mirror, he asks, bear any resemblance to the *vīṇā*? : "vīṇā hi dehasya pratibimbamiti keyam bhāṣā? na hi darpaṇasaṅkrāntapratibimbāśarirapratīcchandakasadr̄śi vīṇā vīṇetyupālambhah" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 21). Neither, he says, does the body itself form a sort of mirror in which the *vīṇā* is reflected: "na ca mukuravaddehasya pratibimbanasthānam" (A.B. *ibid.*). Nor, he continues, were the notes on the *vīṇā*, a reflection of the *sārīra* notes as was clear from direct observance and also from the fact that what one obtained on hearing a sung and a played note was not a pair of notes—one the bimba (*i.e.* the *sārīra* note) and the other the pratibimba (the reflected *vīṇā*-note)—but the same identical note: "na ca vīṇāsvare sārīrasvaraṁ pratibimbamarpayatīti dṛṣṭam, dvayoh svaryoranupalambhāt" (A.B. *ibid.*). The *vīṇā*-note he further asserts is, indeed, capable of being produced without the help of the *sārīra* note: how can it then be a reflection? Moreover, quite a different kind of effort is needed to produce the *sārīra* and the *vīṇā* notes: "sārīrasvarābhāve'pi vaiṇāsvarapravṛttih sārīrasvaraḥ vaiṇāsva-pratibimbamityasadeva; pṛthakprayatnanispādyam" (A.B. *ibid.*). The reflection theory, in Abhinava's view, thus could not hold ground. Abhinava's remarks show that through the term *sārīra*, the ancients referred to the human frame and not to a kind of *vīṇā*.

Nānyadeva, too, (in his *Bharata Bhāṣya*) discusses the terms *dārvā* *vīṇā* and *sārīra* *vīṇā* (the context is the same where Abhinava made the comments noted above). It is obvious from Nānyadeva's remarks that the *sārīra* *vīṇā* was the human body conceived as an instrument. "The *dārvā*", Nānyadeva says, "is the *vīṇā* on which strings are attached: *dārvā* yā tu tatrāpi nāma tantrī samanvitā" (B.B. 1,84). It is, he adds, of various types known as *vipañci*, *vallaki*, *mattakokilā* etc. (B.B. 1, 84-88): these were popular varieties of ancient harps. "The *sārīra*, on the other hand, consists of the major and minor limbs (of the human body)—the heart, the neck, the palate, the teeth, the tongue, the nose and the chest. In it the *prāṇavāyu*—the breath—is responsible for the production of melodic movements (the varṇas, like *sthāyī*, *sañcāri* etc.) by creating a friction over various regions (like chest, neck and head). The

¹ यत् केचित् प्रतिसमादधते—वीणायः प्रतिविम्बत्वात्तत्र समानेद्रियग्राहो यः शारीरस्वरसमूदस्तमेव प्रतिविम्बमपेण्यितु-महतीति तदत्यन्तभासप्रतम् ।

—*ibid.*, 28, 21.

dāravī does not consist of chest, neck, head and other limbs but still it produces similar melodic movements.”¹

Theorists, including Dattila, speak of twenty-two graded tones in an octave. These were the śrutis. Śruti has been a very central concept in Indian music. The ancients have discussed the concept in various ways both from a metaphysical and physical viewpoint. Śruti was inherently related to svara and we will take up the various views regarding their inter-relatedness in discussing the topic svara. An introductory clarification of the ancient concept of śruti will, however, be helpful here.

Dattila has a short definition of śruti, which hinges upon an etymological explanation of the term itself. Śrutis, he says, are specific or distinct sounds (dhvanivisēshāḥ); these are termed śruti because they can be heard (śravanāt), i.e., heard as specific sounds, each distinct from the other. Their distinctness, Dattila clearly implies, lay in their forming a distinct interval in terms of pitch; for the śrutis, he says, gradually rise in pitch. The śrutis according to ancients were thus the number of intervals which it was believed the unaided (but, of course, trained) ear could cognise within an octave. Hence Dattila defines śruti as ‘audible’, i.e., distinguishable through the ear; so have others.²

Abhinava, too, remarks that śruti is that distinction between one sound and another which is cognisable by the ear: “śrutiśca nāma śrotragamyam vailakṣaṇyam yāvataśabdenotpādyate” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 24). Theoretically, the octave could be divided into not only twenty-two, but an infinite number of intervals. And Abhinava remarks that pitch can in the ultimate analysis be raised or lowered over infinitesimal ‘atomic’ intervals, but such extremely subtle distinctions in pitch cannot be grasped: “yadyapi paramāṇuto’pyutkarṣaprakarśo vā bhaved dhvanerviśeṣastathāpi nāsau gṛhītum pāryate” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28).

An audible distinctness in sound (dhvani) thus was the ground for a difference in śruti. But a distinctness in sound is also audible when timbres differs even though the pitch remains the same. Some ancients, indeed, theorised that śrutis were different kinds of musical tones produced in singing, through the effect of different bodily humours (recognised in Āyurveda). Different voices have different timbres and the

¹ शरीरास्त्वंगप्रत्यंग हृत्कण्ठतालुदन्तकम् । जिह्वानासोरसश्च तानि स्थानानि संवदत्यपि ॥
प्राणवाय्वभिधातेन नानावर्णव्यक्तिभवति । दारव्यां पुनरहकण्ठशिरः प्रभूतीनामसम्भवेऽपि तथा वर्णव्यक्तिरिति ॥

—B.B. 1, 88-89.

² Mataṅga analyses the term śruti as:

श्रु श्रवणे चास्य धातो, किञ्चप्रत्ययसमुद्भवः श्रुतिशब्दः प्रसाध्योऽयं शब्दज्ञः भावसाधनः ।
—Br. 26-27.

The Vṛtti says: श्रूयन्ते इति श्रुतयः

—cf. Datt. 9B.

The Vṛtti quotes Viśvāsua on śruti whose definition again parallels Dattila’s:

श्रवणेन्द्रियं ग्राह्यत्वाद् ध्वनिरेव श्रुतिभवेत्।

—Br. Vṛtti on 27A.

distinctions are, indeed, easily cognisable. The Vṛtti on the *Bṛhaddeśī* thus quotes the view that śruti were of four kinds—produced by vāta, pitta, kapha or a combination of these three ‘humours’: “apare tu vātaptakaphasannipātabhedabhinnaṁ caturvidhāṁ śrutim pratipedire” (Bṛ. Vṛtti on 27A). The Vṛtti quotes an ancient passage, ascribing it to Catura (?)¹, which says that vāta produces a high-pitched shrill tone, pitta produces a deep resonant tone and kapha produces a delicate smooth and sweet tone and the tone produced from a combination of all the three humours has the tone-quality combining each (Vṛtti on Bṛ. 27A).

Abhinava, too, speaks of differences in timbre that a tone can have. One easily recognises, he says, the difference in a note when sounded on a mallaka (an ancient instrument) and on a viñā: “laksyate viñāsvaro’yam mallakasvaro’yamī” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 21). But this difference in timbre, he argues, was not the fundamental and foremost aspect of a musical sound, for timbre could not alter the note itself: ṣadja was recognised as ṣadja whether played on the mallaka or the viñā (ṣadjatvena tvabhedah, A.B. *ibid.*). Abhinava explains the point through a conventional philosophical simile: fire can be produced in various ways, such as through the friction of iron rods, or the friction of marble pieces or through the effect of lightening and so forth but the smoke arising from fire produced through different causes, remains the same.² In other words, timbre differences do not alter the musical pitch of a sound. Yet they do impart to it a different ‘colour’ and ‘feel’. Recognising this Abhinava says that just as subtle differences can exist between one smoke and another though both remain smoke, similarly the same note produced from different sources can have subtle differences of timbre which do not take away from the fact that the note produced is identical, whatever its origin.³

Basically, śruti was thus believed to be a measured interval in pitch, Bharata consequently uses the term ‘pramāṇa’ (measure) in conjunction with the word śruti while giving the tuning process for arriving at the differently positioned pañcamas of the ṣadja and madhyama grāmas. Abhinava, in commenting on the word ‘pramāṇa’ in this context takes it as the one word which points at the most fundamental aspect of the nature of śruti. The association of the term ‘pramāṇa’ with śruti, he says, signifies that śruti is essentially a division or interval in terms of high or low positions in regard to pitch that is occupied by a sound.⁴ It cannot, he adds, be defined in terms

¹ The same passage has been ascribed to Tumburu by Kallirāṭha in Kalā on S.R. 1,3, 10-16.

² Abhinava gives the simile not only of agni but also of banana (*kadali*) which can be produced through seed as well as through a process of root-transplant; and of vṛścika—scorpion—who, it was believed, could be born from cowdung besides the usual reproductive process. These were conventional similes to establish the fact that different causes could produce the same effect.

³ ननु कारणभेदाज्ञातेन शब्देन कथं तज्जातीयोऽनुरागनशब्दः त्रियते । मैवं कारणे नियमादशोनादा ॥ अयःस्फटिकारणिविद्युदा-दिकारणभेदसंजातोपि ह्यविनक्षेप्तमेकजातीयं जनयति । बीजवन्दोदितकदली द्रयादौ वा कारणभेदैऽप्येककायांता दृष्टा । वैश्वकादौ च । तत्रापरित् सूक्ष्मो भेदः, धूमात्म तु, हृदेवेहायरतु । लक्ष्यते च वीणास्वरो य मल्लकस्वरोऽयमिति, षड्ज-

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 21.

⁴ cf. also Bharata's statement:

एवं श्रुत्युत्कर्पदिपक्षयोद्द्वा यदन्तरं मार्दवादायतत्वादा तत्प्रसाणं श्रुतिः ।

—N.S. 28, 27.

of a unit of time (kālakalā) or as merely a particle of sound (nādāṁśa) or as āyu or sthāna or karaṇa.¹ “pramāṇeti vadanna kālakalā śrutirnāpi nādāṁśo na cāyurna sthānam na karaṇamiti darśayati tena vakṣyamaṇoccaṇicavibhāgo dhvanirekā śrutiriti tātparyam” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28).

Abhinava has, in fact, defined śruti in terms of raising and lowering of pitch in very clear terms. Answering the question : ‘atha keyam śrutirnāma’ (what, then, is śruti?)—Abhinava says that śruti is basically the raising or lowering of sound to the minimum audible extent. This raising and lowering creates an interval determined by a certain measure—a measure which can be specifically cognised and which thus forms the śruti; that is to say that in lowering or raising a sound the point where the lowered or raised pitch becomes clearly graspable as a distinct sound, we have śruti.²

Thus we see that an audibly distinct gradation in pitch was the basis of śruti. How is it, then, that śrutis were recognised as only twenty-two? Certainly the human ear can distinctly perceive many more graded intervals. People with an ear for tone do so today and must have done so in ancient times, too. Abhinava has spoken of the possibility of atomic intervals—and he adds that yogīs with their extremely heightened powers of perception can perceive these intervals in their samādhi : “paramānumātṛe’pi sthānāntare yogiprāya (samādhi)samadhigamyadhvanivailakṣaṇam bhavati” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28). Certainly, not only yogīs, but even the trained musical ear can perceive many more than twenty-two intervals. Evidently, a well-established convention and not the ear alone, was responsible for the fact that śrutis were fixed at twenty-two. In arriving at them, the ear certainly must have played a part but so must have other factors. When lowering and raising a note in tuning a viṇā an expert musician would know when he reached a true ‘recognised’ śruti-interval, even though within that śruti interval itself he must have been able to perceive smaller gradations of pitch.

Some ancient ācāryas, indeed, did not subscribe to the twenty-two śruti notion. The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* quotes Kohala who speaks of ācāryas ‘versed in the knowledge of śruti’ (śruti-jñānavicāradakṣaḥ), some of whom recognised sixty-six śrutis and

¹ Abhinava is here referring to various views posited by different theorists regarding the nature of śruti—views he held to be misconceived or not bearing on the essential aspect of the matter. The exact nature of these varied opinions and their differences is not clear. However, in one passage Abhinava has discussed the view which regarded kālāṁśa as śruti and refuted it. This view apparently held that śruti was a pitch or note held for just a momentary interval of time. Such a view, according to Abhinava, was erroneous because (he seems to suggest) any sound could, besides being momentary, be also long-drawn as in the sounding of a bell. For this reason śruti was not to be confused with a temporal particle of sound (śabdāvaya).

ननु कालांशः श्रुति चतुःश्रुतिकस्यापि विन्द्राद्यलङ्घारादौ मितकालावस्थानाद् द्विश्रुतिकस्यापि स्थायिवर्णप्रयोगेऽनल्पकालत्वादेशः स्यात्, घण्टाशङ्खादिश्रुतेश्च चिरकालत्वाद् । एतन्न, शब्दावयवो न श्रुतिरित्युक्तमेव ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 24.

² अथ केयं श्रुतिर्नमित्याशडक्याह—‘एवं श्रुत्युत्कर्षपक्षच्छेति’। मादंवं तन्त्र्याः गिर्यलीकरणं विपरीतत्वमायत्वं क्रियत इत्याह । श्रुतेः शब्दस्य श्रोत्रप्राह्यस्य उत्कर्षस्तीव्रता अपकर्षो मन्दता, तद्वेतुत्वान्मादवायते तु द्वे अपि तथोक्ते । एवं तीव्रमन्दत्वहेतुभ्यां मादवायतत्वाभ्यां यदन्तरं यो विशेषावबोधः प्रमाणं निश्चायकं यस्याः सा श्रुतिः । प्राक्तनस्य छ्वनेवलक्षण्यं यावता हीनेनाधिकेन या तीव्रमन्दात्मना रूपेण लक्ष्यते सा श्रुतिरिति यावत् । यद्यपि परमाणुतोऽप्युत्कर्षपक्षो वा भवेद् द्वन्द्वविशेषस्थापि नासी गृहीतुं पार्थंते ।

—*ibid.* 28, 27-28.

others who were not willing to point at their number and believed śruti to be numberless.¹

Later on, we shall discuss the ancient process for arriving at the measure of a śruti.

The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* records different metaphysical views concerning śruti and propounds a monistic view regarding the nature of śruti which is, apparently, Vedanta-inspired: śruti, it says, is in reality one, its plurality is only a pratibhāṣā—an illusory phenomenon—connected with the fact that a single indivisible ‘nāda’ arising from the navel ascends up the human frame in distinct specific steps; at each of these steps the nāda appears as a different śruti but in reality it is one.² In Viśvāvasu’s view (as quoted by the Vṛtti) śruti was ultimately dual in nature, because it could be both svara and śruti.³

¹ तत्र केचिद्मीमांसामांसलितविधियो धीरा द्वाविश्वति श्रुतीमन्यन्ते । केच्चन पुनः (पट) षष्ठिभेदभिन्नाः श्रुतय इति मन्यन्ते। अन्ये पुनरानन्त्यं वर्णयन्ति श्रुतीनाम् । यथा चाह कोहलः—‘द्वाविश्वति केच्चिदुदाहरन्ति (श्रुतीः) श्रुतिज्ञानविचारदक्षाः। पट्पष्टभिन्नाः खलु केचिदासामानन्त्यमेव प्रतिगादयन्ति ।

—Bṛ. Vṛtti. on 28.

श्रूतये इति श्रुतयः । सा चैकानेका वा । तदैकेव श्रुतिरिति । तदयथा—तत्रादौ तावदिहाग्निपवनसंयोगात् पुरुषप्रयत्नप्रेरितोऽध्यं नामेष्वर्वाकारदेशमाकामद धूमवत् सोपानपदक्रमेण पवतेच्छया आहाहरोहन्तभूत (?आरोहनन्तभूत) पूरणप्राप्तिनिपाथपादयतया (?) श्रुत्यादिभेदभिन्नः प्रतिभास इति मामकीयं मतम् ।

—Bṛ. Vṛitti on 27A.

अन्ये पुराणद्विप्रकाराः श्रुतिमन्यन्ते । कथम् । स्वरान्तरविभागात् । तथा च विश्वावसुः—सा चैकापि द्विधा ज्ञेया स्वरान्तरविभागतः ।

—Bṛ. Vṛitti on 27A.

TOPIC 2

SVARA

10A. *tābhyaḥ kāmścidupādāya gīyante sarvagītiṣu*

B. *ādriyante ca ye teṣu svaratvamupalabhyā te*

11A. *svarāḥ ṣadjādayaḥ sapta*

Of these [śrutis] some are selected and sung in all the gītis. Among these [śrutis] those that attain the state of a svara (svaratva) are esteemed as the seven svaras beginning with ṣadja.

NOTE :

In one and a quarter verse Dattila describes svaras and their relation with the śrutis.

We have seen (in ch. 1) that quite a controversy existed among early theorists regarding the relative importance of svara and śruti. Dattila lists śruti as the first topic and he says that svaras arise from the śrutis: among available śrutis some attain the state of svara. Bharata has taken up svara as the first topic and speaks of śruti as dependent upon svara (svaramandalasādhitāḥ).

In fact, Bharata expounds śruti as the third topic (after grāma), and implies that the notion of śrutis is subsidiary not only to svara but also to grāma : “atha dvau grāmau ṣadjaṛāmo madhyamagrāmaśceti atrāśritā dvāvimsatiśrutayah svaramaṇḍalaśādhitāḥ” (N.S. 28, 24). Viśākhila, too, had placed śruti after grāma and his reasons for doing so (as Abhinava points out) were similar to those of Bharata (see A.B. on N.S. 28, 21).

But Mataṅga like Dattila, evidently, believed that śrutis give rise to svaras and not *vice versa*. He describes śruti before taking up svara and, speaking of their relation, observes : “through the process of deduction (arthāpatti), inference (anumāṇā) and through direct perception, śrutis are found to be the cause that manifests svaras”:

arthāpattyānumānena¹ pratyakṣajñānato’pi vā
gṛhyante śrutayastāvat svarābhivyaktihetavah (Br. 53).

Arthāpatti and anumāṇā were two standard pramāṇas or valid means of knowledge. The classic example of arthāpatti is the proposition ‘pino devadatto dīvā na bhūnkte’ ('fat Devadatta does not eat during the day') leading one to deduce that he must be eating at night. The classic example of anumāṇā is the inference of fire at seeing smoke ('yatram dhūmāstatrāgnih'). Such inference was presented in logic through a five-step syllogism.

We see that Mataṅga presents his stand in standard philosophical terminology. He gives many alternate views expressed by different ācāryas regarding the manner in which śruti-s became svaras. These views take into account different doctrines regarding the relation of cause and effect current in Indian philosophy. Mataṅga mentions five theories : tādātmyavāda, vivartavāda, kāryatvavāda, pariṇāmavāda and vyañjanavāda.¹ Let us discuss these, in due order :

1. Some argued that śrutis were identical with svaras (svaraśrutyostu tādātmyam) : both svara and śruti, they reasoned, are grasped through the same organ of hearing and our perceptive ‘feeling’ or experience (sparśa) of śruti and svara does not cognise any thing which distinguishes them. Śruti and svara are thus identical, just as a ‘class’ (jāti) is indistinguishable from the individual objects of that class (vyakti).

viśeṣasparśasūnyatvācchravaṇendriyagrāhytā¹
svaraśrutyostu tādātmyam jātivyaktyorivānayoh (Br. 32)

This position cannot be said to express the primariness of śruti over svara.

2. According to others, svaras were a 'vivarta' of śruti-s (just as Śankara Vedantists believe the world to be 'vivarta' of Brahma). When the image of a person is seen in the mirror, the reflected image is a vivarta ; similarly svaras are perceived in the śruti-s as their vivartas :

*narāṇām ca mukham yadvad darpaṇe tu vivartitam
pratibhāti svarastadvacchrutiśeva vivartitah* (Br. 33)

The standard image employed by the Śaṅkara Vedantists in expressing vivarta is the illusory perception of a snake on suddenly beholding a piece of rope—the snake being the vivarta of the rope. In Matanga's example, however, the mirror reflection, though unreal, is not totally illusory; it is not a false perception entirely in the mind of the perceiver.

3. In the third view, śrutiś 'cause' the svaras just as a lump of clay and a turning stick—which is used to turn the potter's wheel and is hence an instrumental cause—cause an earthen pitcher. This was kāryatvavāda :

śrūtiṇām śruti (? svara)² kāryatvamiti kecid vadanti hi
mṛtpiṇḍadaṇḍakāryatvam ghaṭasyeha yathā bhavet (Br. 34).

4. According to the *parināma* theory, svara was an evolute of śruti : svaras resulted from śrutis just as curd results from milk. *Parināmayāda* was a Sāṅkhya doctrine :

śrutayaḥ svararūpeṇa pariṇamanti na saṃśayah
pariṇameta yathā kṣīram dadhirūpeṇa sarvathā (Br. 35)

¹ तादात्मये च विवतंतवं कार्यत्वं परिणामिता । अभिव्यञ्जकता चापि श्रुतीनां परिकथ्यते ॥
—Br. 31.

² Br. reads ଶ୍ରୁତିନାନ ଶ୍ରୁତିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟତ୍ୱମିତି etc., obviously a faulty reading.

5. According to the fifth view, svaras were manifested or revealed through the śrutis just as objects like ghaṭa (pitcher) etc. placed in the dark are revealed by the light of a lamp :

ṣadjādayaḥ svarāḥ sapta vyajyante śrutibhiḥ sadā
andhakārasthitā yadvat pradīpena ghaṭādayaḥ

(Br. 36).

The light does not bring into existence the objects in the dark but without light these objects are bound to remain uncognised ; so from the point of view of perception and cognition, light 'causes' these objects by revealing them. Similarly, without śrutis, svaras could not be revealed. Mataṅga himself subscribed to adbhyāñjanāvāda, though he also favoured pariṇāmavāda (pariṇāmābhivyaktistu nyāyyah pakṣaḥ satām mataḥ ; Br. 45).

The other views (vikalpas : alternate hypothesis) are refuted by him.¹ The tādātmya hypothesis does not hold ground, he says, because svaras and śrutis are objects of distinct and separate perception : they are clearly cognised as different. Moreover, the one depends upon the other and hence they cannot be identical.² The vivarta theory is also erroneous because if svaras were vivartas of śrutis, then the perception of svaras would have been an illusory perception because the vivarta resulting from a real cause is itself a nonexistent entity.³ The kārya doctrine is also inapplicable, because although a causal relation does exist between śrutis and svaras, it is not of the kind that exists between a lump of clay and a pitcher. When a lump of clay turns into a pitcher, the clay becomes non-existent and we have only the pitcher, but such is not the case with śruti and svara.⁴ This very argument can also be directed against pariṇāmavāda, a theory which Mataṅga seems to have approved of and does not refute. Mataṅga's complete approval, however, was in favour of abhyāñjanāvāda and he concludes the discussion by stating that the theory which propounds that śrutis manifest the svaras is, from all angles, the most satisfactory one (Br. 53, quoted above).

Abhinava does not go into philosophical theories of cause and effect, but contrary to Mataṅga, argues that svara was the more primary entity and it was, indeed, svara which was the musically significant interval within an octave. It is svara, he reasons, which has the inherent quality of charm and musical appeal, not śrutis which are dependent on svaras.⁵ Svara, according to Abhinava, had the quality of anurāṇa, which śruti lacked.

¹ इति तावन्मया प्रोक्तं श्रुतीनां च विकल्पनम् । इदानीं सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि विकल्पस्य च दूषणम् ॥
—Br. 37.

² नानाबुद्धिप्रसाध्यत्वात् स्वरश्रुत्योस्तु भिन्नता । आश्रयाश्रिभेदाच्च तादात्म्यं नैव सिद्ध्यति ॥
—Br. 39.

³ यद्भाणि विवर्तत्वं श्रुतीनां तदसतम् । विवर्तत्वे स्वराणां ग्रान्तिजानं प्रसज्यते ॥
—Br. 40.

⁴ कार्यकारणभावस्तु स्वरश्रुत्योनं सम्भवेत् । श्रुतीनामिह सद्भावे प्रमाणं नैव विद्यते ॥
कार्यकारणभेदोत्तिः यद्यपि स्फुटभेव हि । तथापि कारणत्वं श्रुतीनां नैव सम्भवेत् ॥

⁵ कार्यपूर्व विद्य मानेत् कारणोस्यापलम्भनात् । घटादौ विद्य माने तु मृतिपण्डो नोपलम्भ्यते ॥

For some relevant remarks of Abhinava on this point, see ch. I.

The notion of *anurāṇana*—‘resonance’—is not very clear in this context, but apparently it was a notion connected with the laws of acoustics: the harmonic relations existing naturally between certain sounds. After making a sound if there arises another sound which has any harmonic relation with the first, then the two sounds will acquire a resonant quality. This seems to be what Abhinava meant by *anurāṇana*.

The octave itself is born of the harmonic principle and has many possible graded intervals, the śrutis, but not all of these have the resonant qualities inherent in svara. Only intervals separated from each other by a certain measure of śruti-interval have a naturally pleasing effect : these are the svaras. Thus some theorists in Abhinava's days opined that "when the intervening śrutis (between two sounds) consist of a certain definite number, then on the final śruti if a sound is made through the friction of the breath (in singing), this results in svara; this consists of the quality of charm and pleasingness which belongs to that particular śruti position. Svara imparts colour (*i.e.*, musical significance' in this context) to the śruti on which it rests (*tasyāśrayabhūtāyāḥ śruteruparañjakah*)".¹ Svara according to this view, was the pleasing quality that certain śruti positions naturally possessed. Abhinava was in favour of somewhat amending this view and himself considered anuraṇana as the basic characteristic of a note : "the sound, consisting of anuraṇana, charming and sweet, which is produced as an effect of that sound which results on striking a (specific) śruti position, is svara".² Thus svara according to Abhinava was not just a sound but an echo-like resonant, secondary sound which was the characteristic of certain śrutis and it was this resonance which produced the pleasant and charming sensation that the musical notes arouse in us.

Śruti-s according to this view were secondary to svara (they were svarāśrayāḥ : i.e., 'dependent upon svara'); they were pitch-gradations within the interval of a svara : "śrutayo hyuccanīcatayā api svarāśrayā eva pratīyante" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 21).

Though, doctrinally, Mataṅga has given primacy to śruti over svara (believing as he did that śrutis gave rise to svaras) yet in his view, too, svaras and not śrutis were of primary musical significance. Śruti he defines as a sound that is audible (Br. 26-27), but svara is much more. Svara, Mataṅga says, has the quality of dīpti—‘splendour’, ‘beauty’, ‘illumination’. Etymologically analysing and defining the word svara, he further says that svara is an entity which shines forth on its own : this is another way of saying that svaras are ‘svayambhū’ entities, born of the very laws of sound :

tatrādau svaraśabdasya vyutpattiriha kathyate
 rājī dīptāviti dhātoḥ svaśabdapūrvakasya ca
 svayam yo rājate yasmāt tasmādeṣa svaraḥ smṛtaḥ (Br. 63-64).

¹ तदान्तरालश्रुतिपु नियतसङ्ख्यकापु ईषदो वायुना स्पर्शस्तमहिम्ना यः स्वरः श्रुतिस्थाने रिनःधृत्वरवत्त्वलक्षणो धर्मः तस्याश्रयभूतायाः श्रुतेस्परञ्जकः स एव स्वर इति केचित् ।

-A.B. on N.S. 28, 21.

² वयं तु श्रूतिस्थानामिभितप्रभवशब्दप्रभावितोऽनुरणनात्मा स्तिरधमधुरः शब्द एव स्वर इति वक्ष्यामः ।
—A.B. *ibid.*

The Vṛtti on these lines comments that "svara is the sound which produces rāga" (rāgajanako dhvaniḥ svarah). Taking the pun on rāga to be intentional, the meaning would be that svaras are sounds that arouse our affections or emotions and also are the basis of organised melodic structures. The Vṛtti quotes Kohala who had defined svara as an 'affective sound' (dhvani raktah svarah; Vṛtti on Br. 64A). A śruti does not have this significance.

The nature of svara—like that of śruti—had given rise to some metaphysical questions : was svara, in the ultimate analysis, one or many (eko'neko vā) ? Was it perishable or perennial (nityo'nityo vā) ? The Vṛtti on Brhaddesi raises these questions and answers them by stating that svara is both one and many ; it is pervasive and perennial. Svara, it says, in its indivisible—niṣkala—form is one, but becomes many in the form of individual notes like ṣadja etc.¹ Svara, the Vṛtti continues, is perennial because it is indestructible ; in other words, the Vṛttikāra thought that svara was not a 'thing created' and thus could not be destructible like created things. It was something which existed in the very nature of things and was nitya—without a beginning and end. Man did not create svara but only perceived this ever-existent phenomenon and with its help created music.

Svara is also pervasive because it is universal (sarvagataḥ). This perhaps means that svara is not a mere subjective phenomenon perceived differently by different people but a universal entity perceived the same by all. Svara is, indeed, basically dependent upon the laws of acoustics and its perception has therefore an objective, universal basis. The Vṛtti quotes a verse by Kohala which describes svara as vyāpaka² which in the context, evidently, means 'universal'.

In gāndharva there were seven svaras in an octave (svarāḥ ṣadjādayaḥ sapta ; Datt. 11) : ṣadja, ṫṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañcama, dhaivata and niṣāda. There were in addition two intermediary or auxiliary—sādhāraṇa—notes, namely, antara gāndhāra and kākali niṣāda. These latter two were not accorded the full status of svara : antara gāndhāra was a subsidiary of gāndhāra and kākali niṣāda that of niṣāda. Abhinava, commenting on N.S. 28, 21 where the seven notes have been named,³ says : "notes are declared to be seven in number ; by this statement Bharata reveals that kākali (niṣāda) and antara (gāndhāra) are not separate notes—sapta iti vacasā kākalyantarasarau na pṛthaksvaravīti darśayati" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 21).

¹ Ālaṅkārikas had an analogous notion regarding the nature of 'rasa'. Rasa is ultimately one, they said, but becomes many in the form of śringāra, karuṇa etc.

² नन स्वर एव स्यादेकोऽनेको वा व्यापकोऽध्यापको वा नित्योऽनित्यो वा (स्यात् ?) । अत्रोच्यते एकोऽनेको व्यापको नित्यश्चेति । तत्र निष्कलपैयोगीकः स्वरः; पद्मजादिरूपेणानेकः स्वरः । तथा चाह कोहलः—जातिभाषादिसंयोगादनन्तः कीर्तिः स्वरः । नादैयुक्तस्तालमिति क्रतौ योजयो रसेष्वपि ॥ इति । नित्योऽविनाशी । व्यापकः सर्वगतः । तथा चाह कोहलः—ऊर्ध्वर्णादीप्रयत्नेन सर्वभित्तिनिघट्टनात् । मूर्छितो घवनिरामूर्छनः स्वरोऽसौ व्यापको परः ॥

—Br. Vṛtti on 64A.

तत्र स्वरा : पद्मजश्च कृष्णश्चैव गाधारो मध्यमस्तथा । पञ्चमो धीवतश्चैव सप्तमोऽथ निषादवान् ॥

—N.S. 28, 21.

In tuning, the pitches of the svaras were apparently arrived at through the ear as in current practice. Śruti, the minute interval within a svara, could not be thus arrived at. It required a more elaborate procedure. Bharata has described the process of tuning at some length through which śruti could be determined. The process involved two viṇās, equal in all respects : in size, in the number and thickness of strings, in upavādana (the 'mizrāb' or plectrum for striking them ?) and the succession of notes. The two viṇās were then identically tuned to the ṣadja-grāma: "dye viṇe tulyapramāṇatantryupavādanadaṇḍamūrchane kṛtvā ṣadjagrāmāśrite kārye" (N.S. 28, 27).

Bharata gives no method or process for arriving at this initial tuning. Evidently, it was done through the ear and not through a process employing mathematical ratios (such as is given by later theorists like Ahobala, Śrīnivāsa etc.) Bharata's attitude was in this respect empirical. It was an attitude which prevailed in all early musical thinking. No early text makes an attempt to numerically assess the magnitude of the svaras in any way ; all assume their positions as given. The Vṛtti on Brhaddesi in describing the measure (māna) or magnitude of a śruti also assumes the position of the svaras themselves as known and merely reproduces Bharata's passage on this subject with minor changes (Br. Vṛtti on 28).

In ancient Greece, early theorists, chiefly Pythagoras (6th Century B.C.) had arrived at numerical ratios for the position of various notes : tonal intervals were demonstrated on a single stretched string in terms of spatial divisions.¹ However, other theorists, especially Aristoxenus (born 350 B.C.), favoured the empirical method. Introducing the subject of harmonics (the study of musical sounds) he observes that the subject of the study is the question : "in melody of every kind what are the natural laws according to which the voice in ascending and descending places the intervals ?" In reply he asserts that the voice (meaning, of course, the musical voice) spontaneously arrives at the right interval according to an inexorable law of sound. "For we hold", he says, "that the voice follows a natural law in its motion and does not place the intervals at random." Further, he observes that the ear is a judge which cognises the measure of true musical intervals. He states : "our subject-matter being all melody, whether vocal or instrumental, our method rests in the last resort on an appeal to the two faculties of hearing and intellect. By the former we judge the magnitudes of intervals, by the latter we contemplate the functions of the notes." Recognising that an inexorable natural law is the basis of 'svara', Aristoxenus remarks that "there is a certain marvelous order which belongs to the nature of harmony in general ; in this order every instrument, to the best of its ability, participates under the direction of that faculty of sense-perception on which they, as well as everything else in music, finally depend."

In tuning an instrument, too, it was this sense-perception, the sensitive ear, which was to act as the guide. "No instrument", he asserts, "is self-tuned and that the harmonizing of it is the prerogative of sense-perception is obvious and requires

See the *Pelican History of Music*, Vol. I, p. 100.

no proof." A student of musical science according to Aristoxenus was not like a physical scientist who has to depend upon extraneous measures for judging his observations. A geometer, for example, uses phrases such as 'let this be a straight line', but he makes no use of his faculty of sense-perception in judging a straight line as such: "He does not in any degree train his sight to discriminate the straight line, the circle or any other figure." Such a discriminative training belongs rather to the craftsman, the artist : people such as "the carpenter, the turner or some other such handicraftsman", whose vocation involves the actual construction of geometric figures made through the trained sense of sight. The student of music, too, has to be similarly perceptive. Aristoxenus says: "for the student of musical science, accuracy of sense-perception is a fundamental requirement."¹

Though Bharata and other early Indian theorists have not explicitly stated the idea in so many words, they, too, were evidently empiricists when it came to judging musical intervals. They had the same student in mind whom Aristoxenus considered as ideal: a student with a developed and discriminatively trained ear for musical intervals. Manuals such as those of Bharata, Dattila, Mataṅga and others were written and studied within samparādāyās—schools of musical training—and a basic knowledge of intervals as well as a trained faculty for perceiving them was, evidently, taken for granted in such students or musicians as were considered fit to study the writings of the great ācāryas.

It was quite late in the history of saṅgīta literature that musical intervals were given in terms of spatial measures on a string. Śārṅgadeva is the first to speak of svara-viñās, on the cross-bar (danda) of which the location of each svara was marked and the magnitude of the intervening śrutis was similarly indicated. Viñās such as the ekatantri, nakula, tritantrikā, citrā, vipañcī, mattakokilā, etc. were all svara-viñās.² They seem to have been both of the lute and the harp varieties. In describing the construction of viñās, Śārṅgadeva notes distances between frets on the basis of spatial intervals between svaras at different string points (see S.R. ch. 6); but the measurements and the svaras they represent are not very clear. The matter is more clear in works like the *Rasakaumudi* of Śrīkantha (C. 16th-17th century) which gives exact numerical ratios.³ Other such works are the *Rāgatattvavibodha* of Śrīnivāsa (see verses 36-49 of this work) and the *Saṅgitapārijāta* of Ahobala.⁴

¹ Quotations from Aristoxenus' *Harmonic Elements* have been taken from *Source Readings in Musical History* by Oliver Strunk. The editor's introductory note on Aristoxenus has these lines: "Aristoxenus' thought has a distinct empirical tendency. Aristoxenus also holds that the notes of a scale are to be judged not by mathematical ratio, but by the ear."

² वद्यते स्वरवीणात् तस्यामपि विचक्षणः । अङ्कुर्त्वा स्वरदेशानां भागानुदिभन्दते श्रुतीः ॥
तदभेदास्त्वेकन्ती स्पान्कुलश्च नितत्विका । चित्रा वीणा विपञ्ची च ततः स्यान्मत्तकोकिला ॥
आलापिनी किनरी च पिनाकी संज्ञिता परा । निःशङ्कुवीणेत्याद्याश्च शाङ्कदेवेन कीर्तितः ॥

—S.R. 9, 8-10.

³ For a study of these ratios see the monograph, *A Comparative Study of the Leading Music Systems of the 15th, 16th 17th and 18 Centuries* by Pandit V.N. Bhatkhande.

⁴ *ibid.*

Let us now return to the two identically constructed vīñās of Bharata. Both were tuned to the seven notes arranged according to ṣadja-grāma. One vīñā was taken as the constant vīñā and was left untouched (this was the dhruva or the 'still' vīñā) while the pañcama string of the other vīñā (termed the cala-vīñā) was loosened so that the string now sounded just a little lower than the pañcama string of the dhruva-vīñā; this lowered pitch was tuned to the pañcama of the madhyama-grāma which was on the third śruti from the madhyama while the pañcama of the ṣadja-grāma lay on the fourth śruti from the madhyama. This gave one the measure of a śruti. Then with this lowered pañcama as the fulcrum, all other strings of the cala-vīñā were also lowered so that they were returned to the ṣadja-grāma, but at a pitch one śruti lower than the dhruva-vīñā.¹ This process has been outlined by Bharata for giving the magnitude of a śruti interval: "tayloranyatarasyāṁ pañcamasyāpakarṣe śrutim madhyamagrāmikīṁ kṛtvā tāmeva ca pañcamasya śrutyutkarṣavaśāt ṣadjagrāmīkīṁ kuryāt. ekaśrutirapakṛṣṭā bhavati" (N.S. 28, 27).

One cannot but conclude that the śruti-interval like the svara-interval was also arrived at through the ear. The basis for lowering the pañcama of the ṣadja-grāma so as to make it the pañcama of the madhyama-grāma was clearly an empirical one in which the musician relied upon his ear. Only a person who could empirically distinguish the two grāmas could have applied Bharata's process.

There were, however, certain distinct harmonic properties of the slightly different octaves of the two grāmas, which must have aided a musician in applying the process. The ṣadja and ḫsabha (besides other notes) had an identical śruti-value in both grāmas but there was the difference of a śruti between the pañcamas of the two grāmas and as a result a saṃvāda or harmonical concordance existed in the ṣadja-grāma between ṣadja and pañcama and not between ḫsabha and pañcama, while in the madhyama-grāma, pañcama was a saṃvādi not of ṣadja but that of ḫsabha. The other saṃvādas in both the grāmas were identical (N.S. 28, 23). Thus, in arriving at the interval which was termed a śruti, all one had to do was to lower the pañcama of the ṣadja-grāma with its ṣadja-pañcama saṃvāda so that it now had a ḫsabha-pañcama saṃvāda. The magnitude of pitch intervening between the two pañcamas constituted a śruti. But this assumed a knowledge of the correct pitch of the ḫsabha which itself must have been arrived at through the ear. This ḫsabha—unlike our own suddha ḫsabha in most rāgas of Hindustani music—had no ṣadja-madhyama saṃvāda with the pañcama, but was apparently somewhat lower.²

¹ स्वराणां कस्यचिदपि वैलक्षण्यं यस्य प्रतिभासनात्तर्वेका ध्रुवकस्थानीयां अचलसारणां वीणायामपरस्यां पञ्चमतःक्षी श्रुतिमात्रं शिथिलीकार्यं । तदा मध्यमामो जायते । अनन्तरं मध्यमादीनां स्वरंवराणां श्रुतिमेकां पातयेत्, येन पद्जग्राम एव भवति । एवं ध्रुवकवीणायां चलवीणायां इवरेषु भृतिरधिकाः यूना च प्रत्यक्षणानुसः धानवलात्तलक्षणीया भवति ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28.

² Acārya Bṛhaspati in his *Bharata Kā Saṅgīta Siddhānta* has worked out an ingenious method on the basis of acoustics, to arrive at the ancient ḫsabha (p 10-11). It is, of course, impossible to really judge if the value he has arrived at is the correct one. For, as Bṛhaspati himself says: "the knowledge of śrutis, of their magnitude and succession is derivative of the knowledge of grāmas and cannot itself result in such a knowledge. Bharata has himself considered only such a person fit for studying his tunings (śāraṇās) who is fully cognisant of the form and nature of the two grāmas," (p. 15). The two grāmas themselves are now a closed book.

Further lowering of the cala-vīñā in relation to the dhruva-vīñā revealed the measure or pramāṇa of the two-śruti, three-śruti, four-śruti and still larger śruti-intervals. The process was as follows : After all the svaras of the cala-vīñā had been lowered to the extent of one sruti, the gāndhāra and niṣāda of the cala-vīñā, now only slightly above the ṛṣabha and dhaiavata of the dhruva-vīñā, were so lowered that they reached the same pitch as the ṛṣabha and dhaiavata of the dhruva-vīñā. The rest of the vīñā strings were again lowered to conform with the new positions of ri-dha. This second sāraṇā—as this process of tuning was called—gave the magnitude of the two-śruti interval: “punarapi tadvadevāpakarṣet yathā gāndhāraniṣādavantāvitarasyāṁṛṣabhadhaiavatau pravekṣyataḥ dviśrutyadhiyatvāt” (N.S. 28, 27). This sāraṇā, says Abhinava, clearly reveals to the perception the magnitude of each of the two śrutis contained in the two notes ga and ni; because when lowered by two srutis, as shown, these notes become one with ri and dha respectively.¹

In the third sāraṇā the cala-vīñā was so lowered that ri and dha (both three-śruti notes) of this vīñā, which were now only a śruti above sa and pa respectively of the dhruva-vīñā, became one with these latter notes : “punarapi tadvadevāpakṛṣṭāyāṁ dhaiavataśabhbāvitarasyāṁ pañcamaṣaḍjau pravekṣyataḥ triśrutyadhiyatvāt” (N.S. 28, 27). The process now revealed the magnitude of three-śruti intervals in three steps of a śruti each.² The rest of the strings of the cala-vīñā were again lowered to conform to this new position of ṛṣabha and dhaiavata.

In the final sāraṇā, the three notes pañcama, madhyama and ṣaḍja (all four-śruti notes) of the cala-vīñā (which already stood three śrutis lower than these same notes on the dhruva-vīñā) were further lowered and made one with the notes madhyama, gāndhāra and niṣāda, respectively, of the dhruva-vīñā. Thus the four-śruti interval was revealed.

This sāraṇā process as given by Bharata has found an echo in numerous subsequent works. The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* almost paraphrases Bharata.³ Śāṅgadeva, Kumbha and others have based their exposition on Bharata's passages.⁴

In the sāraṇā process we see that the svaras form the initial ‘given’ framework within which the position of the śrutis is then arrived at; hence it was held by certain theorists that śrutis depended upon svaras and could be observed as fractional positions within the svaras (śrutayo hyuccanīcatayā api svaraśryā eva pratīyante, A.B. on N.S. 28, 21).

¹ गान्धारनिषादगं प्रत्येकं यच्छुतिद्वयं तच्च धैवतर्पभमिशीभावाभिज्ञानेन स्फुटमेवोपलब्धमिति तच्छुतयः प्रत्यक्षीभूता भवन्ति ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28.

² पुनरपि चलवीणायां श्रुतिर्यदापकृष्टते सर्वस्वेष्यस्तदा च वीणागती धैवतर्पमो धैववीणागताभ्यां पञ्चमयहजाभ्यां यथाक्रमं साम्यं गच्छते । यतो ध्रुववीणायां स्वरास्तिसः श्रुतिभिरविकाः । एवं स्वरद्वये प्रत्येकं श्रुतित्रयं स्मृटीकृतम् ।
—A.B., *ibid.*

¹ The description is introduced with the words :
ननु श्रुतेः किं मानम् । उच्यते ।

—Vṛtti on Bṛ. 28.

² S.R. 1,3, 17-22 and the two commentaries ; S. Raj 2,1,1, 95-114. (Kumbha has a more detailed exposition).

The ancients apparently believed that all the twenty-two śrutis were of an equal measure : each successive sāraṇā on the cala-vīṇā is said to lower it by one śruti-magnitude, the magnitude itself, supposedly, remaining unchanged. Had each śruti been equal, the ancient octave would have constituted a tempered scale, divided into twenty two equal divisions (with the seven notes located on given śruti positions). Yet the very sāraṇā process belies the notion of a tempered scale. The process was effected empirically through the ear which is attuned to natural harmonies on which the process relied.

Each successive lowering of the cala-vīṇā could not then have traversed an identical interval in pitch, for this is not a natural division and can only be achieved through the help of an instrument (like the tuning fork) or an externally imposed temperate numerical ratio in terms of string lengths or a similar device. The śruti was not arrived at in this way.

Mātṛgupta (5th century A.D.?), an early predecessor of Abhinava, had opined that both svaras and śrutis were born ‘spontaneously’, that is, through a natural harmonic process. Mātṛgupta, like Abhinava, believed that śrutis depended upon the svaras yet he thought that śrutis were ‘sahaja’ (naturally born) intervals like svaras. Abhinava quotes him as saying :

(jāyate) sahajenaiva samastaḥ śrutivistaraḥ
svarādhishṭhānato yāti śrotrapiyūṣasāratām

(A.B. on N.S. 28, 21)

“The entire range of śrutis is produced spontaneously. The ear comprehends the beauty of their essence on the basis of svaras.”

Bharata’s process depended upon the tone-sensitive ear and the ear does not divide the octave into twenty-two equal intervals, for such a division is alien to the acoustics of sound.¹ Yet Bharata’s process (which must have been used in actual practical demonstrations) does reveal twenty-two gradations of the octave. Let us try to arrive at the probable values of the śruti-intervals that his sāraṇās measured.

The ancient ḫabha was a three-śruti note and had no harmonic concordance with the pañcama when tuned to the ṣadja-grāma ; but the ṣadja in this grāma had an acoustic affinity with the pañcama. Now, the natural ḫabha, born of the second harmonics of a series of ascending fifths, does have a very close affinity with the pañcama that is harmonious with the ṣadja. The natural ḫabha consists of a major tone (expressed through the ratio 9 : 8) : this was probably the four-śruti interval of the ancients. The ancient ḫabha was a śruti lower. What could be the probable value of the ancient ḫabha ? It must have been an harmonic note because, as we have argued, notes were arrived at through the ear. So the ancient ḫabha must have consisted of an interval somewhat smaller than the major tone and yet it must have been a naturally harmonic interval. The difference between the ḫabha consisting of

¹ Alain Danielou in his *Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales* arrives at a division of the octave into fifty-three intervals through a harmonic process, ‘allowing us to play accurately, i.e., without beats, all the usual harmonic intervals’ (pp. 45-46). These 53 intervals, too, are not equal (see *ibid*, chart at pp. 237-241).

the major tone (harmonic to the pañcama) and the three-śruti ancient ṛṣabha should give us the measure of a śruti, if we can arrive at a probable value.

For expressing measure we shall use savarts. The French scientist Savart had divided the acoustic length of the octave on the basis of the decimal system into a measure which has been named savart after its initiator. The octave is divided according to this system into 301.03 savarts, or for practical purposes, 301 savarts. Now, before proceeding, let us state that we consider the ancient three-śruti ṛṣabha as consisting of the minor tone, a harmonic interval somewhat smaller than the major tone : this is very plausible since the minor tone is a very frequent harmonic interval in music (ratio to the tonic 10 : 9).¹ If this be granted then the difference in measure between the major and the minor tone should give us the magnitude of a śruti. The difference between these two tones comprises approximately 5 savarts, equal almost to the Pythagorean comma. But with this interval a division of the octave into 22 śrutis is patently impossible.

Yet a measure of less than a minor tone for the ancient ṛṣabha would not have formed a harmoniously satisfactory tone. Still, if we assume that the interval called the small tone (a not very satisfactory harmonic tone with a ratio to the tonic approximately 11 : 10) was the three-śruti ṛṣabha, then, too, the resultant śruti measure amounts to only about 10 savarts, still too small a measure for a 22 śruti scale. An interval lesser than the small tone seems implausible, because natural intervals lower than the small tone are the two half-tones—large and small—which give an extremely improbable value for the ancient ṛṣabha.² This only strengthens our inference that the śruti was not an equal measure.

We think that the interval called the pramāṇa śruti—the initial śruti measure—was indeed a very small one, equal to the comma, roughly 5 savarts. The second sāraṇā, however, encompassed a much greater interval, for now the gāndhāra and niṣāda—which, evidently, consisted of the harmonic half tone intervals—were lowered to the level of ri and dha respectively (gāndhāra, the harmonic minor third, has a ratio 6 : 5 with the tonic and niṣāda, the minor seventh, has a ratio 9 : 5). In the first lowering, the minor third was, presumably, lowered by 5 (or may be 10 savarts) but the second sāraṇā through which gāndhāra became one with the ṛṣabha must have involved a lowering of at least 28 savarts : the distance between the minor third lowered by either 5 or 10 savarts (in the first sāraṇā) and the minor tone or the small tone (the probable values of the three-śruti ri) respectively.³ Other lowerings were similarly unequal.

¹ This is the tone composed of the natural interval which occurs, for example, between the śuddha ri and śuddha ga of Hindustani music.

² Most authorities are agreed that the ancient ṣadja-grāma was tuned to something like the kāfi-scale if ṣadja be taken as the tonic; the ṛṣabha, then, could not have been too low.

³ In calculating savart-distances we have followed the well-planned chart given by Alain Danielou in his *Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales*, pp. 237-241.

In *Saṅgīta Cintāmani* (Hindi) by Acarya Bṛhaspati and Srimati Sumitra Kumari, the authors have propounded the theory (on the basis of Bharata's sāraṇā process and Abhinava's exposition of it) that there were three basic śruti measures: (1) the pramāṇa śruti; this according to the authors measured 5 savarts (these he calls 'ghaṭakas' 301 of which equal an octave), (2) the upamahātī śruti measured 18 savarts and (3) the mahātī śruti measured 23 savarts (see p. 105; the whole discussion is very interesting and fruitful).

TOPIC 3

GRĀMA

- 11A. grāmau dvau ṣadjamadhyamau
 B. kecid gāndhāramapyaḥuḥ sa tu nehopalabhyate
- 12A. ṣadjatvena ḡṛītō yaḥ ṣadjagrame dhvanirbhavet
 B. tata ūrdhvam tṛtīyah syād ṣabho nātra samīsayah²
- 13A. tato dytīyo gāndhāraścaturtho madhyamastataḥ
 B. madhyamāt pañcamastadvat tṛtīyo dhaivatastataḥ
- 14A. niṣādo' to dvitīyah syāt² tataḥ ṣadjaścaturthakah
 B. pañcamo madhyamagrāme madhyamādyastṛtīyakah
- 15A. evam dhvanivīšeṣan yaḥ sarvān ṣadjādi (samyñitān)
 B. vyavasthitāntarān vetti sa vetti svaramaṇḍalam²

(There) are two grāmas : ṣadja and madhyama. Some speak of a gāndhāra [grāma] ; but that is not to be found here [in this world].

In ṣadja-grāma, commencing from the sound accepted as ṣadja (ṣadjatvena ḡṛītah), the third higher sound (or śruti) is ṣabha ; this is beyond doubt.

From [ṣabha] the second [higher sound] is gāndhāra ; from gāndhāra (tataḥ) the fourth is madhyama. Similarly [four śrutis higher] from madhyama is pañcama, from pañcama (tataḥ) dhaivata is the third [higher śruti], from which niṣāda is the second. And from niṣāda (tataḥ) the fourth [higher śruti again] is the ṣadja.

In the madhyama-grāma, pañcama is the third higher śruti] commencing with madhyama.

Thus one who knows all the specific sounds beginning with the ṣadja with their established intervals, comprehends the svara-maṇḍala (the entire gamut of notes).

NOTE :

Nārada in his *Nāradī Śikṣā* speaks of the gāndhāra-grāma. He, too, like Dattila says that the gāndhāra-grāma does not exist in this world but is to be found only with the gods.⁴ Perhaps it was once current during a very early period. It

¹ Datt. T. ed reads नात्र संश्यः; evidently a misprint. Sudhā reads नात्र संशयः

² Datt. T. ed. reads (द्वितीयः (स्त ? स्थात))

Sudhā on S.R. 1,4, 15-16 quotes Datt. 12-14A ascribing them to Dattila. The reading given is the same as above. Abhinava quotes the major part of Datt. 12A with the words:
 दत्तिलाचार्योऽपि धवनिशब्देनान्स्थानमेवाध्यात् । 'पद्जत्वेन गृहीतो यः पद्जग्रामे धवनिः' ॥

— A.B. on N.S. 28,21..

स्वर्गान्नान्यत गान्धारो ।

Nāradī Śikṣā 1,2,7.

Mataṅga attributes the mention of gāndhāra-grāma to Nārada and adds that this grāma is not to be found in the world of men ; Br. 91.

had definitely gone out of use by the age of Dattila and Bharata. Bharata does not even mention the gāndhāra-grāma. Of grāmas he says : "atha dvau grāmau sadjagrāmo madhyamagrāmaśceti" (N.S. 28, 24).

The notion of grāma is difficult for us to understand for we no longer have grāmas. The two grāmas, says Mataṅga, were two 'groupings' consisting of certain specific arrangement of svaras measured in śrutis : "samūhavācinau grāmau svaraśrutyādisaṁyutau" (Br. 89).¹ Let us consider how svaras and their śrutis were grouped in the two grāmas.

In the ṣadja-grāma the arrangement of svaras and śrutis have been indicated by Dattila in detail. He then points out the slightly variant madhyama-grāmic arrangement. Beginning with ṣadja as the initial sound, the note ḫabha occurred on the third higher śruti. Gāndhāra occurred on the second higher sound from ḫabha, madhyama on the fourth higher sound or śruti from gāndhāra. Pañcama was on the fourth śruti beginning with madhyama in the ṣadja-grāma, but in the madhyama-grāma, the placing was different ; here pañcama occurred on the third śruti beginning with madhyama. Consequently, dhaivata in the madhyama-grāma was on the fourth śruti beginning with pañcama while in the ṣadja grāma dhaivata was placed on the third śruti from pañcama. This difference in the position and śruti-value of dhaivata occurred because in the madhyam-gram, pañcama, was lower (relative to the ṣadja-grama) by a śruti though dhaivata remained at an identical position in relation to ṣadja, ḫabha, gāndhāra and other notes.

Dattila has located the notes in terms of the distance in śrutis between one note and another; ḫabha, he says, occurs on the third śruti beginning with ṣadja and so on. Bharata expresses the fact in a somewhat different language. He recounts the positioning of notes in the two grāmas in terms of the number of śrutis 'contained in' or 'possessed' by a svara. ṣadja, according to Bharata, contained four śrutis, ḫabha three, gāndhāra two, madhyama four, pañcama likewise four (three when in madhyama-grāma), dhaivata three and niṣāda two.²

The different ways of expressing the śruti-svara relation found in Dattila and Bharata is evidently connected with the different doctrines they held regarding the primacy of śruti or svara. Dattila thought that śrutis gave rise to svaras; hence he says that particular svaras occur on particular śrutis located at certain śruti-intervals from each other. Bharata, on the contrary, held that svaras were the primary intervals and śrutis were secondary pitch positions one could perceive and demonstrate within a svara. He, therefore, describes svaras as containing or possessing a stipulated number of śrutis.

¹ Abhinava puts this more succinctly in remarking:

ग्रामोनाम विशिष्टश्रुतिकस्वर समूहो—grāma is a group of notes each with a specified number of śrutis,
—A.B on N.S. 28, 64-65.

² चतुःश्रुतिभंवेत् पद्ज शृष्टभस्त्रिश्रुतिः स्मृतः । द्विश्रुतिश्चेव गन्धारो मध्यमश्च चतुःश्रुतिः ॥
पञ्चमस्तद्वृत्ते व स्यात् विश्रुतिधंवतो मतः । द्विश्रुतिश्च निषादः स्यात् पद्जप्रामे विधिभंवेत् ॥
मध्यमप्रामे तु पञ्चमः श्रुत्यपकृष्टः कार्यः ।

—N.S. 28, 25-26.

Viśākhila was of the same opinion as Bharata and he seems to have expressed his view on this point more explicitly. Abhinava quotes phrases from him where he clearly says: “śrutayah svarāntaragatāḥ śrutiṣ are contained within svaraṣ” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28).

Dattila has described grāma after śruti and svara, implying an hierarchical sequence of inter-relatedness in the same order: svara depended upon śruti and grāma upon svara. Mataṅga was evidently of the same opinion as Dattila. We have seen that he believed in the primacy of śruti over svara. Regarding grāmas he says that they are born of svaraṣ: “svarebhyo grāmasambhavah” (Br. 92).

Bharata implies a different sequence of inter-dependence. He describes svaraṣ first, then names the two grāmas and then says: “dependent upon these (two grāmas) are the twenty-two śrutiṣ which are effected through the gamut of svaraṣ.”¹ Viśākhilācārya had also listed śruti after grāma² and presumably expounded it in the same order, with evidently the same doctrinal scheme in mind. According to this view the primary function of the śrutiṣ was to distinguish one grāma from the other: “grāmavibhāgārthameva śrutiκīrtanam” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 21). Svaraṣ were self-evident entities, and they were arrayed in two grāmas on the basis of a slightly different śruti-arrangement; the svara pañcama in one grāma had a slightly different tonal value from its counterpart in the other grāma (so did, resultingly, the dhaivata), and one of the chief functions of śruti was to measure and analyse the exact distinction between the two pañcamas in the two grāmas. Thus the notion of śruti was secondary to that of grāma.

We have noted (see ch. I) that some commentaries were written on the *Dattilam*—a fact not surprising for such an important and pithy work as this. The commentary called the *Prayogastabaka* is quoted by Śimhabhūpāla on (S.R. 1-4, 15-16). The quoted portion concerns Datt. 12 and is significant here: “śadjatvena śadjaśvarabhāvena gr̥hitāḥ parikalpito buddhyā vyavasthāpito yaḥ kāścid dhvanivīśeṣaḥ śadjākhye grāme bhavettasmād dhvanivīśeṣādūrdhavam trīyah syādṛṣabhaḥ iti.” This may be rendered as: “whatever the sound which is wilfully chosen and established as the śadja svara, from that specific sound in the śadja-grāma the third higher (śruti) is the ṛṣabha”.

Evidently, (as Datt. 12 implies and this commentary elucidates) Dattila did not believe in the notion of absolute pitch as it has conventionally and customarily come to be fixed for each note in the Western system. His system was like the one which still persists in India where śadja is fixed at any convenient pitch and other notes are arrived at in relation to it. However—as will become further clear—there was one basic difference with the modern system: śadja once established was not the constant tonic, the fixed centre round which all other notes evolved and on the basis

¹ अथ द्वौ ग्रामो पद्जग्रामो मध्यमग्रामश्चेति । अवाश्रिता द्वाविशतिश्चयः स्वरमण्डलसाधिताः ॥
—N.S. 28, 24.

² विशाखिलाचार्यो ग्रामानन्तरं श्रुतीश्चिति स्म ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 21.

of which they had their being. Sadja in the ancient system was no more important than any other note and could also be dropped if necessary (see the topic 'jāti').

The grāmas with their twenty-two śruti-s and the location in them of svaras in terms of specific śruti-distances, were illustrated by ancient theorists in terms of certain graphs. The *Bṛhaddeśī* is the first work where such graphs are described and drawn, though they must have existed earlier. We do not know if graphs were current during the period of Bharata and Dattila. They do not mention any. These graphs can help us in understanding the notion of grāma.

The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* speaks of three ways of representing śruti and svara positions within a grāma. These were known as the three prastāras: (1) the dāṇḍa-prastāra, (2) the viñā-prastāra and (3) the maṇḍala-prastāra.

1. The dāṇḍa-prastāra is cryptically described as consisting of twenty-two lines each representing a śruti: "tatra kecid dāṇḍaprstāreṇa darśayanti dvāviṁśatay-ah śrutayo rekhaṇāmīti" (Vṛtti on Br. 53). In this prastāra, apparently, the octave was represented as a straight line (dāṇḍa), across which twenty-two lines were drawn at a right angle to it, each equidistant from the other. These represented the twenty-two śruti-s. Svaras were placed on the śruti-lines according to the prescribed śruti distances. The two grāmas were represented on two different dāṇḍa-prastāras. The resulting illustration may have been somewhat as follows:

(sañja-grāma)

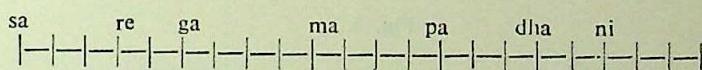


Fig. 1

(madhyama-grāma)

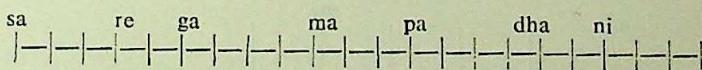


Fig. 2

We have followed Datilla's cue in taking ṣadja as the initial śruti. Theoretically, however, any note could evidently have been placed on the first śruti and the prastāra drawn accordingly. We have shown the dāṇḍa in a horizontal position and śruti-rekhās as vertical. The position can be reversed.

2: The nature of the viñā-prastāra is not at all clear. Perhaps it was a method by means of which the śruti positions were indicated through a chart drawn up like the frame of a viñā with the twenty-two śruti-s stretched across it as straight lines like stretched strings. But we do not know. Some theorists illustrated the grāmas through the viñā-prastāra: "anye tu viñāprastāramāhuḥ" (Vṛtti on Br. 53).

3. The Vṛttikāra himself had a preference for the maṇḍala-prastāra which he describes at length: "vayam punarmanḍalaprstāram brūmaḥ" (Br. Vṛtti on 53). In this prastāra five equidistant horizontal lines were crossed at right-angles by six vertical lines, also equidistant. The resultant graph had twenty-two free points on lines

utting out of a group of squares: "tathāhi-tiryagūrdhvam ca pañca ṣad̄ rekhā ityek-ādaśa; ubhayato dvāvīṁśatih."¹

On such graphs the two grāmas could be illustrated as follows:

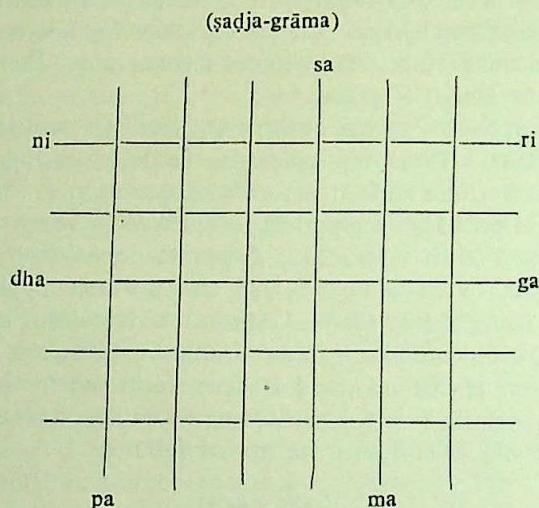


Fig. 3.

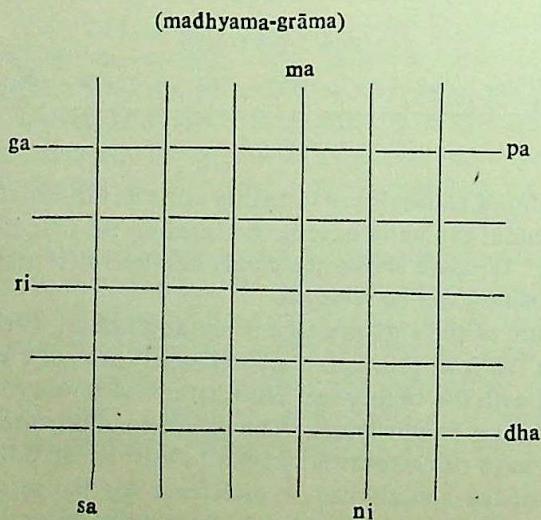


Fig. 4.

The Vṛttikāra does not say that the lines should be equidistant but the graph found in the Br. implies this—however faulty it might be in other ways.

The *Brhaddeśī* has described the placing of svaras on the graphs of the two grāmas at length (Br. 54-61). The *Vṛttikāra* has sketched the actual graphs for the two grāmas. As extant in the available manuscripts, however, the graphs are patently faulty. But they can be reconstructed through the textual description.¹

Abhinava also mentions the prastāras. He does not name the vīṇā-prastāra but only the other two. "The forms (svarūpa)", he says "of two-śruti notes (ga, ni), three-śruti notes (ri, dha and, in madhyama-grāma, also ma) and four-śruti notes (sa, ma, pa) and the measure of a śruti (śruteriyattā) becomes clear through prastāra, where alone they can be readily perceived. Some (theorists) show (svaras and śrutis) through the danda-prastāra with the help of twenty-two lines (rekhās). Others describe the maṇḍala-prastāra which consists of five horizontal and six vertical lines and counting boths ends (of each line) they together make twenty-two points".² Abhinava has not drawn the diagrams.

Another theorist, Nānyadeva, who followed Abhinava within a century, describes the maṇḍala-prastāra in detail (B.B. 67-80). He has described the gāndhāra-grāma along with the other two. His description of making the prastāra-graph is the most succinct that we have. According to his description the placing of the notes on the ṣadja and madhyama-grāma graphs is as follows :

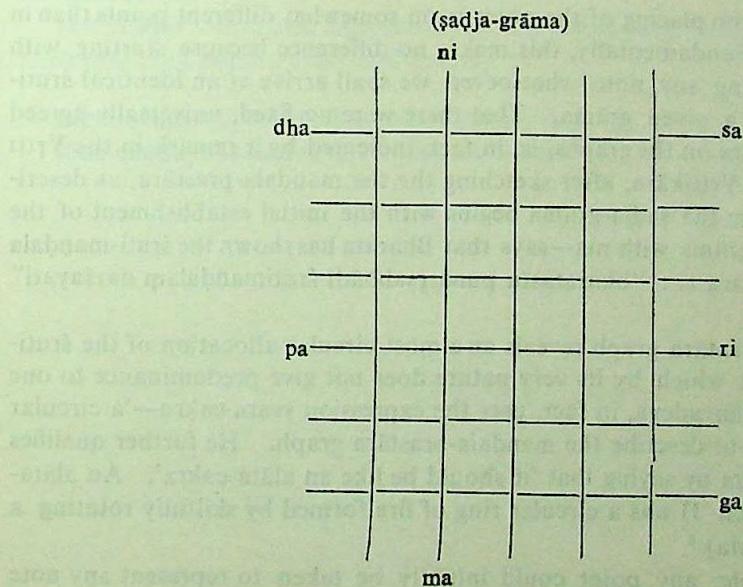


Fig. 5.

¹ Ācārya Bṛhaspati has made a correct reconstruction in his *Bharata kā Saṅgīta Siddhānta*, p. 29, also p. 40.

² द्विश्रुतिभिन्नश्रुतिचतुश्रुतिस्वरस्वरूपं च श्रुतेरियत्ता (निधारणा) स्फुटोकरणार्थं प्रस्तारादेव दृश्यते । तत्र दण्डप्रस्तारेण केचिद्दर्शयन्ति द्वाविषयति रेखाणाम् । अन्ये तु मण्डलप्रस्तारमाहुः । तिर्यग्गूढवं च पञ्चषष्ठ्यरेखा इत्येकादशोभयतो द्वाविषयतिः । — A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28.

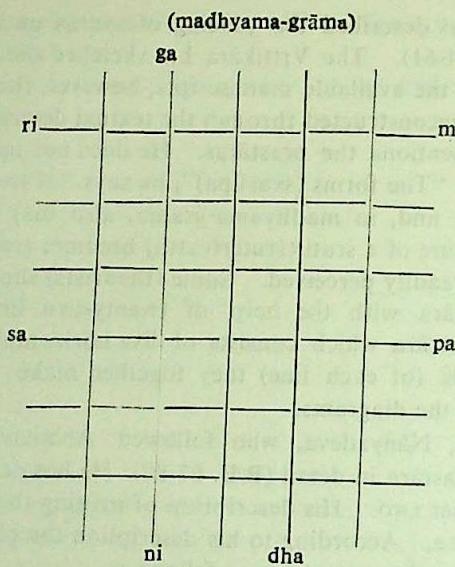


Fig. 6.

We notice that the placing of the notes is on somewhat different points than in the previous graphs.¹ Fundamentally, this makes no difference because starting with any point as representing any note whatsoever, we shall arrive at an identical śruti-ratio between notes in a given grāma. That there were no fixed, universally agreed points for particular notes on the graphs, is, in fact, indicated by a remark in the Vṛtti on the *Bṛhaddeśī*. The Vṛttikāra, after sketching the maṇḍala-prastāra, as described by Mataṅga—where the ṣadja-grāma begins with the initial establishment of the note sa and madhyama-grāma with ma—says that Bharata has shown the śruti-maṇḍala as beginning with the svara ri : “bharatstu punarṣabḥādi śrutimandalam darśayati” (Vṛtti on Br. 61).²

The maṇḍala-prastāra graph reveals an almost circular allocation of the śruti-points—an arrangement which by its very nature does not give predominance to one point over another. Nānyadeva, in fact, uses the expression svara-cakra—‘a circular arrangement of notes’—to describe the maṇḍala-prastāra graph. He further qualifies the expression svara-cakra by saying that ‘it should be like an alāta-cakra’. An alāta-cakra, as we have seen (ch. I) was a circular ring of fire formed by skilfully rotating a burning log of wood (alāta).³

Thus, in principle, any point could initially be taken to represent any note and the others then could be arranged according to the fixed śruti-distances between the svaras of a grāma. This principle of arrangement suggests that a grāma was

¹ The graphs as described by Nānyadeva have been ably reconstructed by Sri Chaitanya P. Desai, editor of the B.B. (chs. 1-5) who has written extensive notes in Hindi, on the text.

² We do not know what remark in the *Nāyaśāstra* led to this conclusion. Yet, though this observation in the Vṛtti may be said to be unwarranted on the basis of Bharata, our point substantially remains unaffected.

³ See also ch. I, p. 10 where, in fact, we have shown the two grāmas through circular diagrams.

basically a particular grouping of seven notes (the *sapta-svara*) which together constituted a distinct grāma octave. In this grouping, no particular svara was, apparently, the constant tonic around which the other notes were grouped, unlike our system where the ādhāra-śruti—the basic tonic—is always called the *sa* and the other notes are arranged around it.

On a *vīṇā* of the ancient harp type, if the seven svaras of a particular grāma were to be tuned according to the given tonal distances expressed in terms of śruti-intervals and if this *vīṇā* had a range of at least two octaves (three octaves constituted the standard range), then, after the svaras were arrayed within a grāma, any note could, evidently, be given the status of the tonic. None of the notes appears to have been a constant ādhāra-śruti like the modern droned *sa*.

In the 15th verse, Dattila calls the arrangement of śrutis and svaras with fixed śruti-intervals (*vyavasthitāntarān*) within a grāma, the ‘*svara-maṇḍala*’. The word *svara-maṇḍala* has also been used by Bharata and with a similar meaning (N.S. 28, 24). The term *svara-maṇḍala*, in these two works, embraces the three topics : śruti, svara and grāma; it signifies the svaras with their specified śruti distances and their dual scheme of arrangement in the two grāmas. The *svara-maṇḍala* constituted the basic musical raw material, so to say, with which the gāndharva melodic structures were composed.

The *Nāradī Śikṣā* also uses the term *svara-maṇḍala*. Here the term embraces *mūrchanā* and *tāna* besides svara and grāma,

sapta svarāstrayo grāmā mūrchanāstvekavimśatih
tānā ekonapañcāśadityetat svaramaṇḍalam

The Two Auxiliary Notes

- 16A. *niṣādaḥ kākali samjñō dviśruty u karṣaṇād¹ bhavet*
 B. *gāndhāra stadvadeva syādanta rasava rasa mājñītaḥ*
- 17A. *anamśatvāt tu bhedena svara tā no cyate tayoḥ*
 B. *ato niṣādagāndhāra yetā vāptairudāhṛtau²*

Niṣāda elevated by two śrutis, becomes the (niṣāda) called kākali, and gāndhāra, likewise [elevated], is called antara-svara (or antara gāndhāra).

Since these two cannot become amśas (anamśatvāt), they are not designated as separate svaras. This is the reason why they have been described as gāndhāra and niṣāda by the authorities.

NOTE :

Kākali has been defined by Bharata as “kalatvācca kākali samjñāḥ” (N.S. 28, 35), which Abhinava explains as “a note slightly raised in pitch : īsatkalastīvrabhāvo’ smiṇ”. Kākali ni was a note higher than the regular niṣāda. Antara-gāndhāra was similarly related to gāndhāra.

Besides the seven svaras these two were the only other notes admitted in the gāndharva system. However, they were not given the status of independent notes but remained auxiliary to the notes of which they were considered as modified forms.

They were called vikṛta notes and were both two śrutis elevated from the normal positions of ni and ga respectively. The two different epithets, kākali and antara, attached to these two notes were a mere matter of usage and custom; in reality (paramārthataḥ), as Abhinava on the basis of Bharata points out, both shared the trait of being sharpened notes and any of them could be termed either kākali or antara : “tatra samjñāvagrahaṇe bhedamāha vyavahārārthamime bhinne samjñe paramārthastu dvayorapi tīvrataratvāt kākalītvam yadvakṣyati ‘kalatvācca kākali samjñā’ iti dvayorapi cāntarasvaratvam yaduktam—‘sādhāraṇam nāmāntarasvaratā’ iti” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 35). Both these altered notes were also known by the generic term sādhāraṇa-svara (see the topic sādhāraṇa).

¹ T. ed. reads : द्विश्रु (त्युत्) कर्षनाद्

² The B.B. twice quotes Datt. 16, ascribing it to Dattila : (i) B.B. 3, 151-152; here the verse is quoted along with Datt. 46, as an authoritative pronouncement parallel to N.S. which pertains to connected matter concerning sādhāraṇa (see topic sādhāraṇa); (ii) B.B. (1)ch. VII quotes the verse again. Sudhā on S.R 1, 3, 51-59 quotes the entire four lines given above, and in the same order, with the words तथा चोक्तं दत्तिलेन. Line 17A in Sudhā reads स्वरत्वं नोच्यते and 17B reads 'आदीरुदाहृती instead of the above.

Discussing the nature of kākali niṣāda, Bharata says: "vikṛtatvācca nāyam amṛṣāḥ āptopadeśācca saptabhyā nānyo niṣādavāneva" (N.S. 28, 35): "it cannot become an amṛṣā for it is an altered note and has not a separate status apart from the seven notes; it has been described by the authorities as nothing but niṣāda." The same was true of antara ga as Dattila states (Datt. 17). Abhinava, elucidating Bharata's point, remarks: "on hearing kākali niṣāda, the idea of the note being niṣāda is first generated in the mind, only later is it distinguished as kākali, hence the note has been termed niṣāda and has not been given an independent status : pūrvam hi niṣādadhiprarūḍhāyām tadbuddhirjäteti prāthamyāttenaiva vyapadeśāḥ" (A.B. on N.S. 28-35).

The amṛṣā note in gāndharva melodies, that is, jātis, was the predominant note. Kākali ni and antara ga could not become amṛṣā notes. These two auxiliary notes had, in fact, very few and limited occasions of employ. Bharata gives the following general maxim governing their use :

antaravarasamyoγo nityamārohisamśrayaḥ
kāryo hyalpo vieṣeṣeṇa nāvarohī kadācana
kriyamāno'varohī syādalpo vā yadi vā bahuḥ
jātirāgām śrutiṁ caiva nihanyādantaravarah

(N.S. 21, 35-36)

"The antara-svara should always be associated (with a jāti) when making an ascending movement; its use should be exceedingly spare and never in making descending movements. If the antara-svara be used in descending movements, whether sparingly or with profusion, it destroys the śruti and the jāti-rāga."

Abhinava points out that the word antara-svara in these verses denoted not only the auxiliary ga but also the kākali ni and the maxim applies equally to both the auxiliary notes : "antaravarasabdena cātra kākalyapi samgr̥hita iti kṛtopyayameva kramah" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 36).

Regarding the nature and mode of use of the antara-svara in the ārohī, Abhinava gives an illustration: if from the note madhyama the antara-svara (*i.e.*, antara ga) was touched, then one was not permitted to descend straight away to the ṛṣabha but had to ascend back to madhyama or another higher note : "antaravareṇa samyoγo yasya madhyamasya tādṛgyadā prayuktastadā ārohaṇameva kāryam madhyamādanatarasaram prayujya madhyama anyatra vā ārohaṇameva kāryam" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 35). This shows a kind of usage somewhat similar to what we would now call (in Hindustani music) either a vakra prayoga—such as that of the tīvra madhyama in the rāga rāmakalī—or an ālāṅkārikā prayoga—such as that of the tīvra ni along with sa in some rāgas (e.g. the rāgeśvarī as sung in some gharānās) where the tīvra ni is in fact to be omitted.

Bharata says that the use of the antara note in the descent will destroy the jāti-rāga and the śruti. The notion of the destruction of śruti is rather puzzling. Perhaps what Bharata meant was that the employ of an antara-svara was liable to have an adverse effect on the fixed scheme of śruti-intervals through which the svaras in a grāma were revealed. By laying stress on an antara-svara this fixed and decreed

śruti-scheme could be disturbed. Because the antara-svara was placed on a śruti which did not constitute a proper and permissible svara-interval or, at best, constituted only a weak svara, its use would have tended to transform the tonal scheme of the grāma.¹ Yet, this explanation does not give a reason why only in the avarohī was an antarasvara totally forbidden but not in the ārohī. This, apparently, was one of the decrees peculiar to gāndharva.

Not only was the use of antara-svaras totally forbidden in the descending movements in gāndharva, even in the ascending movements only some jātis permitted the auxiliary notes and in a very limited way. Bharata thus states :

svarasādhāraṇagatāstisro jñeyāstu jātayah
madhyamī pañcamī caiva ṣadjamadhyā tathaiva ca
āsāmaṇśāstu vijñeyāḥ ṣadjamadhyamapañcamāḥ
yathāsvam durbalataravyatyāṣṭapañcame tathā.

(N.S. 28, 37-38; again repeated as N.S. 28, 44-45)

"There are three jātis which are connected with the use of the sādhāraṇa svaras (i.e., antara ga and kākali ni), namely, madhyamī-pañcamī and ṣadjamadhyā.

"The amśas in these jātis (which permit the use of sādhāraṇasvaras) are known to be respectively (yathāsvam) ṣadja, madhyama and pañcama; in case of pañcama the application is to be made as an alternative to or in exchange of (vyatyāṣṭi) the extremely weak note."

Bharata's language is cryptic and we must rely on Abhinava and others for an explanation.

The amśa in a jāti was its predominant note and Dattila equates it with the vādī (i.e. 'the dominant': "yo' tyantabahulo yatra vādī vāmśasca tatra sah.", Datt. 18). Many jātis had not one but multiple amśas. In the jāti ṣadjamadhyamā, for example, all the seven notes were potential amśas. The multiple amśas of a jāti were known as paryāmśas (see topic 'jāti') or alternate amśas. Only one of the alternate, amśas was, evidently, given the role of the acting amśa at a time. All the three jātis named above by Bharata had multiple amśas : madhyamī (more often called madhyamā) had five amśas, sa, ri, ma, pa and dha; pañcamī had two amśas, ri and pa and ṣadjamadhyā (also called sadjamadhyamā) had all the seven notes as possible amśas.

Abhinava, explaining Bharata's dictum, says that only when these three jātis had either sa, ma or pa as the ruling or acting amśa could the sādhāraṇa svaras be employed. Ṣadjamadhyamā, he says, was a seven-amśa jāti ; in it the auxiliary notes

¹. Abhinava remarks :

तेन काकल्यन्तरप्रयोगेऽपि पदजादीनां न श्रुत्यपहारः कार्यः । अत एवाल्पत्वम् ।

— A.B. on N.S. 28, 23.

We have seen that the interval between ni and sa was a four-śruti interval, most probably that of a major tone : but if the kākali ni were to become too prominent the ṣadja interval would be reduced to a half-tone ; it would suffer a 'śrutyapahāra' by losing two śrutis. This would destroy the entire grāma-scheme. The same was true of the antara ga. Thus these two auxiliary intervals were to be used sparingly and in such a way that 'śrutyapahāra' and its resulting adverse effect on the grāma scheme did not take place.

could not be used when ga and ni, the two two-śruti notes, were the amṣas. Only with sa, ma or pa as the amṣa could the sādhāraṇa svaras be used. The same rule applied in madhyamā which had five possible amṣas including sa, ma and pa: "yathāsvamiti' śadjamadhyamā ṣaptāmī, tatra niṣādagāndhāryostāvadamīsayoḥ nāsti sādhāraṇam; samapeṣu sātiśayastatprayogah, madhyamāyāḥ apyeṣa vidhiḥ, sā hi dviśrutivarjam pañcāmīṣāmīśāḥ" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 45).

In the jāti pañcamī, with two possible amṣas, pa ri, the kākali and antara-svaras could be used only in case pa was the ruling amṣa. There was a further condition: this jāti was rendered as śādava by dropping the note ga (ga lope śādavam; A.B. on N.S. 28, 125), and rendered as auḍuva by dropping both ga and ni (ganilope auḍuvam; A.B. *ibid.*). Abhinava suggests that when this jāti was rendered śādava by omitting ga and with pañcama as the amṣa, then in the place of ga which was thus rendered weak,¹ an exceedingly weak antara ga was to be employed. Similarly, in the auḍuva form of this jāti, kākali ni in place of the regular two-śruti niṣāda, too, was used as a very feeble note.²

Sārṅgadeva and others have also discussed this rule regarding the permitted employ of sādhāraṇa svaras. Sārṅgadeva expounds the rule mentioned by Bharata in this connection (S.R. 1,7, 21-22; see also Kalā). Kambala and Aśvatara, had also expounded this rule, phrasing it in more general terms (etadalpanigāsvāhuḥ kambalāśvatarādayaḥ; S.R. 1, 7, 22); instead of naming the jātis where the rule applied, they had said that the rule obtained in all jātis where the notes ni and ga were to be rendered weak—or in other words were omitted svaras. As an implication of this general rule, says Kāllinātha, not only the three jātis specifically mentioned by Bharata, but also a fourth, the śādjī, becomes included in the fold.³

Śādjī had five possible amṣas: sa, ga, ma, pa, dha. Kāllinātha's interpretation of Aśvatara and Kambala implied that in this jāti when ni was to be omitted and when either sa ma or pa was the ruling amṣa, the kākali ni could be used in the approved manner of kākali-prayoga. However, we do not know if this interpretation of the dictum propounded by Kambala and Aśvatara is correct; the dictum states that sādhāraṇa is to be used in jātis which are 'alpanigāḥ'; the implication could be that only in jātis where both ni and ga can become alpa or weak can sādhāraṇa svaras be used. This would give us only the three jātis mentioned by Bharata, for in śādjī only ni could become weak.

¹ A dropped note was often not totally omitted but rendered weak.

² पञ्चमात्सु द्रुष्टपञ्चमावंशी आद्येविर्तं येन पञ्चम एवास्यां काकलतरयोग(:) प्रसंगादस्यांमन्यदाह दुर्बलतरस्य-व्यत्यासे' दुर्बलगावं कर्तव्यम् । तेन पाडवकारिणो गान्धारस्य स्थाने दुर्बलेनान्तरस्वरेण यत्र भाव्यं तत्त्वासौ दुर्बलतरः कर्तव्यः । औडवितकार्तिनिधादस्थाने दुर्बलतरकाकलीसंगो दुर्बलः काकलो कर्तव्यः । —A.B. on N.S. 28, 45.

³ पञ्चमी मध्यमा इति भरतमतानुसारिणा वचनेन 'एतदल्पनिगासु' इति कम्बलाश्वतरादिमतानुसारिणा वचनेन चोपात्तासु पञ्चमी मध्यमाष्ठाज्ञमध्यमाष्ठाज्ञीषु चतस्रू...
—Kalā on S.R. 1, 7, 21-23.

Kumbha, probably on the basis of Kāllinātha, explicitly states that Kambala, Aśvatara and theorists of this group had included śādjī as a jāti where sādhāraṇa svara could be used; he does not speak of the general dictum which Sārṅgadeva has noted but only the conclusion drawn from it by Kāllinātha:

कामचारान्महीभर्त्री साधारणमुदीरितम् । कम्बलाश्वतराद्येस्तु वाह्यां जातावपि स्मृतम् ॥

—S. Raj, 2, 1, 4, 54.

The Four Kinds Of Notes Within A Melodic Structure

- 18 A. yo^tyantabahulo yatra vādi yāmśaśca totra saḥ
 B. mīthāḥ sañvādīnau jñeyau trayodaśānavaṇtaraū
- 19 A. ato' nuvādīnah śeṣā dyantaraū tu vivādīnau
 B. svarāñścaturvidhānena jāṇīyāt svarayogavit.¹

Wherever a [svara] occurs copiously, it is [called] vādi or amśa. Pairs of notes with an interval of nine or thirteen [śrutis] are consonant (sañvādī) to each other.

The rest [of the notes] are [called] anuvādī. Pairs of notes having an interval of two [śrutis from each other] are discordant (vivādī). One who has grasped the application of svaras knows them to be of [these] four kinds only.

NOTE :

Notes were said to be of four kinds: amśa or vādī, sañvādī, anuvādī and vivādī. Some scholars have taken amśa to mean the tonic. Alain Danielou's translation of verses 16 and 17 from *Dattilam* reads: "The note called kākali is obtained by raising ni (modern Si b); the note called antara is obtained from ga (modern ga k mi b) in the same way. They are not properly considered notes (svaras) because they cannot be taken as tonic (amśa). So niśāda (ni k, si b) and gāndhāra (ga k, mi b) are given prominence over them (Dattila 16-17)" (*Northern Indian Music*, Vol. I, p.44). This seems to us misconceived. We find Dattila describing amśa as a synonym of vādī, the predominant note which need not necessarily have been the tonic. Bharata and later authors as well, have interpreted amśa as synonymous with vādī. Bharata explicitly asserts: "the (note) which is taken as the amśa is the vādī" (tatra yo yadāmśah sa tādā vādī ; N.S. 28, 22). Bharata's statement implies that of all the possible amśas in a jati (some of them having as many as seven) the note chosen as the ruling amśa in a particular rendering was the vādī or the predominant note. Abhinava, commenting on this, states that Dattila and others had unambiguously called amśa as identical with vādī, (amśa eva hi vādītī dattilādyah ; A.B. on N.S. 28-23). Simhābhūpāla is still more explicit in affirming: "the note which is most recurrently sung in

¹ Line 18B in the Datt. T. ed. has a lacuna and reads मि(च)स्सह + जनी जयो, obviously a reading that makes no sense. The line, however, is quoted in its correct form by Sudhā on S.R. 1, 3, 46-56 B.B. 5, 129-130 quotes Datt. 18-19A as supporting evidence of matter quoted from N.S. as sūtra (सूत्रे जेवाह). The quoted lines are introduced with the words : अयमेवार्थो दत्तिलाचार्येणाप्युक्तः। The lines are quoted again in B.B. (I) ch. VII in a similar manner supporting the testimony of N.S. with the words : 'अयमेवार्थो दत्तिलाचार्येणाप्युक्तः।' In the same chapter Datt. 18A is again quoted.

jātis, rāgas, etc. is called vādī, another synonym for which is amṣa" (prayoge jatirā-gādau bahulo bāhulyena ya uccāryate so'mṣavarāparaparyāyo vadi ; Sudhā, S.R. 1, 3, 47). For further discussion on amṣa in jātis, see note on verses 96-97.

Samvādīs depended on samvāda. The notion of samvāda between svaras was, evidently, based on the harmonic law of a natural acoustic affinity which exists between certain intervals in an octave. The ancients speak of two samvādas, one between notes separated by nine śrutis and another between notes separated by thirteen śrutis. These are what we now call the ṣadja-madhyamabhāva and the ṣadja-pañcamabhāva : the harmony of the natural fourth and the natural fifth. Another basic harmony which plays a very eminent role in the harmony-dominated Western music is the harmony of the natural third : the ṣadja-gāndhārabhāva. This the ancients do not speak of, though musicians must have been aware of it. The interval between ma and dha, in either grāma, i.e., the seven-śruti-interval, probably was empirically arrived at on the basis of the ṣadja-gāndhārabhāva though it did not enter into theory.¹

The structures of the two grāmas were defined not only by the different śruti-intervals existing between some svaras but also by their slightly differing samvādas. This is, evidently, the reason why Dattila notes the samvādī relations as an aspect of the topic grāma.

Dattila has given only a general dictum in terms of śruti-intervals in describing pairs of notes that have the relation of samvāda with each other. Bharata names the very pairs. In ṣadja-grāma the samvādī-pairs were : ṣadja-pañcama, ṛṣabhadhaivata, gāndhāra-niṣāda and ṣadja-madhyama. Madhyama-grāma, he says, has the same pairs of samvādīs except that ṣadja-pañcama samvāda is missing here and is replaced by pañcama-ṛṣabha samvāda (N.S. 28, 22-23).

Looking back at the maṇḍala-prastāra of the ṣadja-grāma we see that pa is located on the thirteenth śruti counting from sa, so is ni from ga and dha from ri. This is what Bharata and Dattila have called the thirteen-śruti interval (trayodaśakamantaram). Madhyama is situated on the ninth śruti from ṣadja and thus has the samvāda of the nine-śruti interval (navakamantaram).² In this grāma pa is located on the tenth śruti from ri, hence there is no samvāda. In the madhyama-grāma, likewise, pa in relation to sa is on the twelfth śruti, hence the ṣadja-pañcama samvāda does not obtain ; but ri

¹ Acārya Bṛhaspati calls this harmonic interval the ṣadjāntarabhāva since it was the interval between ṣadja and the antara-gāndhāra—a seven śruti interval. He has used this interval as a basic harmonic interval in his suggested process for arriving at the tone values of the ancient svaras : Bharata kā Saṅgīta Siddhānta, pp. 12-13.

² Trayodaśakamantaram and navakamantaram (=navatrayodaśāntaram, Datt. 18) were the conventional expressions used to denote these intervals. The actual 'antara' as some had indeed argued was of 12 and 8 śrutis respectively. Abhinava's teacher had attempted to resolve the disparity by remarking that the word 'antara' in this context denoted not 'interval' but 'svarūpa' or 'form' : thus the expression means 'a svara which forms the thirteenth śruti' and 'a svara which forms the ninth śruti' :

उपाध्यायास्त्वाहुः—अत्तरसिति स्वरूपं नान्तरालं तेन नवश्रुतिकं यस्य स्वरूपं स्वरस्य, यस्य च द्वयोदशश्रुतिकल्पं स्वरूपं ती स्वरो परस्परसंवादिनो ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 23.

in this grāma has the required nine-śruti interval with pa and hence the pair were samvādīs. This was the only samvāda which differed between the two grāmas.

The Vṛttikāra on the Br̥haddeśī adds a qualifying factor to the notion of samvāda. He says : “samvādinastu punah samaśrutikatve sati trayodaśanavāntararatve-nāvaboddhvayāḥ” (Br. Vṛtti on 63).¹ The qualifying phrase ‘sama śrutikatve sati’ means that any two notes situated at the proper interval could be samvādīs, provided the two contained an equal number of śrutis : thus the two-śruti ga could be a samvādī of the two-śruti ni and the three-śruti ri could be a samvādī of the three-śruti dha (and the three-śruti pa of madhyama-grāma). Similarly the four-śruti sa qualified as a samvādī of the four-śruti ma and also of the four-śruti pa (of ṣadja-grāma). But, ma could not be a samvādī of ni, although the ‘navaka-śruti antara’ rule applied, because ma was a four-śruti note whereas ni was a two-śruti note. The ma-ni samvāda has, indeed, not been noted by Bharata either, though he does not cite a rule to explain this omission.

The four-fold division of notes as vādī, samvādī, anuvādī and vivādī, was an ancient classification and is found in Bharata as well as in Mataṅga ; it continued in later saṅgīta literature and forms a part of our own present-day musical thinking.

Vādī has been defined as the predominant note. In fact, samvādīs, anuvādīs and vivādīs were all dependent on the vādī. The notion of a vādī can only be understood in terms of ancient melodic structures. Unlike the samvādī-pairs, which were natural pairs depending upon an inexorable acoustic law, no note was a ‘natural’ vādī in itself. The Vṛtti on Br̥haddeśī, we find, lists all the seven notes of an octave as vādis : “vādimāṇḍalam yathā—sarigamapadhani” (Br. Vṛtti on 63). The notion of vāditva—the state of being a vādī—had no meaning apart from musical practice in a given melodic context: that note which was copiously used in a particular jāti, rāga, bhāṣā etc. was its vādī. This, depending upon the melody in question, could be any of the seven notes. This is a usage still current. “The rāga-ness of a rāgā”, says the Vṛttikāra, “is created by the vādī” (yad vādisvarena rāgasya rāgatvam janitam; Br. Vṛtti *ibid.*). Dattila and Bharata have clearly related the notion of a vādī note to actual jāti-structures in saying that the vādī is the amṣa, the amṣa being defined as the predominant note in a jāti.

Samvāda depended upon harmonic affinity, but a specific samvādī note was defined only in relation to the vādī ; samvādī was the note which had the samvāda relation with the vādī; it was the second important note in a melody. Like the vādī-note, a samvādī-note also could never be dropped from a jāti. Vādī and samvādī, Abhinava consequently says, are not to be omitted: “samvādino vādinaścānupalapanam” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 22).

Vivādīs were svaras two śruti apart, namely, ṛṣabha and gāndhāra; dhaivata and niṣāda: “vivādinastu te yesām dvīśrutikamantaram, tadyathā-ṛṣabhagāndhārau, dhaivataniṣādau” (N.S. 28, 24). The notion of vivāda, as the word itself reveals, indicates ‘dissonance’. Vivādī was a note which, if used indiscriminately, was liable

¹ The Vṛtti on Br. has in this context sketched a samvādī maṇḍala and also an anuvādī and vivādī maṇḍala, somewhat resembling the maṇḍala-prastāra. The sketch in the text is erroneous and we do not know the nature of the genuine article.

to distort a melodic structure.¹ Abhinava, using an often repeated old analogy, (cf. Br. Vṛtti on 63) says: "vādī is the king, saṃvādī is the minister who follows him, vivādī is like the enemy and should be sparingly employed (arivadvivaditvalpah); anuvādī denotes the retinue of followers."²

In current theory, too, the notion of vivādī is of a note which distorts a rāga, but in present practice it is not defined as a note two śrutis apart from any other note. In fact, all notes or śrutis not included in the structure of a rāga are conceived of as its vivādīs. Moreover, in the more flexible form of current classical music like ṭhumrī, vivādīs are deliberately introduced, often quite profusely, in order to create dazzling effects.

In ancient theory, vivādīs have been described in pairs; there being two such pairs: ri-ga and dha-ni. These notes were two śrutis apart from each other. No single note as such has been described as a vivādī to the entire general structure of a jāti or a rāga.

From available accounts, it is difficult to reconstruct the position and function of a vivādī in an ancient musical structure. Two pairs, ri-ga and dha-ni have alone been noted. Did this imply that the relation of vivāda existed only between the two notes of these two pairs, that is, with ri as vādī, ga became the vivādī and vice-versa, and the same applied in the case of dha-ni? Abhinava's remarks here though not quite clear seem to belie this idea. Pointing at the use of the plural in "vivādinastu" in the *Natyasāstra*, he suggests that the two-śruti notes ga and ni are vivādīs of all other notes (dvijśrutih gāndhāro niṣādaśca svarāntarāṇām vivādinau sarvesāmeva, tathā bahuvacanam). The fact that Bharata has mentioned only ri and dha as the respective vivādīs of ga and ni should not, he suggests, be made much of; these are named merely because of their proximity to ga and ni (ṛṣabhaṅgāndhārau dhaivataniṣādāviti caturvidhayorupādānām naikatyāt). With ṣadja as the amśa (i.e., the vādī), he says in exemplifying his point, ma and pa are obtained as its two saṃvādīs (evidently, he has the ṣadja-grāma in mind); ri and dha as the two anuvādīs; ga and ni, by implication, are the vivādīs (though Abhinava does not overtly say so). With gāndhāra as vādī, he remarks, ni becomes the saṃvādī and there is no vivādī.³

¹ वादादिभिः स्वरैर्यद् रागस्य वादित्वं संवादित्वमनुवादित्वं प्राप्तं, तद्विनाशकत्वं नाम विवादित्वं ।

—Br. Vṛtti on 63.

यत्र वारी स्वामी, अमात्य इवेतरोऽनुयायी संवादी, अरिवद्विवादीत्वल्पः, अनुसारि परिजन इव योग (?अनु) वादी चेति विभागः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 24.

² अथ विवादिनो लक्ष्यति 'विवादिनस्तु त' इति । अन्तहितस्वरूपतो गनिद्विश्रुति श्रुतिरूपं तेन द्विश्रुतिः(गान्धा)रो निषादश्च स्वरान्तराणां विवादिनो सवयामेव तथा बहुवचनम् । स्वरान्तराण्यपेक्ष विवादित्वमिधानं धर्मभेदात् । 'ऋषभ-गान्धारी धैवतनिषादाविति' चतुर्विधयोरुपादानं नैकट्यात् । अये तूदाहरणत्वलाभायाथापेक्षयैव श्रूत्योविवादित्वमाहुः । तच्चासत् । सर्वस्वरस्य विवादिनः सतो भाव्यं सपक्षविपक्षमध्यस्थैः । तथापि पद्मजेऽशे तस्य मपो संवादिनो, ऋधावनुवादीनो, ऋषभे धर्मानागाः पमसाः (?) गान्धारे निः वादी (?संवादी)त्येतु, नास्ति विवादी निषादस्य संवादित्वात्, पञ्चमस्यानुवादितः । एवमन्यदनुसर्तंव्यम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 24.

All notes in a melody which did not obtain as either vādī, saṃvādī or vivādī were anuvādīs: "vādisaṃvādīvivādīṣu sthāpītēṣu śeṣāstvanuvādīnāḥ" (N.S. 28, 24). Bharata, in a prose passage, enumerates the anuvādīs pertaining to each individual note in an octave: the anuvādīs of ṣadja are listed as ḫabha, gāndhāra, dhaivata and niṣāda; of ḫabha as madhyama, pañcama and niṣāda; of pañcama as ṣadja madhyama and dhaivata (?).¹ This is the list for the ṣadja-grāma. The anuvādīs of madhyama, in the madhyama-grāma, were dhaivata, niṣāda, ḫabha, ṣadja, and gāndhāra; of pañcama they were dhaivata, niṣāda, ḫabha and gāndhāra; of dhaivata, ṣadja, ḫabha and gāndhāra and of niṣāda, ṣadja and ḫabha.²

Abhinava did not accept this passage as a part of the *Natyāśāstra* and has not commented upon it.³ The reason is evident: the list above shows that the two-śruti notes ni and ga were not universal vivādīs but vivādīs only of dha and ri respectively. We do not know if this passage is really an interpolation or what status it should be accorded.

The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* has given its own interpretation of vādī and the other three categories of svaras in a melody. Echoing Bharata (N.S. 28, 24), the Vṛttikāra observes: "the notes like vādī etc. establish the sonance (vāditva), the consonance (saṃvāditva) and prosonance (anuvāditva) (of a rāga); the nature of vivādī is to disturb it."⁴

Regarding the function and relative use of these notes within a melodic structure, the Vṛttikāra remarks that such is the sympathetic relation of saṃvādī to the vādī that in a melody, if the saṃvādī is used in place of the vādī, the rāga is not distorted. He gives examples, naming actual melodies. The relative function of the anuvādī in his opinion was similar; if instead of a stipulated note its anuvādī was used, the melody remained intact. Again he gives illustrations: for example, he says that if ri is used instead of a stipulated sa or vice-versa, the form of a jāti-rāga is not distorted. But the use of a vivādī distorts. The Vṛttikāra illustrating this point says that ri and dha, if employed instead of ga and ni respectively and vice-versa, have an adverse effect on a jāti-rāga (Vṛtti on Br. 63). Evidently, the Vṛttikāra, unlike Abhinava, believed that dissonance occurred only between the two notes ri-ga and dha-ni.

¹ The meaning here is not very clear. See the following footnote for the original passage.

² अनुवादिसंज्ञकाः यथा—पद्जस्यर्थंभगान्धारधीवत्तिषादाः, कृष्मस्य मध्यमपञ्चमनिषादाः, गान्धारस्यापि मध्यमपञ्चम-धीवत्तिषादपेक्षयेषु वैवत्पञ्चमनिषादाः, पञ्चमस्य धीवत्तस्य(?)पद्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः; पद्जग्रामे। मध्यमग्रामेऽपि मध्यमस्य धीवत्तिषादपेक्षयेषु वैवत्पञ्चमगान्धाराः, पञ्चमस्य धीवत्तिषादपेक्षयेषु वैवत्पञ्चमगान्धाराः, धीवत्तस्य पद्जस्यर्थंभगान्धाराः, निषादस्य पद्जर्वंभी पद्जस्यर्थंभगान्धारो ॥

—N.S. 28, 24.

The passage contains some faulty readings. It is not clear whether the aim is to list the anuvādīs of ṣadja-grāma and madhyama-grāma separately, note by note; if so, some notes have been left out. If only madhyama and pañcama were meant to be doubly listed on the basis of the two grāmas, then the repetition of ṣadja with a different set of anuvādīs, is inexplicable.

The passage has been marked off by a bracket in the G.O.S. edition.

⁴ वदनाद् वादी स्वामिवत् । संवदनात् संवादी अमात्यवत् । अनुवदनादनुवादी परिजनवत् । विवदनाद् विवादी शत्रुवत् ।

The Indispensable Svaras

20 A. *pañcamāñ madhyamagrāme ṣadjagrāme tu dhaivatam*
 B. *anāśināñ vijāñiyāt sarvatraiva tu madhyamam¹*

Pañcama in the madhyama-grāma, dhaivata in the ṣadja-grāma and madhyama in both the grāmas (sarvatraiva) should be known as indispensable [notes].

NOTE :

Kallinātha has recorded two explanations held by different theorists regarding the indispensability of madhyama. The first view was simply a reiteration of tradition and its spokesmen stated that madhyama was indispensable because Bharata and others had described it to be so while listing notes to be dropped in tānas and in rendering jātis sāḍava and auḍuvita. The other view had a more rational appearance. It held that madhyama is the central note dividing the octave into two parts: sa ri ga and pa dha ni—the lower three being consonants to the upper three, sa to pa, ri to dha and ga to ni (yathāsaṅkhyā). Between the two divisions, madhyama stands solitary as the central point and thus has no consonants left for it; it has not to be dropped because of its solitary and focal position.²

Abhinava, who may have influenced Kallinātha on this point, had put the same idea more neatly. "In a single register", he argued, "there are seven notes in succession, each containing a different number of śruti-s. The first note, sa, contains the maximum number of śruti-s assigned to a note, i.e., four. In the next two notes the number of śruti-s is decreased successively by one. After reaching the minimum number of śruti-s for a note, madhyama is then formed, again with the maximum of śruti-s, i.e. four. Then in the same sthāna, i.e., the same vocal-register, such as the chest, throat and head, each of which were the anatomic seats of one single octave) or, in other words, the same octave, follows pañcama with four śruti-s, dhaivata with

¹ A.B. on N.S. 28, 33 quotes Datt. 20 and has a reading identical with the above text. The verse is ascribed to Dattila and quoted with the words : तदुक दत्तिलाचायेण्। Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 6—8 quotes the verse with the words: मध्यमस्याविलोपित्वमृक्तं दत्तिलेन। Datt. 20B in Sudhā has 'अलोपिन विजानीयात' instead of above. B.B. 4, 58 quotes the verse with 'दत्तिलोऽप्याह'. Line 20B reads 'सर्वदैव तु' instead of above. Dattila is quoted as testimony parallel to N.S. 28, 65.

² 'अविलोपित्वादिति' । मध्यमस्याविलोपित्वं चाद्यस्तनानां सरिगाणामुपरितनानां पघनीनां च यथासंब्धयं द्वयोद्वयोरेकत्र तन्यां संवदनं संवाद इति मतानुसारिणकाकिं च मध्यमस्यान्येन संवादाभावात् परिशेषादवधिभूतस्य तस्य लोपो नेव्यत इति केषांचिन्मतम् । अन्येषां तु शुद्धतानलक्षणावसरे पद्जर्जर्महीनाशब्दत्वारस्ताना इत्यादिना भरतादिभिर्मध्यमव्यतिरिक्तानामेव पाडवोडवकारित्वेन लोपविधानात्मध्यमस्याविनाशित्वमिति ।

—Kalā on S.R. 1, 4, 6-8.

three and niṣāda with two. With the upper sa we come to another sthāna or octave. This very arrangement occurs in all the three sthānas, namely, that to which the mandra-saptaka belongs (*i.e.*, the chest), the throat and the head. The position of amśa and its samvādī is accorded only to notes which are similar (*i.e.*, which have a similar number of śrutis). Thus, in the last analysis (paramārthataḥ), it can be said that there are only three notes: sa (four śrutis) ri, (three śrutis), ga (two-śrutis): pa (four śrutis), dha (three śrutis) and ni (two śrutis) are their complementaries. With madhyama occupying the central position and remaining constant, the lower three are samvādīs of the upper three.”¹

The explanation offered by Kumbha, the author of *Saṅgitarāja*, is more or less on the same lines. He has used an interesting term “ṭṛka” (group of three) in this context, and has pointed out that ma is the central note between the lower and the higher tetrachords (ṭṛkas), *i.e.*, the ṭṛka ‘sa ri ga’ and ‘pa dha ni’. Hence its indispensability (S. Raj 2, 1, 1, 235).

Kumbha’s statement makes the parallel we have drawn earlier (see ch. II) between Abhinava’s concept on this point and the Greek system of arranging tones, very explicit. Yet, we must remember that in the Greek system, the tones of the two tetrachords in an octave changed values and the interval between sa ri ga and pa dha ni was not rigidly fixed to one single possibility as in gāndharva. We must also remember that the explanation of the centrality of madhyama as given above could apply only to the ṣadja-grāma.

It should be noted that though madhyama could never be altogether dropped from a jāti, yet it could be rendered as quite a weak note. In ṣadjakaiśikī jāti, for example, Bharata (according to the reading accepted by Abhinava) describes madhyama as a weak note (see under jāti). Again, in pañcamī jāti, madhyama has been recounted as one of the weak notes. Abhinava adds that its position here was excessively weak (alpatara).

Apart from madhyama, which could not be dropped from either of the grāmas in gāndharva, Dattila has also mentioned two other notes, pañcama and dhaiavata, as indispensable in madhyama and ṣadja grāmas respectively. Viśakhila, among others, also subscribed to this opinion (A.B. on N.S. 28, 64-65). But Abhinava has observed that this opinion was not upheld by many on the ground that madhyama alone and no other note has been described as indispensable by Bharata (A.B. on N.S. 28, 64-65). However, we find in Bharata’s exposition, too, that in the jātis and tānas of ṣadja-grāma, dhaiavata was a note which was never actually dropped, and similarly in the jātis and tānas of madhyama-grama, pañcama was never omitted.

चतुःश्रुतिस्त्रिःश्रुतिद्विश्रुतिरिति । तथा हि—एकस्मिन्नेवोरसि ऊर्ध्वाधरतया सप्तस्वराः, तथा हि चतुःश्रुतिकात्पूर्णदायात् तद्वुत् (?) रूपादेकैकं निष्कासं प्रक्रमेण पुनश्च प्रकृतिभूतपूर्वैरूपस्पर्शेश्चत्वारः सरिगमाः । तथैव स्थाने ऊर्ध्वस्पर्शं पघनिसाः, केवलं पद्जेन द्वितीयं स्थानं स्पृश्यत एव । मन्द्रस्पर्शवतः स्थानं स्वराणाम् । एवं कण्ठस्थाने शिरसि च तेषु स्वरं या तादूप्यसंक्रमणात्वंशादिव्यपदेश एव, तत्स्थानगतानां तु सादृश्यपरत एवं संवादत्वं ब्रह्यते । तेन परमार्थतः तय एव स्वराः-सरिगाः, पघनयः । मध्यमस्तु ध्रुवकस्थानीयो मध्यमत्वादेव ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 21.

TOPIC 4

MŪRCHANĀ

- A. svarau yāvatithau syātām̄ grāmayoh̄ ṣadjamadhyamau
 B. mūrchanā tāvatithyeva tadgrāmāvata eva tau¹

In the two grāmas the serial number of a mūrchanā is [determined by] the numerical order of the notes ṣadja or madhyama [respectively]. Therefore are these two grāmas [called after] these two notes.

NOTE :

With the above verse, the topic grāma is concluded and the fourth topic, namely, mūrchanā is initiated. Dattila in this verse produces a reason on the basis of the mūrchanā process, as to why the two grāmas were so called. Bharata makes no parallel statement. Followers of Bharata—if Abhinava's criticism be any indication—seem to have considered the reason Dattila gives for the nomenclature of the two grāmas, as insignificant (see chapter I).

The *Saṅgitaratnākara* has a verse parallel to Datt. 21 : “yasyām̄ yāvatithau ṣadjamadhyamau grāmayoh̄ kramāt/mūrchanā tāvatithyeva sā niḥśāṅkena kīrtitā” (S.R. 1, 4, 18). Śimhabhūpāla explains this verse and describes the process (see Sudhā on S.R. *ibid.*). We have described the process in chapter I.

This verse has also been an oft-quoted verse. Abhinava, we have seen (ch. I), quotes and criticises the idea postulated (A.B. on N.S. 28, 24). Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 18-26 quotes this verse along with Datt. 25B with the words: ‘दत्तिलोयाहृ’. Sudhā reads the last part of 21B as ‘तदग्रामद्वितये तथा’, a reading not found elsewhere. S. Raj 2, 1, 1, 304-305 also quotes the verse commenting: एवं यदत्तिलो ब्रूते मूर्छनागणनाधिपः । हेतुवेन तयोर्मौख्यमत्र युक्तिं दृश्यते । He seems to have been influenced by Abhinava in making this remark.

This numerical process of arriving at the serial number of a mūrchanā is not found in Bharata. Later authors, however, eagerly adopted it and Dattila seems to have been their guide. The resemblance of Śāṅgadeva's verse with that of Dattila is a clear indication of this point. Other authors also have almost echoed Datt. 21. For example : Śrikanṭha says :

यस्यां यावतिथी पद्जमध्यमो मूर्छनाक्रमे । मूर्छना तावतिथ्येव ग्रामयोः परिकीर्तिता ॥

—R. Kau 1,71.

also : यस्यां यावतिथः पद्जस्तावदित्ये (यित्ये)व मूर्छना ।

—*Bharataśāstriṛāgādisvaraṇirṇaya* of Raghunātha Prasāda, 1, 43 (ms no. B 6643/D10669-Tanjore Library).

यस्यां यावतिथः पद्जस्त्वावतिथ्येव मूर्छना: ।

—*Rāgamālā* of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, 1, 30 (ms. no. 1985 in Oriental Institute, Baroda.)

Names and Variations

- 22 A. *uttaramandrā rajañī tṛtīyā cottarāyatā*
 B. *caturthī śuddhaṣadjā tu pañcamī matsarīkṛtā*
- 23 A. *aśvākrāntā tu ṣaṣṭhī syāt saptamī cābhīrudgatā*
 B. *svarakramagatā vidyāt saptaitāḥ ṣadjamūrchanāḥ*
- 24 A. *sauvīrī madhyamagrāme harīṇāśvā tathaiva ca*
 B. *syāt kapolanatā caiva caturthī śuddhamadhyamā*
- 25 A. *māndī ca pauravī caiva hr̥ṣyakā (ca yathākramam)*
 B. *sarvāstāḥ pañca ṣaṭ pūrnasādhāraṇākṛtāḥ smṛtāḥ.*¹

The seven mūrchanās of the ṣadja-[grāma] in due sequence of notes, should be known as *uttaramandrā* [the first], *rajañī* [the second], *uttarāyatā* [the third], *śuddhaṣadjā* [the fourth], *matsarīkṛtā* [the fifth], *aśvākrāntā* [the sixth] and the seventh being *abhirudgatā*.

Sauvīrī, harīṇāśvā, kapolanatā and śuddhamadhyamā [which is] the fourth; *māndī* (usually called *mārgī*), *pauravī* and *hr̥ṣyakā*, these, in due order, are [the mūrchanās] in the madhyama-grāma. It is well known that all [the mūrchanās] can be rendered [either] with five notes (*pañca*), with six notes (*ṣaṭ*) [or] with all the seven notes (*pūrṇa*), [and also] with the sādhāraṇa (notes, i.e., with *kākali ni* and *antara ga*).

NOTE :

Mūrchanā was a straight sequence of the seven svaras, e.g., sa ri ga ma pa dha ni. Dattila gives an extremely short aphoristic description of the mūrchanā-process ; mūrchanas, he says, are 'svarakramagatāḥ'. To know the nature of this svara-krama, we must take recourse to other texts. The krama-process was two-fold : (1) each mūrchanā was itself a regular sequence of seven notes, and (2) each successive mūrchanā also depended upon a krama ; this was as follows. The first mūrchanā (called *uttaramandrā*) began on the middle sa and ran the gamut of notes in a straight

¹ The *Vāyu* (and the *Brahmāṇḍa*) Purāṇas, in naming the mūrchanās, contain a text remarkably akin to the *Dattilam*. In the Purāṇic account, the madhyama-grāma list precedes the ṣadja-grāma, but we quote them in the order obtaining in *Dattilam* :

उत्तरमन्द्रा रजनी तृतीया चोत्तरायता ।
 शुद्धपद्जा तुरीया च (पञ्चमी मत्सरीकृता अष्टवकान्ता तथा पठ्ठी) सप्तमी चाभिरुदगता ।

(*Vāyupurāṇa*, 86, 18 as quoted in *Texts des Purāṇa Sur la Théorie Musicale* by Danielou and Bhatta). The words within brackets are reconstructed and are missing in the Purāṇic text. See also *Brahmāṇḍa* 3, 61, 33-34 (Venkateshwara ed.). The madhyama-grāma list reads as :

सोवीरी मध्यमग्रामे हरिणाश्वा तथैव च ।

स्पात् कलोपनतेषेता चतुर्थी शुद्धमध्यमा । मार्गी च पौरवी चैव हृष्यका च यथाक्रमम् ।

—*Vāyupurāṇa* 86, 16-17

see also *Brahmāṇḍa* 3, 61, 31-32.

Datt. T. ed. 25A has a lacuna of 5 letters at end of line. Our suggested reconstruction is based on the Purāṇic reading. Datt. T. ed. 25B has three letters missing in the beginning of the line. Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 21-26 quotes this line in full; the first word is सवस्त्रः;

line to ni; the second began a step lower on the mandra ni and extended to the middle dha; the third began on the mandra dha and extended to middle pa and so on. Such was the krama for successive mūrchanās. Bharata says : “āśām ṣadjanīṣādadhāivata-pañcamamadhyamagāndhāraṣabhbā ānupūrvyā ādyāḥ svarāḥ” (N.S. 28, 29).

Like Dattila, Bharata, too has defined mūrchanā as a sequence of the seven notes : “kramayuktāḥ svarāḥ sapta mūrchanetyabhisamjñitāḥ” (N.S. 28, 32). Abhinava, expounding the definition, states that mūrchanā is an octave (actually a svara-saptaka) consisting of a gamut of seven notes sounded in a regular ascending order, without the natural sequence of notes being changed. Each new mūrchanā, he adds, begins on a successively lower note. He stresses the point that it is necessary to adhere to the proper sequence of notes in every mūrchanā for, if the sequence is disturbed, a mūrchanā cannot be obtained.¹

The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī has represented the mūrchanās through a chart, calling it the mūrchanā-maṇḍala (Vṛtti on Br. 95-96). The format of the chart is adequately described but in the extant text the chart itself is extremely distorted.² It is, however, found intact in the Saṅgītarāja (S. Raj. 2, 1, 1; see the entire mūrchanā-prakaraṇa). The ṣadja-grāma chart is as follows :

	sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	uttaramandrā
ni	sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha		rajanī
dha	ni	sa	ri	ga	ma	pa		uttarāyatā
pa	dha	ni	sa	ri	ga	ma		śuddhaṣadjā
ma	pa	dha	ni	sa	ri	ga		matsarikṛtā
ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa	ri		aśvākrāntā
ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa		abhirudgatā

1 “अयेति सम्यगिति” क्रमानतिक्रमेणोद्वर्य यच्छ् यमाणमवरोहणं तदुपलक्षितस्वरसप्तकस्वरूपवहो(?)हा मूर्च्छना। मूर्च्छना हि समुच्छ्राये पठयते। अत एवोपसंहारे स्वराः क्रमयुक्ता इति विशेषयिष्यति। अक्रमत्वे मूर्च्छनात्वं मा भूदिति। तथा इदं पड़जादारोहणं निषादान्तं, धैवतात्पञ्चमान्तं, पञ्चमान्मध्यमान्तं, मध्यमादगान्धारान्तं, गान्धारादृष्मान्तमृषभात् पड़जान्तं।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28.

cf. also क्रमयुक्ताइति क्रमेणारोहणं तर्थैव स्वराणामवरोहणेन च पुनरप्याहरणमिति क्रमः।

—ibid., 28, 33.

2 इदानीं मूर्च्छनामण्डलमूर्च्छयते। तत्र परिपाद्याहितत्वेन प्रवृत्तत्वात् सप्तस्वराणां मूर्च्छनानां प्रतिग्राममेकोनपञ्चाशत् स्वराः कोष्ठाश्च भवन्ति। तद्यथा—

एकोना खण्डु(?) पञ्चाशत् कर्तव्या: स्वरसंयुताः ॥६५॥
तिर्यगूर्धवं च रेखामिरष्टभिष्टचैव कोष्ठकाः।

(Cond. on page 240)

The mürchanās of the madhyama-grāma were formed with the same scheme, except that the initial mürchanā in this case began on the note ma. The madhyama-grāma mürchanā-maṇḍala was represented as follows :

	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa	ri	ga	sauvīrī
	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa	ri	hariṇāśvā
	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa	kapolanatā
	sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	śuddhamadhyamā
	ni	sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	māndī
	dha	ni	sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	pauravī
pa	dha	ni	sa	ri	ga	ma		hrṣyakā

The word mürchanā has been derived by the Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* from 'mūrchā,' which has two meanings : moha or delusion of mind, and samucchrāya which means to build or erect something (mūrchā mohasamucchrāyayoh, Vṛtti on Br. 93). Obviously, it is the latter meaning which applies here. Mataṅga in defining the nature of mürchanā states that 'mūrchanā is the basis on which a rāga is built or erected (mūrchyate)'. He further says that a mürchanā consists of the seven notes in the order of ascent and descent.¹ Kohala as quoted by the Vṛtti on Br. 118 similarly defines mürchanā as the basis for creating jāti, rāga, bhāṣā etc.² On the strength of such statements, it is generally believed that mürchanā was the ancient scale. It is, in truth, of all the concepts in ancient texts the one that bears the strongest resemblance to the notion of a

(Contd. from page 239)

तत् स नि ष प म ग रीत्यादा: सप्त पद्जग्रामे । मगरिसनिधपादाः सप्त मध्यमग्रामे तिर्यगूर्धवंगा अपि स्वरास्तिर्थक कार्याः ।

—Br. Vṛtti on 94 and Br. 95-96 with Vṛtti.

The mürchanā-maṇḍalas of both grāmas follow after a few lines. They are not constructed as the text suggests.

¹ मूर्छनाः कथ्यते । ननु मूर्छनाशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः कीदृशी । लक्षणं च कीदृशं तस्य । उच्यते । मूर्छना व्युत्पत्तिः मूर्छा मोहसमूच्छाययोः ।
मूर्छं (य) ते येन रागे हि मूर्छनेत्यभिसंज्ञिता । आरोहणावरोहणक्रमेण स्वरसप्तकम् ॥

—Vṛtti on Br. 93 and Br. 94-95.

² तथा चाह कोहलः ।

योजनीयो बुध्निर्यं क्रमे लक्ष्यानुसारतः ।
संस्थाप्य मूर्छना जातिरागभाषादिसिद्धये ॥

scale (or thāṭ),¹ seven arising from each grāma with a different initial note. Indeed, in the ancient musical system with its rigidly fixed scheme of determined śruti-intervals between svaras, there could be no other way of obtaining different scales.

Besides the seven-note mūrchanā, Mataṅga also speaks of twelve-note mūrchanās (Br. 118). It would be worth examining the sense in which his statement has been explained by the Vṛttikāra, who takes the twelve-note mūrchanā to be the basis of rāga-enfoldment.

Commenting on Mataṅga's notion of the twelve-note mūrchanā, the Vṛttikāra argues that a seven-note mūrchanā is not sufficient for erecting a melodic structure. So in order that a melody may encompass the range of all the three octaves, a mūrchanā of twelve-notes must be accepted; and, this the Vṛttikāra adds, is in fact observed in practice. In support of his view regarding the twelve-note mūrchanās, the Vṛttikāra quotes Nandikeśvara, an ancient authority, who clearly stated that "in order that a (range) in both the higher and lower octaves may be obtained and in order that the (form) of a jāti, a bhāṣā, etc. be established (jātibhāṣādisiddhyartham), the wise must know the mūrchanā to contain twelve notes".²

The Vṛttikāra implies that the twelve-note mūrchanā was a relatively recent concept. Thus he states that although the ācāryas have propounded a scheme consisting of only seven-note mūrchanās, yet in order to obtain a melodic range over all the three octaves, a mūrchanā is in practice rendered with twelve notes : "yadyapyācāryaiḥ saptasvaraṁ mūrchanāḥ pratipāditāḥ, sthānatritaya prāptyartham dvādaśasvara-reva mūrchanāḥ prayuktāḥ iti." (Br. Vṛtti on 118). The relevance of a twelve-note mūrchanā is not very clear but some idea of its form can be had from the Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśi*. The Vṛttikāra also gives actual examples. He observes that the uttaramandrā which is formed, sa ri ga ma pa dha ni, should have five more notes added to it—two below and three above—the resulting form being: dha ni sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa ri ga. Rajanī, which stands as, ni sa ri ga ma pa dha, should be, ni sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa ri ga ma.³ Uttarāyatā, dha ni sa ri ga ma pa, should be, ri ga ma pa dha ni sa ri ga ma pa dha. Śuddhaṣadjā, pa dha ni sa ri ga, ma should be, ga ma pa

¹ A statement by Abhinava is here suggestive. A remark of his contains the phrase. मूर्छनानिदिष्टमध्यमसप्तकः : this indicates that the extent and position of the middle octave—the pivotal octave in ancient as well as current Indian music—was determined by a mūrchanā (see A.B. on N.S. 21, 66).

² तत्र मूर्छनानिर्देशः स्थानत्रियत्रप्राप्त्यर्थमिति वचनात् मंद्रतारसिद्ध्यर्थमिति वचनाच्च द्वादशस्वरसम्पन्ना मूर्छना इष्टव्या प्रयोगकाले । ननिकेश्वरेणाप्युक्तं—

द्वादशस्वरसम्पन्ना ज्ञातव्या मूर्छना वुद्धैः । जातिभाषादिसिद्ध्यर्थं तारमन्द्रादिसिद्धये ॥

—Br. Vṛtti on 118.

³ There could be a scribal error here. In the 12 note rājanī structure we do not obtain lower notes as in uttaramandrā, which precedes, but only 5 extra high notes. Perhaps the intended form was, pa dha ni sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa ri ga. It is likely, however, that extra notes were not added to mūrchanās in accordance with any standard regular scheme; the other 12-note mūrchanās seem to indicate irregularity.

dha ni sa ri ga ma pa dha ni. Matsarikṛtā, ma pa dha ni sa ri ga, should be, ma pa dha ni sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa and so on.¹

The twelve-note mürchanās were then apparently formed by adding extra notes to the basic seven-note mürchanā form. The seven-note mürchanā thus still formed the central foundational structure. Later theorists had appended more notes to this structure so that a melodic range in the high and in the low octave could be obtained (tāramandrādisiddhaye).²

A mürchanā was fundamentally a septatonic structure, but it could be rendered hexatonic (śāḍavīta) or pentatonic (auḍuvita) by omitting one or two notes from its seven-note form.

Dattila also speaks of mürchanās which employed the auxiliary notes (sādhāraṇakṛtāḥ). The *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Brhaddeśī* also speak of such mürchanās, but their form is not clear from any ancient text. It appears that, in these mürchanās, the regular ga and ni were replaced by their altered forms: Kumbha gives a long list of all the possible mürchanās that can thus be formed (see S. Raj 2, 2, 1, 321-322, where the list is given).

Transposition Of Mürchanās

- 26A. *gāndhāraṃ dhaiyatikuryād dvīśrutyutkarṣaṇād yadi*
B. *tadvāśānmadhyamādīnśca niṣādādīn yathāsthitān*
- 27A. *tato'bhūd yāvatithyēśā ṣadja grāmasya mürchanā*
B. *jāyate tāvatithyeva madhyamagrāma mürchanā*
- 28A. *śrutidvayāpakarṣeṇa gāndhārikṛtya dhaiyatam*
B. *pūrvavanmadhyamādīyāscā bhāvayet ṣadjamūrchanāḥ*³

¹ तथा— धनिसरिगमपधनिसरिग । उत्तरमन्द्रा । निसरिगमपधनिसरिगम । रजनी । सरिगमपधनिसरिगम । उत्तायत् (उत्तरायता) । रिगमपधनिसरिगमपध । शुद्धषड्जा । गमपधनिसरिगमपधनि । मत्सरीकृता । मपधनिसरिगमपधनिस । अश्वाकान्ता । पधनिसरिगमपधनिसरि । अभिरुद्गता । इति पद्जग्रामे । मध्यमग्रामेऽयेवेव (म) पधनिसरिगाद्या मूर्छना निसरिगमपधनियूगाद्या (? सरिगमाद्या) रागाकाले द्वादशस्वरमूर्छना अवगत्तव्याः । ताश्च पद्जग्रामे मूर्छनामु अन्तर्गता ज्ञेयाः । तथा— निसरिगमपधनिसरिगम । सोमेरी (?सोवीरी) । सरिगमपधनिसरिगमप । हरिणाश्वा । रिगमपधनिसरिगमपध । कालेवनता (? कलोपनता) । गमपधनिसरिगमपधनि । तुसमध्या (? शुद्धमध्या) । मपधनिसरिगमपधनिस । मार्गी । पधनिसरिगमपधनिसरि । पौरवी । धनिसरिगमपधनिसरिग । हृष्यका ।

—*Vrtti* on Br. 118.

² One big query the twelve-note mürchanā poses is : was a range of twelve notes sufficient for rendering all ancient melodies? Many structures might have had a limited range, but certainly not all. The very notion of having three octaves as the possible compass of musical development indicates that many melodies must have utilised more than just a twelve-note range. Kumbha has, in fact, criticised the 12-note mürchanā theory on this and other grounds. —see S. Raj. 2,1,1, 352-364.

³ Sudhā on S.R. 1,4,15 quotes Datt. 26-28 (with a reading identical with above) introducing the lines with the words : दत्तिलः पद्जग्राममूर्छनानां मध्यमग्राममूर्छनानां च किञ्चिद्विषाकरेणवयमुवत्तवान् । यदाह... R. Kau. 1. 62 does not quote but refers to the process here described as being set forth by Dattila : पद्जग्राममूर्छनानां परस्परम् । किञ्चिद्विषोषादेकत्वमुवत्तवान् दत्तिलः स्फुटम् ॥

29A. ityetā mūrchanāḥ proktāḥ sāraṇāścaiva vaiṇikaiḥ

B. saṃsthāpya mūrchanāmevam (anyān vakṣyāmyanukramam)¹

If gāndhāra [in ṣadja-grāma] be raised by two śruti[s] [and thus] rendered as dhaivata [of the madhyama-grāma, and] concurrently (tadvāśāt) madhyama and other [notes of the ṣadja-grāma] be adjusted (yathāsthitān kuryāt) [to become] niṣāda and other [notes of the madhyama-grāma], then, any mūrchanā in the madhyama-grāma will have the same serial number (tāvatithyeva madhyama-grāma mūrchanā) as it had in the ṣadja-grāma (abhūdyāvatithyeṣā ṣadjagrāmasya mūrchanā).

Lowering the dhaivata [in madhyama-grāma] by two śruti[s] [and] rendering it as the gāndhāra [of ṣadja-grāma] one should produce the ṣadja [grāma] mūrchanās as before, beginning [however] with madhyama [of the madhyama-grāma].

These, then, are the mūrchanās and sāraṇās declared by adepts on vīṇā (vaiṇikaiḥ). Having established the mūrchanās in this way, I shall now expound the other [topics] in due order.

NOTE :

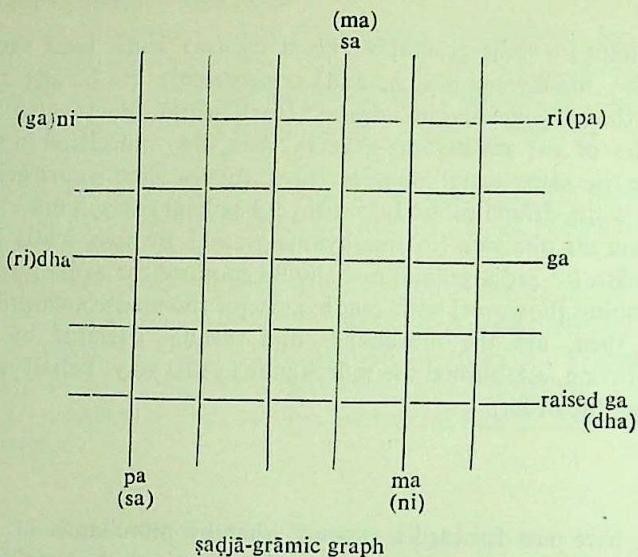
Dattila here puts forward a process whereby mūrchanās of the two grāmas could be obtained on vīṇā by tuning it to ṣadja-grāma and then making slight variations to obtain the madhyama-grāma on the same tuning (sāraṇā).

The conventionally accepted initial note of the ṣadja-grāma was sa, whereas that of the madhyama-grāma was ma. If on a vīṇā tuned to the ṣadja-grāma one wished to obtain the śruti-intervals pertaining to the madhyama-grāma, then taking the initial sa of the ṣadja-grāma as the initial note ma of the madhyama-grāma one gets pa (of three śruti[s]) on ri of ṣadja-grāma, which is also of three śruti[s]. The next note ga of the ṣadja-grāma is of two śruti[s] and, therefore, to render it as the dhaivata of the madhyama-grāma it needs to be raised by two śruti[s] (Datt. 26A). As a result, the note madhyama of the ṣadja-grāma which was on the fourth śruti from the original gāndhāra will now be on the second śruti from this altered position. Consequently the new two-śruti madhyama will now become the two-śruti niṣāda of the madhyama-grāma (Bharata here, like Dattila, says: "tadvāśāt madhyamādayo yathāsaṅkhyena niṣāditvam pratipadyante" N.S. 28, 34). The other notes get automatically adjusted at their proper śruti-intervals (see graph 1 on next page). Now the serial number of the mūrchanās in the two grāmas would also be identical.

The process can also be effected with the madhyama-grāma as the base; this Dattila indicates in verse 28. The only difference will be that in this case the third svara, dhaivata, of the madhyama-grāma, in order to be rendered as ga of the ṣadja-grāma will have to be lowered by two śruti[s] (see graph 2 on next page). Thus Bharata states: "tadvanmadhyamagrāme dhaivatamārdavād dvaividhyam tulyaśrutya-ntaratvācca samjñānyatvam" (N.S. 28, 34).

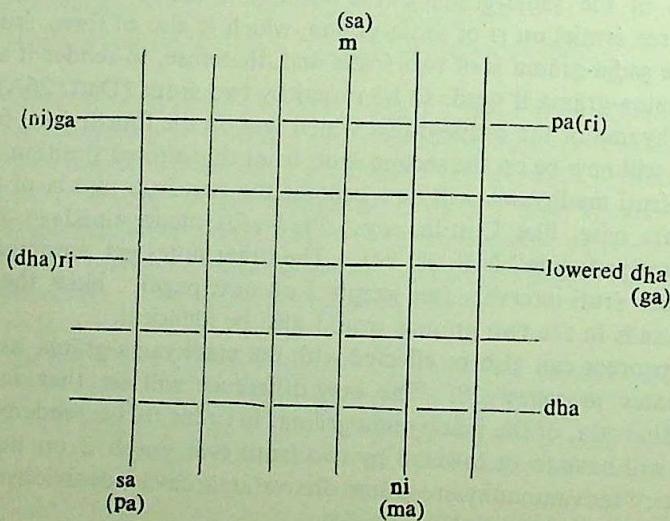
¹ T.ed 29A reads : सरणाश्चैव वैशिकः and 29B reads :न्या वक्ष्यानुगः (?) क्रमः

GRAPH 1



(the notes in brackets denote madhya-grāma svaras)

GRAPH 2



(the notes in brackets denote śadja-grama svaras)

Bharata has discussed the process at a great length (N.S. 28, 34).

We see here that one grāma could be transposed upon the other with ease and this apparently rules out the possibility that the two grāmas were conceived as constantly beginning at different pitches: the ṣadja-grāma on sa and madhyama-grāma nine śrutis higher on ma. The process of transposition also graphically reveals that the structural difference between the composition of the grāmas did not amount to much.

Yet, the two grāmas in ancient texts have been carefully separated and the importance of the distinction in ancient practice can in no way be belittled. Tāna, mūrchanā, even the jātis and the jāti-born rāgas were all classified on the basis of grāmas. Indeed, the entire range of musical conception, it seems, was classified into two distinct compartments on the basis of the two grāmas. This obviously leads to the conclusion that there was some core of difference between the grāmas which was basic and central to ancient music. This core, however, eludes us.

Abhinava gives us a pointed hint concerning the fundamental importance of the grāma division in ancient times. He says that when the pañcama of the ṣadja-grāma is lowered by a śruti (thus giving madhyama-grāma), the process gives rise to a great deal of distinction (bhūyāneva bhedo jāyate); the samvādī scheme becomes disrupted—as pa is no longer the samvādī of sa but of ri—the anuvādī scheme is similarly uprooted and, in fact, the entire scheme of svaras is changed.¹ Elsewhere, defining grāma, Abhinava says: “grāma is a collection of svaras containing a specific number of śrutis; it forms the basis of a group of mūrchanās (mūrchanātmā) and of a distinct scheme of possible septatonic, hexatonic and pentatonic svara-structures, and of a distinct plan of graha (initial note in a melody), amśa (predominant note) and other notes: this plan engenders a specific group of jātis (the melodic form specific to gāndharva) which are encompassed by these distinct characteristics of a grāma.”²

Mataṅga has also connected each grāma to a distinct śruti-svara scheme and a distinct group of jātis: “jātibhiḥ śrutibhiḥ sciva svarā grāmatvamāgataḥ” (Br. 93). The Vṛttikāra comments that “the purpose or function (prayojana) of grāma is to establish svara, śruti, mūrchanā, tāna, jātis and rāgas”: prayojanam ca yathā—svara-śruti-mūrchanā-tāna-jāti-rāgāṇām vyavasthāpanatvam nāma prayojanam” (Br. Vṛtti on 92).

Dattila, in verse 29 (line one), says that the process by which the two grāmas were correlated to each other was called sāraṇā by the vaiṇikas.³

¹ पञ्चमे चापकुष्टे संवादनवादिव्यवस्था लोप्या, लोप्या स्वरव्यवस्था चान्येव सम्पादयत इति भूयानेव भेदो जायते
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 27-28,

² ग्रामो नाम विशिष्टश्रुतिकस्वरसमूहो मूर्छनात्मा पूर्णपूर्णस्वभावस्वरगतप्रहाँशादिविशेषसमूहस्पजातिसमूहस्त्र
—ibid., 28, 64-65.

³ Datt. text reads vaiśikaiḥ—“those versed in the arts of courtesans”—instead of vaiṇikaiḥ, a reading we think more suitable. Vaiśikaiḥ, too, through lakṣaṇā, can denote ‘an expert in the arts including music’ but, considering the context, ‘vaiṇikaiḥ’ is clearly a more happy reading. Kumbha, in fact, after referring to the process of mūrchanā-transposition in S.Raj 2,1,1, 370-74, remarks:

वैणिकानामयं पन्थः सुगमः श्रुतिशालिनाम्

—S Raj 2, 1, 1, 374B.

It seems quite probable that Kumbha in making this statement had Datt. 29 in mind and the reading he had before him was ‘vaiṇikaiḥ’.

The term sāraṇā (from √sṛ, to shift, to arrange: to alter a note by raising or lowering it on the vīṇā) here evidently connotes the transposition, through a slight change in tuning, of the mūrchanās of one grāma on a vīṇā tuned to the other grāma in the way indicated by the preceding verses. That such a practice was prevalent among the vīṇā players is indicated by Abhinavagupta who commences his commentary on the relevant passages in the N.S. (28, 34), with the words: "atra vaiṇikasyopadesārthamāha—this (process) is described for the benefit of the vīṇā players."

We note that Bharata does not call this process 'sāraṇā'. 'Sāraṇā' in his exposition is the name given to the process of tuning by which the measure of śrutis was determined. However, sāraṇā appears to have been the general term in music for tuning of vīṇās and, as such, both processes were sāraṇās.

Line 2 of verse 29 has a lacuna. We have tried to reconstruct the line on the basis of the context. With this line the exposition relating to mūrchanā ends and a new topic begins.

TOPIC 5

TĀNA

- 30A. *pañcasvarāḥ ṣaṭsvarāśca mūrchanā yāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*
 B. *tānāścaturaśītistu¹ tā evāptairudāhṛitāḥ¹*
- 31A. *agniṣṭomādināmānastā uktā nāradādibhiḥ*
 B. *devārādhanayogena tatpuṇyotpādakā yataḥ*
- 32A. *ṣadjarṣabhaniṣādaiśca pañcamena ca ṣadjaṅgāḥ*
 B. *ṣaṭsvarā madhyamagrāme gāndhārāntaistrībhīrvinā*
- 33A. *svagrāmamūrchanā hyetāḥ kriyamānāḥ pṛthak pṛthak*
 B. *bhavantyekonapañcāśadevām pañcasvarā api*
- 34A. *ṣadjapañcamahīnāśca dviśrutibhyām tathaiva ca*
 B. *pañcamarṣabhaḥīnāśca ṣadjaṅgrāme trayāḥ smṛtāḥ*
- 35A. *dhaiavataṛṣabhaḥīnāśca dviśrutibhyām tathaiva ca*
 B. *dvāvetau madhyamagrāme pañcatriṁśadamī smṛtāḥ*

The aforementioned mūrchanās [when formed] with five notes and with six notes, have, indeed, been declared by the wise as the tānas; eighty-four [in all].

Agniṣṭoma and so on are the names given to them by Nārada and others; because consecrated in the worship of gods they produce merit.

In ṣadja [grāma] six note [mūrchanās] can be obtained by dropping ṣadja, ḫṣabha, niṣāda or pañcama; [similarly] in madhyama-grāma [they can be produced] by dropping the three notes ending with gāndhāra, (*i.e.*, ṣadja, ḫṣabha and gāndhāra). In this way are obtained the 49 [*ṣadava mūrchanās*] by separately dropping the prescribed notes in the respective grāmas. The five-note ones are obtained in a similar way (evam) by dropping three [pairs of notes]: ṣadja and pañcama; the two-śruti notes (*i.e.*, gāndhāra and niṣāda) and [lastly] by dropping pañcama and ḫṣabha.

In madhyama-grāma, the two [pairs] to be dropped are these: dhaiavata and ḫṣabha, and the two two-śruti notes: in this way there are said to be thirty-five [auḍuvita mūrchanās] in all.

Note:

Mūrchanā was conceived as a sequence of all the seven notes in their due order. Mūrchanās, Dattila had said, could be rendered as hexatonic or pentatonic (Datt. 25B). Such mūrchanās were the tānas. What then was the difference between a hexatonic or a pentatonic mūrchanā and a tāna? The view of the Vṛtti on *Brhaddeśī*

¹ Datt. T.ed. reads : (तनाना ? ताना)

regarding the difference between tāna and mūrchanā is interesting. Ācārya Viśākhila, the Vṛttikāra states, held that there was no difference between the two. But in the opinion of the Vṛttikāra himself such a position was incongruous. Had there been no difference, why should uddeśas (topic lists) enumerate them separately? He posits that a mūrchanā was a series of notes in the ascending order (ārohakramena), whereas tāna was conceived in a descending order (avarohakramena).¹ This observation is not overtly supported by any ancient authority who are all silent on the point. Dattila, it seems, subscribed to the view held by Viśākhila for he states that mūrchanās themselves are tānas (tā eva tānāḥ). Bharata, on the other hand, says that “tānas depend upon mūrchanā: tatra mūrchanāśritastānāḥ” (N.S. 28, 34). This statement relates the one concept to the other in a causal or kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva relation and rules out identity.

The names agniṣṭoma etc. given to tānas are not to be found in the extant Nārādi Śikṣā (ascribed to Nārada) but that they were known through an ancient and unbroken tradition is testified by the fact that roughly the same list of names is obtained in the Vāyupurāṇa, the Brhaddeśī, the Saṅgītaratnākara, the Saṅgītarāja and other texts.² These names suggest (as Dattila and others have pointed out) that the tānas served a sacred purpose during sacrifices and had thus a sanctified status.

In gāndharva structures the rendering of śāḍava and auḍuvita was regulated by very definite rules. Thus to render any śadja-grāma mūrchanā as śāḍava only four notes (sa ri ni pa) could be dropped. A similar restriction prevailed in madhyama-grāma; sa ri and ga were the only three notes that could be omitted. The process of auḍuvita was still more restricted. In the śadja-grāma there were only three given pairs of notes that could be omitted at a time and madhyama-grāma had only two such pairs.

Dattila in describing this process has used a very compressed and aphoristic language. Bharata has described the same process in a prose passage where the details are more clear (N.S. 28, 34). The total possible number of hexatonics works out to be 49. The possible number of pentatonic mūrchanās was 35. The total number of both śāḍava and auḍuva tānas was thus 84.

¹ ननु मूँछनातानयोः को भेदः । उच्यते । मूँछनातानयोनृनव्या(रनन्त्र)रत्वमिति विश्वालि (विशाखिल) एतच्चासतम् । संग्रहश्लोके तु मूँछनातानयोभेदस्य प्रतिपादितत्वात् । तत् कथम् । मूँछनारोहकमेण तानोऽवराहकमेण भवतीति भेदः । —Vṛtti on Br. 105A.

² The Vāyupurāṇa list is the earliest extant one. See 86, 20-27 (*Vāyu*). The list contains gāndhāra grāma tānas also. Śadja and madhyama-grāma tānas here amount to only 34 :

Gāndhārā-grāma had 15 tānas, thus totalling 49 for the three grāmas. The Brhaddeśī list has 84 tāna names, Br. 106-117 ; but it is faulty. The Saṅgītaratnākara also contains a list of all 84 tānas including śāḍava and auḍuva for both śadja and madhyama grāmas. S.R. 1, 4 72-90. The Saṅgītarāja has an extensive tāna-prakarana, S. Raj 2, 1, 1, 412-599. Kumbha, following his predecessors, lists the tāna names ; he also gives extensive charts illustrating the note structure of every individual tāna and indicates the mūrchanās to which they belong. He has a long passage, S. Raj 2, 1, 1, 476-493, where he discusses the relation of tānas to Vedic sacrifices. He says that the merit that accrues from a specific sacrifice can be acquired also through singing the tāna pertaining to that sacrifice :

पद्यज्ञनामकस्तानो योऽन्तः परिकीर्तिः । तं तं सम्यग्विदन् गानात्तद्यज्ञफलमश्नुते ॥
—S. Raj. 2, 1, 1, 376.

It should be noted here that in gāndharva ṣadja was not the all-important basic note as it is today. We observe that in both the grāmas, ṣadja could be omitted for the tāna process. Madhyama, we see, was never dropped : it was 'anāśin'. Dattila (and Viśakhila as referred to in A.B. on N.S. 28, 64-65) considered that pañcama in madhyama-grāma and dhaivata in ṣadja-grāma were also notes which could not be omitted in the two grāmas respectively. The tāna process bears this out.

The Method Of Dropping Notes

- 36A. *tānakriyā dvidhā tantryām praveśānnigrahāt tathā*
 B. *tatra praveśo dhvanyaikyamasamśparśas tu nigrahaḥ*¹

The process of producing tāna on stringed instruments is two-fold : by praveśa and by nigraha. Praveśa in this context means rendering of a sound as identical (dhvanyaikyam) and nigraha means avoiding [a sound].

NOTE :

On a stringed instrument (tantryām) the process of omitting notes was accomplished in two ways: by praveśa or by nigraha. Dattila's compressed exposition hardly makes the nature of the process clear. Bharata's statements are also not very clear (N.S. 28, 34). The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī*, however, elucidates the process at a somewhat greater length, quoting Bharata as well as the above verse of Dattila in order to support its contention.

Praveśa, says the Vṛttikāra, was effected in two ways. Taking ṣadja as the note to be dropped (lopanīya), he explains the two-fold process as follows : "either tighten (piḍana) the ṣadja, which is lower than the ḫabha, so that it is raised (viprakarṣa) and is rendered as ḫabha (cf. 'dhvanyaikyam', Datt.), or lower it through loosening (mārdavam śithilikaraṇam) and render it as niṣāda". The use of the word piḍana for raising the note and śithilikaraṇa for lowering is suggestive of a harp, which, as we have argued, was the standard ancient viṇā. On such an instrument each string must have been tuned to a single note, so that in order to drop a note it was necessary to tighten (piḍana) the string tuned to that note and tune it to the next higher note; or, conversely, loosen (śithilikaraṇa) the string and tune it to the next lower note. Nigraha is explained by the Vṛttikāra as simply avoiding the note (or, in other words, the string tuned to that note) that has to be dropped.

Abhinava gives a similar explanation of the process of praveśa. Suppose, he says, ṣadja has to be dropped, then it should be raised and rendered as ḫabha. Alternately, in the mūrchanā uttaramandrā (the ṣadja-grāma mūrchanā beginning

¹ Br. Vṛtti on 117 quotes Datt. 36 with the words : 'दत्तिलेनाप्युक्तम्'.

The quoted reading agrees with the Datt. text. Dattila is quoted by the Vṛttikāra as a testimony parallel to Bharata, part of whose prose passage on tāna, N.S. 28, 34, is quoted with the words 'तथा चाह भरतः'. The Vṛtti passage which contains the above quotation is quoted by Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 29-31.

with sa) sa, when dropped, could be lowered and tuned to ni. The general maxim was that the note to be dropped was to be tuned to that neighbouring note, lower or higher, which happened to be a strong note in the melody being rendered so that further strength was imparted to the note decreed as powerful.¹

The Method For arriving At The Source Mürchanā Of A Tāna

- 37A. evamkṛte'pi tānatve gaṇayitvā vināśinam
 B. vidvānetāvatithyeṣā mūrchanetyavādhārayet²

Thus having produced a tāna, the expert can again arrive at the serial number of the mürchanā [from which the tāna was derived] by counting (gaṇayitva) the note [or notes] that had been dropped [to render the mürchanā into a tāna].

NOTE :

Dropping certain notes in order to produce a tāna from a mürchanā, could lead to uncertainty regarding the mürchanā from which a particular tāna was derived. The process described in verse 37 is to help recognize the originating mürchanā of a tāna. The maxim recorded is that by replacing the left-out notes in their due serial order, one arrives at the originating mürchanā. Then (depending upon the grāma to which the mürchanā belonged) one could know the serial number of the originating mürchanā by observing the place occupied by ṣadja or madhyama in it (see Datt. 21).

On the face of it, this process appears to be so obvious that it could easily have remained unmentioned by Dattila, who, on his own admission, seeks brevity. Bharata, indeed, makes no mention of it. But its importance is realised when one

¹ तानार्थकिया उपाय इत्यर्थः । अपरस्य कृष्णभापेक्षया पद्जस्स विप्रकर्षः । पीडनमूष्मभतापादनम् । तस्मैव निषादापेक्षयोत्तरमंद्राया निषादतापादनं, तदत्त यो बलबान् प्रयोगे भवति तत्र अवलोप्योन्तमावः स हि घृष्टतामेवं व्रजेत् ।
 —A.B. on N.S. 28, 34.

The Vṛtti on Br. 117 in this context reads :

प्रेशो कृष्णभापेक्षया पद्जस्याधीभूतस्य लोपनीयस्य विप्रकर्षपीडनम् कृष्णभापावदनम् इति यावत् । 'कृष्णभापावदनम्' is obviously a wrong reading. कृष्णभतापादनम्, the phrase used by Abhinava who may have, indeed, borrowed it from the Vṛtti, is the correct phrase ; it means : 'to make it (*i.e.*, the ṣadja), attain or reach the note ṣabha (through *viprakarṣa*).

Nijenhuis (see *Dattilam—A Compendium of Ancient Indian Music*, p. 151) has become rather unnecessarily confused with the meaningless word अपावदानम् found in the Vṛtti. The Vṛtti in the original form may have read कृष्णभापादनम् or कृष्णभमापादनम्, both phrases carrying the same purport. Nijenhuis, indeed, quotes कृष्णभापादनम् and निषादापादनम् used by Kalā in this context on S.R. 1, 4, 17 ; but she gives more credence to the Vṛtti reading than it deserves.

² The Vṛtti on Br. 117 quotes the above verse with the words : 'ननु पाडवीहुविते क्रियमाणे मूर्छनाप्रत्यभिज्ञानमिति वा न वा । अस्त्वेव मूर्छना प्रत्यभिज्ञानमिति । तथा चाह दत्तिलः' . The Vṛtti reads Datt. 37B as 'विद्यते तावतिष्ठेषा.....' . Abhinava, too, quotes Datt. 37 reading the same as our text. He quotes the verse with the words : 'कुतः स्थानात् पद्जे लुप्ते इति मध्यद्विचरुयेन पद्जेन भवितव्यमिति न तानलाभः । तदाह दत्तिलः'
 —A.B. on N.S. 28, 34.

finds that certain tānas have an identical structure, though they originate from different mūrchanās. For example, in the ṣadja-grāma the following seven tānas can result by dropping the note ṣadja :

	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni
	ni	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha
	dha	ni	ri	ga	ma	pa
	pa	dha	ni	ri	ga	ma
	ma	pa	dha	ni	ri	ga
	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	ri
ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	

It is clear from this chart that the first tāna (ri ga ma pa dha ni) is the same as the last tāna. Thus confusion can occur as to the originating mūrchanās of these two identical tānas. This can only be dispelled by considering the position of the dropped note (*i.e.*, the ṣadja) which, in our illustration, is the first note of the last tāna but the last note of the first tāna. Even more confusing examples exist where serially two consecutive tānas have the same note structure (see S. Raj, charts following 2, 1, 1, 445). In such cases the only way to arrive at the originating mūrchanā could be by considering the place which the omitted note would have occupied.

Abhinava has discussed the process at some length and has done so on the basis of Datt. 37 which he quotes in this context (A.B. on N.S. 28, 34). The example given above has been taken from him.

The Kuṭatānas

- 38A. *kramamutṣṛjya tantriṇām tananairmūrchanāstu yāḥ*
- B. *pūrṇāscavāpyapūrṇāśca kuṭatānāstu te smṛtāḥ*
- 39A. *pūrṇāḥ pañcasahasrāṇi trayastriṁśacca saṅkhyaya*
- B. *kathayanti pratigrāmamupāyo ganane' dhunā*
- 40A. *hanyādanantarāyeṇa pūrvā yasya kramotkramāt*
- B. *guṇakārasamāstatra kramāḥ śeṣāḥ syurukramāḥ*
- 41A. *sāptasvaryam tu saptānāmekaikā bhajate yataḥ*
- B. *ata ekonapañcāśat kaiścit kūṭaiḥ sahoditāḥ*

¹ Br. Vṛtti on 117 quotes both Datt. 39 and 40 and expounds the process contained therein. The Vṛtti quotes Datt. 39 with the words: 'कूटतानानां सहस्राणि पञ्चमस्त्रिंशदधिकानि निष्पद्धन्ते। दत्तिलेनाप्युक्तम्'. Datt. 39B reads : 'प्रतिग्राममुपयोगेण नैष्वानः—obviously a faulty manuscript reading. Next follows Datt. 40 which is quoted, with the comment :

गणमात्रपरेण तानप्रयोगेण पूर्वस्तानप्रयोगो हन्यते । तथा चाह दत्तिलः

Line 2 Datt. 40 reads 'क्रमाच्छेष' ; rest as in text above. The Vṛtti then gives in detail the process of 'banana' or multiplication indicated by Dattila. Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 32-36 also discusses the process of arriving at the number of kūṭatānas. Simhabhūpāla quotes the passage of the Vṛtti on Br. where Datt. 39 is quoted with the words :

'ननु भूतज्ञेन त्रयत्रिंशदधिकानि पञ्चवस्त्राणि (5033) प्रतिष्ठृत्येन कूटतानसंख्योक्ताः यदाह'.

Here the Br. passage has a correct reading. The phrase पञ्चमस्त्रिंशदधिकानि reads पञ्चत्रयत्रिंशदधिकानि. The quoted Datt. 39, in its second line reads as in text above. Clearly Simhabhūpāla had at hand a superior manuscript of the Br.

If strings are so tuned (*tantriṇāṁ tananaiḥ*) that, in the resulting mūrchanā, their (*i.e.*, of the strings) proper [svara] sequence (*krama*) is discarded, then [one obtains] kūṭatānas [which are] known to be pūrṇa and apūrṇa (*i.e.*, those containing all the seven notes and those containing less).

The pūrṇa [kūṭatānas] are five thousand and thirty-three in number. Now, the method of counting [the kūṭatānas] for each of the grāmas is being narrated.

One should multiply the last number with the ones preceding in a series progressing [arithmetically] (*hanyādanantarāyena pūrvvāḥ*). The resulting aggregate will include both the *krama* and the *vyutkrama* tānas of which the [number of] *krama* [tānas] will be equal to the end number in the series (*guṇakāra samāstatra kramāḥ*); and the remaining will be *vyutkrama* [tānas]. Since each of the seven [mūrchanās] can [further] be rendered into groups of seven notes (*sāptasvaryam bhajate*), therefore some also include [these resulting] 49 with the kūṭa [tānas].

NOTE:

The phrase 'tantriṇāṁ tananaiḥ' literally means 'through spreading or arranging of the strings'—and again strongly suggests that the instrument Dattila had in mind belonged to the harp group. It is only on a harp or on a similar instrument that the tuning of the strings—as indicated by Dattila—can be obtained without keeping the proper note sequence, *i.e.*, discarding the sa ri ga ma pa dha ni order.

A kūṭatāna, as Dattila explains, was a mūrchanā but with this basic difference that unlike the mūrchanā its note sequence was in disarray. A kūṭatāna when rendered with all seven notes was called a pūrṇa kūṭatāna. When rendered with less than seven notes, *i.e.*, with a hexatonic or pentatonic structure, it was called an apūrṇa kūṭatāna. Apūrṇa kūṭatānas were rendered also with four notes and less.

Bharata, we have observed (see ch. I), has not described the kūṭatāna. Abhinava does. It was a favourite subject with all later theoreticians and came to be known as *khaṇḍameru* in many works.

After expounding the nature of a kūṭatāna Dattila mentions the total possible number of pūrṇa kūṭatānas and describes a simple mathematical method by which the kūṭatānas could be calculated. Dattila's language here (in Datt. 40) becomes extremely cryptic. Fortunately, the *Vṛtti* on *Bṛhaddeśī* quotes Datt. 40 and elucidates the method in detail. The readings in the *Bṛhaddeśī* are themselves confusing at times, but as the method itself was very popular with theoreticians and has been described in a number of texts, it will not be difficult to arrive at Dattila's meaning.¹

Let us then attempt to elucidate the purport of verse 40. We shall first deal with the two terms *krama* and *vyutkrama*.

Krama in this context means the proper sequence of notes in an ascending order; thus sa ri ga ma pa dha ni is a *krama* sequence obtained with a pūrṇa o-

¹ The Br itself has been quoted by Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 32-36 with a better reading.

seven-note structure. In the case of an apūrṇa krama, the notes are in a proper serial order, but contain less than seven notes; sa ri ga ma pa, for example, is an apūrṇa krama employing five notes. A pūrṇa krama sequence is nothing but a mürchanā. A vyutkrama arrangement, on the other hand, is one in which the proper sequence of notes is either disturbed or reversed. Thus ni dha pa ma ga ri sa, sa ga ri pa ma ni dha, dha pa ma ga ri sa, ri ga sa dha pa ma, etc. are vyutkrama tānas. The kūṭatānas were such vyutkrama arrangements.¹

The method of calculating the tānas is the same as the one used for calculating the possible permutations and combinations of any given number of entities. If seven be the number (the number of svaras in the octave), then the numbers are arranged in an arithmetic series from 1 to 7—1 2 3 4 5 6 7—and the last number (in the words of Dattila) is to be multiplied by all the preceding ones (pūrvāḥ) in an unbroken sequence (hānyādanantarāyena); thus: $7 \times 6 \times 5 \times 4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 1 = 5040$. The same process will apply in case of any number less than 7. The resulting aggregate includes all possible permutations of a given number of svaras and thus contains both krama and vyutkrama sequences of notes. As the krama sequences are not kūṭatānas but mürchanās, they should be subtracted from the total. Thus in each grāma, with a seven note octave, we have $5040 - 7 = 5033$ vyutkrama arrangements or kūṭatānas; this is the number noted by Dattila in verse 39.² Similarly with any given number of notes which are multiplied in an arithmetic series, the number of krama sequences will amount to the last number in the series: the rest will be vyutkrama arrangements—as stated by Dattila in the second line of verse 40. For example, with a five-note series there will be five krama tānas and $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 \times 5 = 120 - 5 = 115$ vyutkrama tānas.

The above is in essence the process described in the Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī (see Vṛtti on Br. 117). A detailed list of all possible combinations with 7 notes and less can be found in the appendix to Volume I of the Adyar edition of the Saṅgitaratnākara text.

Verse 41 refers to a further list of 49 kūṭatānas given by some theorists. The idea appears to be somewhat as follows: we have seen that mürchanās were seven in each grāma. Supposing any of the mürchanās, say, ni sa ri ga ma pa dha be itself taken as the basic frame for further mürchanās, then seven mürchanās will result. In this way the seven mürchanās of a grāma will give rise to 49 such groups of seven notes. These,

¹ Later theorists describe kūṭatānas on the lines of Dattila. As Bharata has not expounded the matter, there is in this perhaps a direct influence of Dattila. See for example:
असंपूर्णश्च संपूर्ण व्युत्क्रमोच्चारितस्वरा: । मूँछनाः कूटतानाः स्युस्तंसंब्यामभिदध्महे ॥

—S.R. 1, 4, 32.

व्युत्क्रमस्त्वरसंस्थानाः सवर्द्धता एव मूँछनाः । कूटतानाभिधानाः स्युरित्युक्तं षट्यिवीभुजा ॥
—S.Raj 2, 1, 1, 494.

² Thus Simhabhūpāla, justifying the number given by Dattila, says:

प्रतिमञ्चनं प्रस्तारे क्रियमाणे सप्त क्रमाः संजायते ; तैः सह चत्वारिंशदुत्तराणि पंचसहस्राणि भवन्तीति तात्पर्यः ।
दत्तिलोदिभिस्तु क्रमाच्चिह्नाय कूटतानसंख्येव निर्दिष्ट्यविरोधः ।

—Sudhā on S.R. 1, 4, 32-36.

Dattila says, were included by some with the kūṭatānas. Dattila evidently did not consider these arrangements as kūṭatānas because these were all krama arrangements which he excludes from the fold of kūṭatānas by definition.

This above notion of what may be called 49 intermūrchāna arrangements is a rather obtuse one and seems to lie more in the field of mathematical subtlety than of music. Even the concept of the kūṭatānas—so dear to theorists—is not very important musically (probably the reason why Bharata excludes it from his exposition). It must be admitted, however, that some great composers like Śyāmāśāstri and Muṭhusvāmī Dikṣitar of Karnatic music, who were proficient in saṅgīta-śāstra, have been able to draw genuine musical inspiration from their knowledge of kūṭatānas.

TOPIC 6

STHĀNA

- 42A. *atha sthānāni yeśūktō dvāvimsatividho dhvanīḥ*
 B. *vyastāni tāni ṣaṭṣaṣṭim vidyānmandrādisiddhaye*

Now, the sthānas (or the registers), [each of] which, as has been described, contains twenty two distinct sounds. To obtain the mandra and other (octave, i.e. the tāra) these [twenty-two sounds] should be known to extend to sixty-six.

NOTE :

Dattila has already given us an idea of sthāna in another context, as he himself says. The context was that of śruti where Dattila refers to the three anatomic seats of the musical octaves. Now he expounds the topic formally. Ancient music (as also much modern music) mainly employed three octaves: middle (madhya), lower (mandra) and higher (tāra). Registers lower than mandra and higher than tāra might have been utilized as in modern practice, especially in instrumental playing, but their description has not entered into regular theoretical consideration.

The term sthāna basically denoted the anatomic seat (sthāna)¹ of a particular octave; by association it also came to mean the musical octave itself. Each sthāna and the octave which resided in it contained 22 śrutis. Dattila evidently takes the madhya octave as the basic one; sounds extending below and above this octave, he says, resulted in the mandra and tāra (vidyānmandrādisiddhaye). The madhya had 22 śrutis; the total range with two added octaves thus had a total of 66 śrutis. Dattila's language is as usual a bit cryptic. The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* puts the same idea more succinctly: "The twenty-two distinct śrutis of the three distinct registers, mandra, madhya and tāra, taken together result in sixty-six śrutis—such is the opinion of some."²

Bharata does not expound sthāna in the geyādhikāra, for, as he says, he had already dealt with the topic earlier in speaking of kāku (voice modulation and intonation during dramatic speech) in chapter 17. He refers us to this chapter with the words: 'sthānam ca trividham pūrvoktalakṣaṇam kākuvidhāviti' (N.S. 28, 33). In

¹ The S.S.S. in a verse which seems to echo Datt. 42 clearly describes the chest, throat and head as the sthanas:

तीणि स्थानानि हृल्कण्ठशिरांसीति समासतः । एकैकमपि तेषु स्थाद् द्वार्चिणंतिविद्यायुतम् ॥

—quoted by Sudhā on S.R. 1, 3, 7.

also cf. S.R. 1, 3, 7-10 where the three sthānas are described and 22 śrutis assigned to each. See also S. Raj 2, 1, 1 24-27 for similar matter.

² इदानीं पट्षष्ठिभेदभिन्नाः श्रतयः कथ्यन्ते । मन्त्रमध्यतारेषु उर्कण्ठशिरस्सु त्रिषु स्थानेषु प्रत्येकं द्वार्चिणतिप्रकारतया भिद्यमानेषु श्रुतयो हि पट्षष्ठिभेदभिन्नाः भवतीति केचिन्मन्यन्ते ।

—Bṛ. Vṛtti, on 28.

chapter 17 Bharata speaks of the three sthānas—chest, throat and head (N.S. 17, 104). He also associates these sthānas with the three octaves—mandra, madhya and tāra—while describing the details of the nature and variety of kāku.¹ Bharata, in this connection, also speaks of tāratara, anumandra and mandratara (N.S. 17, 114), terms we do not find in the *Dattilam*. But these, Abhinava explains, are not octaves beyond the normal three but relatively lower or higher positions within mandra and tāra.²

It should be noted that Bharata like Dattila uses the analogy of the vīṇā in the context of sthāna for the human frame in saying that ‘kāku arises from the three sthānas of the sārīra-vīṇā: chest, throat and head (N.S. 17, 106; see fn. below). But he does not, like Dattila, make the point that on the vīṇā frame a relatively higher pitch was obtained by striking on positions relatively lower while in the case of the human frame the pitch positions were reversed.

¹ त्रीणि स्थानानि—उरः कण्ठः शिर इति । भवत्यपि च शारीर्यमिथ वीणायां त्रिम्यः स्थानेभ्य एव तु । उरसः शिरसः कण्ठात्स्वरः काकुः प्रवर्तते ।

—N.S. 17, 106.

Also : सर्वेषामयैषां मन्द्रमध्यतारकृतः प्रयोगस्त्वस्थानगतः:

—N.S. 17, 130.

² स्वरकाकोरेव श्रुतिकाकुचेते भेदेन शिरस्येव ऊर्ध्वस्तारतम आक्षेपादौ, तारशब्दः प्रकर्षोपलक्षणम् । अत ल्लाक्षेपादौ यथावस्थं श्रुतिविभावरसकाकुभेदतयं विभाजनीयम् । उरस्यूर्ध्वभागे समन्द्रः, उरस्येव नीचभागे मन्द्रतमौ नीचः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 17, 114.

TOPIC 7

VRTTI

- 43A. dakṣinā vṛtticitrāśca vṛttayastāsvayam̄ vidhiḥ
 B. pradhānam̄ gītamubhayam̄ ādyam̄ ceti yathākramam̄
 44A. yad vṛttiśūktamācāryairvīñāvādādilakṣṇam̄ -
 B. tad granthavistarabhayādiha nodāhṛtam̄ mayā

The [three] vṛttis are: dakṣinā, vṛtti and citrā. In them the method is [as follows]: in the first, song (gīta) dominates, in the second both [song and] instrumental playing (vādyam) are balanced equally, and in the third, instrumental playing dominates.

I shall refrain from expounding the characteristics of vīṇā and other instrumental [playing] in [various] vṛttis as laid down by teachers, for I am afraid my work will then become too lengthy.

NOTE :

The term *vṛtti* (from $\sqrt{vṛ}$, 'to be') in general means the mode of existence or being of any object. In music and dance it has been used in various contexts with different connotations. In *gāndharva*, it denoted three general modes or ways of instrumental playing when accompanying a song.² Bharata, after delineating instrumental techniques (*dhātu*), states that the three *vṛttis* form the basis of instrumental playing (*yeshu vādyam pratisthitam*, N.S. 29, 70).

The gīta or the song-form seems to have been the primary form of ancient gāndharva: only song contained all the three necessary attributes of svara, tāla and pada. Instrumental playing was apparently understood in relation to song.

Bharata has described the vrttis in a verse very similar to that of Dattila:

tisrāstu vṛttayaścitrādaksināvṛttisamjñitāḥ
vādyagītobhayagūnā nirdistātā yathākramam (N.S. 29,71)

Abhinava, commenting on Bharata, elucidates the *vṛttis* in an interesting passage at the end of which he quotes Datt. 43 in support of his explanation of Bharata's meaning. *Vṛtti*, Abhinava says, is in musical practice the notion of dominance or subordination of song in relation to the accompanying instruments. When

¹ T.ed. reads the first word of line 43A as दक्षिणो. Our amendment is based on Abhinava who quotes the entire verse with the words: तथा च दक्षिणाचार्यः (A.B. on N.S. 29, 70-71). His reading of Datt. 43 is the same as given above.

Abhinava says:

गीत विषयो वाद्यस्य मेलनप्रकारः स विधिरिति सामाज्यलक्षणस्य वचः

-A.B. on N.S. 29 27-28.

The language is somewhat faulty but the meaning is clear enough.

string instruments dominate and song is subordinate, then the vṛtti which occurs is citrā. In this vṛtti the melodic line as rendered on an instrument does not strictly follow the song (gitamukhāpekṣavirahitam hi vādyam, as Abhinava puts it idiomatically); but instrumental playing strives to create an independent effect of variety, though it does so in accordance with the stipulated procedure laid down for such a mode of accompaniment. Dakṣinā vṛtti is the converse of citrā; in it song occupies the position of honour and dominates over instrumental playing which seeks merely to follow and echo the song. The vṛtti called vṛtti occurs when both song and the instrument maintain an equal balance.¹

In his zeal for brevity, Dattila has not described instrumental techniques. Bharata describes them under the topic dhātu. (See our discussion in ch. I).

The nature of playing will throw further light on the nature of the vṛttis. There were three styles of instrumental playing. These were related to the three vṛttis. The styles were called tattva, anugata and ogha. Tattva was defined as instrumental playing in which the song-form was strictly adhered to. In the words of Bharata, the tattva style echoed all the elements —such as laya, tāla, varṇa, pada and yati—of the structure of a song being rendered (layatālavāṇapadayatigītyakṣa rabhāvakam, N.S. 29-77). Abhinava, giving clarifications, says that tattva was instrumental rendering (vādyam) which aimed at reproducing the song completely in all its structural details comprising elements like tempo, tāla, melodic varṇa (like sthāyī, etc.), pauses and divisions ('padam', virāmarūpo vicchedah) and yati (the regulation of tempo), as well as the very syllables (aksarāni) being sung such as 'devar̄p̄ śarvam' etc. Such a manner of playing (vādyā vidhiḥ) provided a complete accompaniment to the song without the least departing from it.² Tattva was related to dakṣinā vṛtti.

In the anugata style, instrumental accompaniment followed only certain elements of the song-form while departing from others. For example, the tempo maintained on the instrument could be medium while the song had a slow tempo ; two syllables of the song could be rendered by three or four strokes (na sarvam tadrūpamanuharatyapi tu kincidyathā vilambite'pi laye nūnam prayogam madhye

¹ The term vṛtti, as Abhinava points out, is used here in both a general and a particular sense : as both the name of a class and of an individual entity within the class. It is like the case of a brāhmaṇa being also named Brāhmaṇa. The passage on vṛttis in A.B. reads:

उत्तां वृत्तिं निरूपयति । तिश्रस्तु वृत्तय इति । वृत्तिग्नेणप्रधानाभावात्मा व्यवहार इति सामान्यलक्षणम् । तत्वाद्यप्राधान्ये गीतगुणतेति चित्रा वृत्तिः । गीतमुखेजेकाविरहितं हि वाद्यं यथाविधि वैचित्र्यचर्चितं क्रियते । एतद्विषयस्तु दक्षिणा वृत्तिः । गीतं हि विशिष्टस्थानीयं प्रधानं तदनुकूलश्चाचायं व्यवहारः । यत्र सममेव द्वयोर्ब्यंवहारस्तत्र साम्येन वर्तनाद् वृत्तिसंज्ञितशब्दस्थायमाशयः । वृत्तिरिति सामान्ये विशेषे च प्रयुक्तोऽन्तः । ब्राह्मणाख्यो ब्राह्मण इति यथा । यथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः । (Quotes Datt. 43)

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 71.

² लया द्रुतमध्यविलभित्वा वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणः । तालश्चच्चत्पुटादिकृतः साम्यविशेषो वा शम्यातालादिसहितवीणया शक्य-प्रयोगः । वर्णः स्थायादिः । पदं विरामरूपो विच्छेदः । यतिः स्तोत्रेगतादिः । गीतिग्रामविभागतः । जात्यंशविशेषोचितद-शक्यभेदवैचित्र्यसम्भाविता वा गीतिः । वक्षराणिं देवं शर्वमित्यादि (दीनि) । एतच्च समस्तं गीतं वीणायां शक्यप्रयोगं स्वरपदतालनिष्ठितप्रपञ्चं दर्शयति । म प्राप्तो । अत तेन लयादिभेदं भावयते प्राप्तोति स्वीकरोति यद्वान्यतत्वं, न स्वभाव व्यतिरिक्तत्वात् । तेन तथाविधगीतेन सह समवायः सम्मेलना स तत्वाख्यो वाचविधिः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 77-78.

karoti, varṇadvaye giyamāne tricaturān prahārān karoti, A.B. on N.S. 29-77).¹ Anugata pertained to the vṛtti called vṛtti.

In ogha, instrumental accompaniment was comparatively free of the song form. The instrumentalist often took no heed of pauses and divisions in a song, so necessary to communicate its meaning ('anapekṣitātārthaṁ' gītām tasya ca yo' rthāḥ pravṛtitirvidārlakṣaṇo vicchedaḥ so'napekṣito yatra, N.S. 29-78 with A.B.). This style was related to the citrā vṛtti.

Some other characteristic details of the vṛttis such as different regulations of tempos (graha), etc. to be observed in them are found in the *Saṅgitaratnākara* and later texts—the basis presumably being the *Nātyasāstra* (N.S. 2nd, 72). Citrā vṛtti was, according to Bharata, characterised by a general 'brevity'; in it the tempo was uniformly fast, the flow of tempo regular (samā yati) with stresses occurring before the beat (anāgata graha). The vṛtti called vṛtti was twice in expanse as to tāla (dvikalā) in comparison with citrā; the basic tempo was medium but it underwent a gradual acceleration (srotogatā yati); the stresses coincided with the beat (sama graha). In dakṣinā vṛtti, tāla was twice in expanse to that in vṛtti (catuṣkala tāla); the basic tempo was slow with a gradual slackening (gopucchā yati); the stresses came after the beat (atīta graha).²

These descriptions of the vṛttis give rise to interesting inferences. The nature of instrumental accompaniment in ancient times was, we note, often quite different from what obtains in classical music today. What we have today may be likened somewhat to the dakṣinā vṛtti where the instrument follows the melodic line of the vocalist. The other vṛttis appear quite alien to us.

Instrumental playing in the manner of the citrā vṛtti apparently aimed to impart tonal colour and variety to the vocal melody : it did not to follow it in all its contours. This is a manner of accompaniment found in Western music and also perhaps in classical Persian and Arab music where the accompanying instruments do not always copy the song. It exists also in modern Indian forms of light music—but the inspiration in this case is certainly foreign. We are told that in citrā vṛtti instruments dominated over song. This sounds quite strange to us today. Even the nature of the vṛtti termed vṛtti, where song and instrumental playing were equally important, is difficult for us to gauge in the light of existing musical forms.

¹ Compare Sārṅgadeva :

किञ्चिदगीतानुहरणाद्वाद्य त्वनुगतं मतम् । यथा विरतिरन्यद स्थितिः स्थानान्तरेष्वपि ॥

विलम्बिते गीतलये वेदग्राहाद द्रुतवादनम्

—S.R. 6, 173-174.

² तिसो गीतवृत्तयः प्राधान्येन ग्राह्याः । चित्रा वृत्तिदक्षिणा चेति । तासां तालगीतिलययतिमागंप्राधान्यानि यथास्वं व्यञ्जकानि भवन्ति । तत्र चित्रायां सद्विकलपवाद्यतालद्रुतलय समायतिरनागतग्रहाणां प्राधान्यम् । तथा वृत्ती गीतवादिक्र-द्विकलतालमध्यलयस्त्रोतोगतायतिः समग्रहमार्गाणां प्राधान्यम् । दक्षिणायां गीतिचतुर्ष्कलतालविलम्बितलयगोपुच्छायतिः । अतीतग्रहमार्गाणां प्राधान्यम् ।

—N.S. 29, 72.

Abhinava has not accepted this passage as part of the N.S. In the G.O.S. edition it has thus been marked off with a bracket. For passages parallel in later texts to the above in N.S. see : S.R. 6, 168-170 ; S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 380-94 and other texts.

TOPIC 8

ŚUŠKA

45A. *vādyam yad gītavṛttisthamagītam samprayujyate*
 B. *vaicitryārtha prayogajñaiḥ śuṣkam tadabhidhīyate*

Instrumental playing according to the vṛttis [which depend upon] song-form, when rendered without a song (*i.e.*, by itself), is called śuṣka by those versed in the varied forms of [musical] practice.

NOTE :

The three modes (vṛttis) of instrumental playing, discussed in the previous note, have been termed gītavṛttis by Dattila in the verse above. Bharata uses the same term in a slightly different form as gītivṛtti: “*tisro gītivṛttayah*”, (N.S. 29-71). Vṛttis were called gītavṛttis because their nature was determined by the relative dominance of the song-form which was being accompanied (*prādhānyena grāhyā*, N.S. 92, 72).

Śuṣka, as defined by Dattila, was also related to instrumental playing, but it was instrumental music in itself. Yet in śuṣka playing, the instruments, according to Dattila, still maintained the gītavṛtti; they remained, as he says, ‘*gītavṛttistha*’. Apparently, śuṣka had no mode of playing peculiar to it. In śuṣka, too, it was a song that one played, with the difference that there was no vocal melody with which the instrumental melody was being synchronised (*agītam samprayujyate*).

Bharata has the term śuṣka in his *uddeśa* (N.S. 28, 13), but expounds the topic under the name of *nirgīta* and *bahirgīta* (N.S. 29, 79-113); these, Abhinava points out, were the same as śuṣka: “*nirgītam bahirgītam śuṣkamiti*” (A.B. on N.S. 29, 79).¹ Nirgīta played an important role in the ancient pūrvvaraṅga and Bharata has dealt with it in his chapter on pūrvvaraṅga (N.S. ch. 5). He expounds the details pertaining to its instrumental techniques in chapter 29.

From Dattila’s short, single-kārikā exposition it appears that śuṣka was instrumental music without song, but Bharata relates *nirgīta* to singing also: *nirgīta*, he says, is also known as *bahirgīta* because it is sung with a string of syllables without using meaningful words.² He connects *Bahirgīta* with the *vīṇā* too: “*bahirgīta*

¹ Elsewhere, too, Abhinava makes a similar statement:
 (निर्गीतमिति ।) वादिनं तदगतं शृङ्कारूपं वीणावाद्यम्
 —A.B. on N.S. 5, 31-41.

² निर्गीतं गीयते यस्मादपदं वर्णयोजनात् । असूयया च देवानां वहिर्गीतमिदं स्मृतम् ॥
 —N.S. 5, 43.

Abhinava remarks :

गीयमानेभ्यः पदेभ्यः साथेभ्यः पदेभ्यो बहिर्गीतमिति
 —A.B. on N.S. 5, 42-44.

is played on the vīṇā with appropriate techniques (dhātubhīḥ) employing varṇa, alaṅkāra, short and long syllables.”¹

The manner of rendering nīrgīta (nīrgīta-vidhāna-samavāya), during pūrvaraṅga, consisted of parts (or modes) called āśrāvaṇā, ārambha, vaktrapāni, saṅkhoṭana, parighaṭṭana etc. (N.S. 5, 9-10; also N.S. 29, 80-81). Describing these Bharata notes details of instrumental techniques used in them as well as a group of nonsense syllables related to each. For example, the nonsense syllables connected with ārambha were :

jhaṇṭum jhaṇṭum jhaṇṭum jhaṇṭum jagatiya valitaka diginigicā
diṅgle diṅgle titijhala kuajhala jicambuka titicā
gaṇapati (jhaṇṭum jhaṇṭum) surapati paśupati cā. (N.S. 29, 91)

These syllables were apparently related to vīṇā playing, for the method of rendering them on the vīṇā is introduced by Bharata with the words : “asya tu vādyam” (N.S. 29, 91). The syllables perhaps formed the basis for particular strokes such as do dā rā dī rā etc. as in sitar playing today.

Sārṅgadeva classifies instrumental playing as of four kinds : śuṣka, gītānuga, nṛttānuga and dvayānuga. Śuṣka he defines as instrumental playing independent of both song and dance. In gītānuga, the instruments accompanied the song whereas in nṛttānuga they accompanied the dance. In dvayānuga the instruments accompanied both song and dance (S.R. 6, 16-46). Following Bharata, Sārṅgadeva has also named śuṣka, nīrgīta and has described āśrāvaṇā, ārambha etc. in detail (S.R. 6, 178-240). He mentions Viśākhila in connection with a certain matter of detail pertaining to āśrāvaṇā (S.R. 6, 183).

¹ देवानां वहुमानेन वहिर्गीतमिति स्मृतम् । धातुभिश्चित्तवीणायां गुरुलघ्वक्षरान्वितम् ॥
वण्णिलङ्कारसंयुक्तं प्रयोक्तव्यं वृथैरथ ।

—N.S. 5, 41-42.

also धातुवाचाश्रयकृतं निर्गीतं मा प्रणश्यतु
—ibid., 5, 33.

TOPIC 9

SĀDHĀRANA

- 46A. *sādhāraṇe tu vijñeye svarajātyupalakṣite*
 B. *svaramadhye tayoḥ pūrvam tatkākalyantarau svara¹*
 47A. *jātyantareṇa sadṛśam yajjātāvupalabhyate*
 B. *ekagrāme ca bāhulyājjatisādhāraṇam tu tat*

The two sādhāraṇas are distinguished as the svara-[sādhāraṇa] and the jāti [sādhāraṇa]. The former occurs between two notes : the two svara-sādhāraṇas are kākali and antara svaras.

The abounding resemblance (*bāhulyāt* *sadīśam*) observed in a *jāti* with another *jāti* of the same *grāma* (*ekagrāme*) is [called] *jāti-sādhārana*.

NOTE :

We have noted that the two auxiliary notes, antara ga and kākali ni, were called by the generic name sādhāraṇa svaras. Sādhāraṇa was a generic term applicable in certain cases to another major aspect of gāndharva, namely, its melodic-structures, the jātis.

The notion of *sādhāraṇa*, according to Bharata, expressed something which was intermediary, which fell in-between two major entities and was thus common (*sādhāraṇa*) to them both. He explains the idea through an analogy : “there is a time of the year”, he says, “when one feels cold in the shade but sweats in the sun ; this is the period when spring cannot be said to have not arrived but winter is not yet fully over” :

chāyāsu bhavati śītam̄ prasvedo bhavati cātapasthasya

na ca nāgato vasanto na ca nihśeṣah śisirakālah (N.S. 28, 34)

This Bharata calls 'the idea of sādhāraṇa as a period of time' (*kālasādhāraṇatā*). Svara-sādhāraṇa was similarly a note which fell between two notes—it was common to both.

Jāti-sādhāraṇa occurred when two or more *jātis* happened to have the same *amṣa* or predominant note in common.² The *amṣa* was one of the chief factors that characterised a *jāti* and when two *jātis* happened to be predominated by the same

¹ Nānyadeva quotes Datt. 46 at two places in his B.B. First in ch. III with the words दत्तिलाचार्यो-प्याह (B.B. 3, 151). Datt. 46 is quoted here alongwith Datt. 16 which also deals with sādhārana svaras. In ch VII the line is quoted again ; this time it occurs with Datt. 16A only and is introduced with दत्तिलाचार्योप्याह (B.B. (I) ch. VII).

² जातिसाधारणमेकांशानामविशेषज्ञता तीनां समवायात्प्रत्यंगां लक्षणसंज्ञानमिति

amṣa, they tended to resemble: a commonness of structure could be observed. Dattila does not mention the amṣa in this connection, but makes a general observation stating that when many common features are shared by jātis of the same grāma (ekagrāme), then occurs the jāti-sādhāraṇa. The sameness of the grāma appears to have been an important factor in jāti-sādhāraṇa. This meant that the jātis which had the sādhāraṇa relation had to share the same svara-scheme with its identity of samvāda etc.—an essential factor in any structural likeness.

The reading in the Kāśī and the Asiatic Society editions of the *Nātyaśāstra* suggests that a resemblance between amṣa and other features of two or more jātis belonging to different grāmas could also form jāti-sādhāraṇa.¹ The reading accepted by Abhinava is silent regarding the grāma aspect.

Later theorists were also not quite unambiguous in their opinions regarding the nature of jāti-sādhāraṇa, evidently due to the differences found in ancient accounts. Kumbha mentions three alternative views: (a) jāti sādhāraṇa takes place between jātis of the same grāma having the same amṣa; (b) jāti-born rāgas are designated as jāti sādhāraṇa (Kumbha attributes this view to Dattila among others).² We do not know his source of information. No indication of such a view is to be discovered in the *Dattilam*; (c) similarity of amṣa and other features between jātis belonging to different grāmas is called jātis-sādhāraṇa (Kumbha adds that this last view is not preferred by the wise: "na tatsujñajanapriyam", see S. Raj 2, 1, 2, 36-38).

Sārṅgadeva lists two opinions: he does not mention the last view and does not associate Dattila with any of the views (S. R. 1, 5, 9-10). Śimhabhūpāla ascribes the first view to 'Bharata and others' (bharatādyah).

In spite of common features, the 'sādhāraṇa' jātis could yet be recognised as distinct. Abhinava reads a short phrase as part of the *Nātyaśāstra* text in this context. This phrase points out factors that differentiated sādhāraṇa jātis. The phrase is: "nyāsāntaramārgau tu viśeṣakau."³ Its purport is that sādhāraṇa jātis could be distinguished through their nyāsas and their antaramārgas. Nyāsa in a jāti was its final note and antaramārga was its characteristic melodic movement (what in Hindustani music is known as the 'calana' of a rāga). Abhinava, elucidating Bharata's phrase, remarks that jātis were formed through a substantial number of distinct characteristics (numbering ten as listed in texts on gāndharva); thus even when the

¹ जातिसाधारणम् एकग्रामांशानां जातीनां जात्योर्बा अन्यस्मिन् ग्रामे प्रत्यंगदर्शनं स्वराणामवगमात् ।

—N.S. 28, 35 (Asiatic ed.); also Kāśī ed. 28, 33.

² दन्तिलादा: पुनरिदं रागानेव प्रचक्षते ।

—S. Raj 2, 1, 2, 37.

³ Abhinava reads this sentence after:

जातिसाधारणमेकांशानामविशेषजातीनां समवायात्प्रत्यंगं लक्षणसंज्ञानमिति ।

—N.S. 28, 35.

In his opinion लक्षणसंज्ञानम् in N.S. was the indicator of the fact that non-common elements between common jātis could be readily recognised: लक्षणमसाधारण शब्दं ज्ञातुम् ! The A.B. text reads न्यासान्तरभागौ तु instead of न्यासान्तरभागौ तु but the former makes no sense in the context and the latter reading—which we have adopted—seems to have been the intended one.

amśa between two or more jātis happened to be common one could distinguish them through other features which were not common. In this way sādhāraṇa jātis could be made out as 'not-identical' (tena nābheda iti bhāvah).¹

In our present system many rāgas belonging to the same 'thāṭ' or 'mela' and sharing the same svaras (whether śādava, auḍuva or sampūrṇa) tend to resemble each other strongly, but there are factors such as melodic movements, stresses on particular notes and characteristic phrases which clearly reveal them to be different. Jātis which shared common traits were, it seems, similarly distinguished.

Bharata and Dattila, in the context of gāndharva, speak of only two sādhāraṇas: svara and jāti. Later theorists, however, extended the notion of sādhāraṇa to śruti, grāma and also tāna. They speak of śruti-sādhāraṇa, grāma-sādhāraṇa² and tāna-sādhāraṇa. Rāṇā Kumbha has discussed these extra sādhāraṇas at length. He argues that the notions of tāna-sādhāraṇa and grāma-sādhāraṇa were redundant and born of misconceptions.³

¹ ग्रहन्यासादिदशकस्य यः समवायस्ततो हेतौजातीनामंशे (5) विचित्रेऽपि लक्षणमसाधारणं शब्दं ज्ञातुम्, यदाहृ न्यासान्तरमागो' तु विशेषकाविति । तुर्व्यतिरेकमाहृ तेन नाभेद इति भावः ।

—A.B. on N. S. 28, 35.

The A.B. text reads हेतौजातीनामंशे विचित्रेऽपि. Obviously a lupta-akāra has been dropped after अंशे due to inadvertence of printing. Without the lupta-akāra, Abhinava's purport remains contradictory and confused.

² Abhinava, too, mentions śruti and grāma-sādhāraṇas.

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 35.

³ पण्डितं मन्यमानैश्च कैश्चिदत्रोपवर्णितम् । तानसाधारणं तत्र युक्तिलेशो न विच्यते ॥

—S. Raj 2, 1, 2, 47.

also : ग्रामसाधारणं कैश्चिदवादिपूरतद्विदः

—ibid., 2, 1, 2, 13.

TOPIC 10

JĀTI

48A. *jātayo asṭādaśa jñeyatāśām saptasvarākhyayā*
 B. *śuddhāśca vikṛtāścaiva śeṣāstatsaṅkarodbhavāḥ¹*

The jātis should be known to be eighteen. Those named after the seven svaras are the śuddha [jātis] along with their vikṛtas (or modifications). All others arise out of the intermixture of these.

NOTE:

The nine preceding topics outline the basic scheme of ancient melodic structures in general and gāndharva in particular. They deal with matter both doctrinal and formal, in terms of which gāndharva was analysed and understood. Now we come to the actual melodies of gāndharva: the jātis. These were eighteen in number.

Dattila, in expounding the jātis, first classifies them. There were basically two classes: (1) the śuddhas and their vikṛtas and (2) the saṅkaras. The saṅkaras arose out of the intermixture of the jātis belonging to the first class. Dattila takes up the saṅkaras after classifying jātis and names the source jātis of each of the saṅkara forms in the next six kārikas. He deals with the nature of the śuddha and its implied distinction with a vikṛta in a later kārikā (see Datt. 62).

Dattila says that the śuddha jātis were named after the seven svaras. These jātis, it follows, were seven in number; they were called: (1) śādjī (2) ārṣabhi (3) gāndhārī (4) madhyamā (5) pañcamī (6) dhaivatī and (7) niṣādīnī. Śādjī, ārsabhi dhaivatī and niṣādīnī belonged to śadja-grāma, the rest to madhyama-grāma.² Each śuddha-jāti could result in a number of vikṛtas, but these vikṛta jāti-forms had no separate nomenclature apart from their parent śuddha-jāti: they were, in fact, not considered as separate jātis but modified forms of the śuddhas: “śuddhānāmeva hi vikṛtavām na tu jātyantaratvamuktam” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 46).

The Saṅkara Jātis And Their Sources

49A. *śadjāyā madhyamāyāśca samsargāt śadjamadhyamā*
 B. *śadjāyāstvatha gāndhāryā jāyate śadjakaiśī*

¹ B.B.(I) ch. VII quotes Datt. 48 with the words ‘तथा च दत्तिलः’. The reading in B.B. (I) is slightly faulty. Datt. 48B (the last phrase) appears to read : ‘शेष (पा) स्तु शं (सं) करोदभव’

² Bharata says : स्वरजातयः शुद्धा विकृताश्च । तत्र शुद्धाः पञ्जी, आषंभो, धैवती निषादिनी च पञ्जग्रामे । गान्धारे मध्यमा चमीति मध्यमग्रामे । एताश्चान्यूनस्वराः स्वस्वरांश्चग्रहण्यासापन्यासाश्च ।

- 50A. *tayoreva sadhaivatye ṣadjodīcyavatī bhavet*
B. āśām samadhyamānām tu gāndhārodīcyavā bhavet
- 51A. *gāndhāryā madhyamāyāśca pañcamyāścaiva saṅkarāt*
B. sadhaivatīnāmāśām tu madhyamodīcyavā bhavet
- 52A. *āśām syād raktagāndhārī naisādī ceccaturthikā*
B. ārṣabhyāstu bhavedandhṛī gāndhāryāścaiva saṅkarāt
- 53A. *anayostu sapañcamayornandayantī prajāyate*
B. saniṣādāstvagāndhāryāḥ kuryuḥ kārmāravīmāḥ
- 54A. *gāndhārī pañcamī caiva tathā gāndhārapañcamī*
B. ārṣabhī dhaivatīvarjāḥ kaiśikīmiti saṅkarāḥ¹

From the conjunction of ṣadjā (*i.e.*, ṣadjī) and madhyamā [] ṣadjamadhyamā. And from [the conjunction] of ṣadjā and gāndhārī is born ṣadjakaiśikī. These very two (*i.e.*, the ṣadjā and the gāndhārī) along with the dhaivatī form the ṣadjodīcyavatī. These (*i.e.*, the ṣadjā, gāndhārī and dhaivatī) combined with the madhyamā result in the gāndhārodīcyavā.

The intermixture of gāndhārī, madhyamā and pañcamī together with the dhaivatī produce madhyamodīcyavā. Along with these (*i.e.*, gāndhārī, madhyamā, pañcamī) if the fourth be the naisādī [then arises] raktagāndhārī. Ārṣabhī intermixed with gāndhārī becomes the andhṛī. From these two (*i.e.*, Ārṣabhī and gāndhārī) together with the pañcamī is born the nandayantī. These (*i.e.*, Ārṣabhī, gāndhārī and pañcamī) omitting the gāndhārī (agāndhāryāḥ) [but] along with niṣadī make the kārmāravī. Gāndhārī and pañcamī [make] the gāndhārapañcamī. [Intermixture of all the jātis] excepting the Ārṣabhī and the dhaivatī [make] the kaiśikī. Thus ends the [enumeration of] saṅkara [

NOTE :

After classifying jātis, Dattila enumerates the saṅkara or the intermixed jatis that arose out of various combinations of the seven pure or their vikṛta jātis. Ṣadjā has been called ṣadjī by Bharata.

It may be noted here that Bharata and later authors held that it was a combination of the nāma-jātis (as these seven jātis were also called) in their different vikṛta

¹ The Vṛtti on Br. 187 quotes eight verses pertaining to the jātis and ascribes them to Bharata with the words: 'तथा चाह भरतः'. However, except for the first two verses in this quotation, which correspond to N.S. 28, 46-47, the rest are quoted not from Bharata but from Dattila. They correspond almost word by word with Datt. 49-54. For our discussion on the value to be accorded to this testimony see ch. II. Line 50A in the Br quotation reads सघैवत्ये instead of सघैवत्ये. 53 B reads 'सनिषादा स्वगान्धार्यः' instead of above text. T.ed. reads: सनिषादास्तु गान्धार्यः; Our reading is based on considerations deduced from other accounts,

or modified forms that produced the intermixed (saṅkara) jātis¹ and not in their śuddha forms. Dattila has nothing to say here. Abhinava is categorical that the modified jātis alone (and not the śuddha ones) give rise to the saṅkaras ('vikṛtā' iti na tu śuddhā ityarthah, A.B. on N.S. 28-46). This seems likely, since the structure of śuddha jātis was relatively rigid.

Dattila has recounted the combinations that gave rise to the 11 intermixed or saṅkara jātis in an extremely terse and compressed language, verging at points towards the riddle. However, Bharata and others are more specific and precise and we can easily reconstruct Dattila's intended meaning on the basis of their exposition.²

Certain of these 11 saṅkaras expressed their parentage through their very names: e.g., ṣaḍjamadhyamā and gāndhārapañcamī. Others were named after the regions where they were supposedly more popular, such as andhrī (from Āndhra; Bharata indeed calls it āndhrī) and the three udīcyavās (from the North). Though born of certain mixtures, these jātis were evidently not heterogeneous structures but homogeneous wholes. Even today many of our better rāgas—born of combining two or more rāga forms—are by no means mere 'combinations'³ but have an individual entity of their own.

In gāndharva only 11 saṅkara forms were accepted. These along with the 7 śuddhas (and their vikṛtas) were the sanctified forms taught by Brahmā himself (jātayo 'ṣṭādaśetyevam brahmaṇābhīhitam purā, N.S. 28, 39). Evidently, many more 'saṅkaras' were theoretically possible. A number of these were, indeed, actualised into musical forms. They were, however, outside the fold of gāndharva. Abhinava, commenting on N.S. 28, 46 (where Bharata says: "punarevāśuddhakṛtā bhavantyekādaśānyāstu") remarks that the expression 'punareva' in this context expresses a sense of exclusion; it denotes that the saṅkara jātis born of the vikṛtas are exclusively 11, they are no more than that number: "punareveti" śuddhābhīrvikṛtah kṛtāḥ tābhīst-vekādaśeti; punah śabdo vyatirekārthaḥ; ekādaśaiva nādhikā" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 46).

¹ तत्र एकादशं संसर्गंजा विकृता अपरस्परसंसर्गदिकादशं निर्वर्तयन्ति यथा—
शुद्धा विकृतापचैव हि समवायाज्ञातयस्तु जायन्ते । पुनरेवाशुद्धकृता भवन्त्ययैकादशान्य इस्तु ॥
—N.S. 28, 46.

The use of the negative prefix 'अ' before परस्परसंसर्गंजा seems to be an erroneous reading. Abhinava clearly remarks: तासां संसर्गत्.....

² Bharata says:
पाढ्जीमध्यमास्यां निवृत्ता ज्ञेया पाढ्जमध्यमा, पाढ्जीगान्धारीस्यां पढ्जकैशिकी, गान्धारीपञ्चधैवतीभिः पञ्चजोदीच्यवा,
पञ्चजागान्धारीमध्यमधैवतीभिर्गान्धारोदीच्यवा, धैवतीपञ्चमीमध्यमागान्धारीमिर्मध्यमोदीच्यवा, गान्धारीमध्यमापञ्च-
मीनिषादवतीभिरक्तगान्धारी, गान्धारार्थिभीम्यामान्धी, पञ्चम्यार्थिभीगान्धारीभिनन्दयन्तो, निषादवत्यार्थिभीपञ्चमीभिः
कामरवी, पञ्चमीगान्धारीस्यां गान्धारपञ्चमी, धैवत्यार्थिभीवजीभिः कैशिकी ।

—N.S. 28, 48.

Some recensions give the same matter in verse form. See also the jātiprakaraṇa in S.R. and S. Raj.

³ Some rāgas are, however, no more than mere combinations, for example, basanta-bahār, aḍāne ki bahār and similar other heterogeneous combinations made with bahār as the base in Hindustāni music,

The—Ten Jātis-Characteristics

- 55A. *grahāmīśau tāramandrau ca śāḍabauḍubite kramāt*
 B. *alpatvam ca bahutvam ca nyās'opanyāsa eva ca*
- 56A. *evametad yathājāti daśakam jātilakṣaṇam*
 B. *lakṣaṇam daśakasyāsyā saṅksepeñābhidhīyate*
- 57A. *tatra grahastu gītādisvaro'mśāḥ pūrvakīrtitāḥ*
 B. *pañcasavaraparastārauccairamśādīheṣyate*
- 58A. *āśadījānnandayantyām tu varo nātāḥ praśasyate*
 B. *mṛduraṁśaparo mandro nyāsāntastatparo'pi vā*
- 59A. *ṣaṭpañcasvarake gīte sāḍabauḍubite kramāt*
 B. *alpatvam ca bahutvam ca prayogālpabahutvataḥ*
- 60A. *gītakāntyasvaro nyāso vidārimadhyagastathā*
 B. *nyāsavatsyādapanyāso yathājāti bravīmyaham*
- 61A. *yam vinā hinatā yasyāḥ syācet tasyām tu so'lpakah*
 B. *amśādyamanyannyāsāttu¹ svarajātisu nāmakṛt*
- 62A. *tadgrahā tadapanyasā tadamśā ca yadā bhavet*
 B. *mandranyāsā ca pūrnā ca śuddhā jātistadocaye²*

(1) Graha and (2) amśa, (3) tāra and (4) mandra, (5) śāḍava and (6) auḍubita, (7) alpatva and (8) bahutva, and also (9) nyāsa and (10) apanyāsa—these, in due order, are the ten characteristics of jātis [applicable] to them in accordance with their form (yathājāti). These ten characteristics are now being expounded in brief.

Graha is the commencing note of a song (gīta). Amśa has already been defined (see verse 18). Here [in the jātis], movement in the tāra ought to be as high as the fifth note from the amśa.

¹ Datt. T.ed. reads अंशाद्यमन्यासस्तु...a reading which does not make sense.

² Br. 195-197A are almost identical with Datt. 55-56. Br. does not acknowledge the verses to be quotations. Datt. 56A in the Br. has a very corrupt reading, otherwise the passage conforms to the Datt. text. Br. 251 is again same as Datt. 62. The Vṛtti on Br. 251 quotes Datt. 61A as an authoritative pronouncement without naming the source. The line is given in support of a statement made by the Vṛttikāra with 'कुतः'—and then occurs the remark इति वचनात्. B. B. (I) quotes quite a few of the above lines, acknowledging the source as Dattila. Part of Datt. 57A occurs in B. B. (I) ch. VI with the words 'यथा दत्तिलः'. The line reads as 'गृहस्तु गीतादि प्रथमालाप'. Same line occurs again in B.B. (I) ch. VII with 'दत्तिलोप्याह'. Here the reading is same as ours. Datt. 58A is quoted in B.B. (I) ch. VII with 'तथा च दत्तिलः'. The line is corrupt. The first phrase reads; 'आ पड्ज'. Datt. 58B is quoted in B. B. (I) ch. VII as parallel testimony to N.S. 28, 71B with the words : 'दत्तिलोप्याह'. The end phrase reads : 'तत्परो भवेत्'. Datt. 60A is quoted twice in B. B. (I) ch. VI ; once it occurs along with Datt. 8 and Datt. 61B. The matter is introduced with the words : द्विधा मन्दः । अन्ध (अंश) परो न्यासपरश्च । यदाह मन्दस्त्वं (?स्वं) शपरो नास्ति दा (?न्या) सी तु द्वी अवस्थी इति 'दत्तिलाचार्येण वित्यमप्यभिहितम्'.

Datt. 60A in this quotation reads as गीतकान्तस्थितो न्यासो. Datt. 60A is quoted again in B. B. ch. (I) VII and reads : अंशमध्ये त्वपन्यासो'. Datt. 61B in B. B. (I) ch. VI reads 'अंशस्तु मन्दन्यासस्तु... It is quoted again with Datt. 62-64 in same chapter. A. B. on N. S. 28, 73, quotes part of 60 A तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः । विदारीमध्यगस्तथा इति. Datt. 62B in T.ed. reads 'मन्दन्यासा', a reading which does not make sense. We have adopted the reading 'मन्दन्यासा' as given in B. B. (I) where the line reads : मन्दन्यासाव (?च) पूर्णचि'. मन्दन्यासा is also the reading found in the Br. interpolation of the verse (Br. 251). B.B. (I) thrice quotes Datt. 62 each time reading, मन्दन्यासा, twice in ch. VI and once with Datt. 48 in ch. VII,

In [the jāti] nandayantī [tāra] is granted as desirable (varaḥ) upto the ṣadja, and is not commended (praśasyate) beyond it. [The limit of] mandra [in all the jātis, extends upto] the amṣa in the lower octave (mṛḍuramṣaparah) or alternatively it may end with the nyāsa, or even with the next [note] below the nyāsa (tatparo'pi vā). The gītas [consisting] of six or five notes respectively are [called] ṣāḍava and auḍuvita. Ample or scarce use [of a note in a jāti] results in bahutva or alpatva [of that note].

The note on which a gīta (song) terminates is [called] the nyāsa. [The note] which forms the nyāsa within a vidāri is [called] apanyāsa. I shall enumerate [these] while describing the different jātis.

That [note] is alpaka in a jāti, whose omission in it makes [the jāti] hīna (*i.e.*, renders it ṣāḍava or auḍuvita). In jātis [named after the seven] svaras (svarajātiṣu), the svara after which the jāti is named (nāmakṛt) should (always) remain its nyāsa: amṣa and other [features] can vary.

A jāti is called [śuddha], if all seven svaras are used in it (pūrṇa), if the final note (nyāsa) is in the lower octave (mandra) and if [the svara after which it is named] is its graha, its apanyāsa and its amṣa.

NOTE :

Like rāgas which have descended from them, jātis had a well-defined structure. The ten characteristics of jātis were the chief elements that governed their structure. Bharata gives the same list of characteristics as Dattila, calling it likewise 'daśakam jātilakṣaṇam'.¹

Graha was the initial note of a jāti while amṣa was the note most copiously used. The rule of tāra indicated the limit of movement in the higher octave while the range of movement in the lower octave was indicated by mandra. ṣāḍava and auḍuvita as jāti lakṣaṇas denoted the stipulated rules and conditions for rendering a jāti hexatonic and pentatonic. Strict rules regarding the notes that were to be dropped were observed. Alpatva (lit. the state of being diminished) was the principle of rendering certain notes in a jāti weak, while bahutva was the opposite. Bahutva could also be enjoined to operate on notes which otherwise need not have been strong notes such as the amṣa and its saṃvādī necessarily were. Nyāsa was the final note in a jāti while apanyāsa was the last note of an intermediary melodic phrase.

The Amṣa

Amṣa, says Dattila, was the vādī, the predominant note in a melodic structure. He gives no further details. Bharata has, however, summed up the functions of amṣa in a couple of kārikās :

tatrāṁśo nāma :
yasmin bhavati rāgaśca yasmāccaiva pravartate

¹ दशकं जातिलक्षणम् ...

ग्रहांशो तारमन्त्वे च न्यासोऽपन्यास एव च । अत्पत्वं च बहुत्वं च षाढवीडुविते तथा ॥

—N. S. 28, 66.

mandraśca tāramandraśca yo'tyartham copalabhyate
 grahāpanyāsavinyāsasannyāsanyāsagocaraḥ
 anuvṛttāśca yasyeha so'ṃśah syāddāśalakṣaṇah (N.S. 28, 68-69)¹

"The amṣa has 10 characteristics : (1) it is the svara on which the rāga (the aesthetic charm) depends and from which it is generated; (2) it determines the mandra and (3) also the tāra and mandra; (4) it is the note most frequently heard; it determines the (5) graha, (6) apanyāsa, (7) vinyāsa, (8) sannyāsa and (9) nyāsa; (10) it is the note which the others follow."

Abhinava explains : amṣa is the note, the presence of which creates rāga, i.e., charm, and it is the note which also formulates a jāti, just as the head formulates the form of a man : "amṣamāha 'yasmin bhavati rāgaśceti', yasmin vidyamāne rāgo raktirjātisvarūpam ca bhavati, śirasīva puruṣasvarūpam." It is the note which is used more often than any other note : "yaśca samastasvarāpekṣayā bāhulyena bhāti." In relation to amṣa, other notes are established as samvādī, anuvādī etc., and on it depend the five factors, graha, apanyāsa, vinyāsa, sannyāsa and nyāsa². It is the note which also governs the movements in the tāra and mandra octaves³ and is thus the main note.

The graha

Bharata defines graha as the first note of a song, a note with which any song begins (yatpravṛttam bhavedgeyam, N.S. 28, 67) So does Dattila : "grahastu gitādisvarah." Some modern scholars have interpreted Bharata as having taken graha as synonymous with amṣa" and amṣa according to them is the tonic (Alain Danielou, *Northern Indian Music*, p. 111). One can, of course, read such a meaning in Bharata and interpret the verse where graha is defined (N.S. 28, 67) accordingly. Dattila, too, can bear a similar interpretation. By taking the clause "amṣah pūrvakīrtitah" as qualifying "grahastu," the first line of Datt. 57 can be interpreted to mean that "graha is the same as amṣa, which has already been defined".

However, the actual words of Bharata, in this context, are "amṣa and graha [can act] as alternatives" (amṣo graha-vikalpitah, N.S. 28, 67). This does not mean that the two terms are synonymous, for it is clear that functionally graha was distinct from amṣa, though in practice the same notes performed both the functions. It was only in this sense, as Abhinava indicates, that amṣa could also be called graha : because this other function of acting as the graha was added to it (tenāmṣasyaiva dharmāntarayogannāmāntaram, A.B. on N.S. 28-67). It would, therefore, be erroneous to conclude that the two concepts were synonymous or that the

¹ Some manuscripts—not accepted by Abhinava—insert another kārikā in between : अनेकस्वरसंयोगे योऽत्यथमुपलभ्यते । अन्यश्च बलिनो यस्य संवादी चानुवाच्यते । The G.O.S. ed. marks the kārikā off with a bracket.

² यश्च स्वयमेव स्वसंवादानुवादिरूपं वा ग्रहादिपञ्चकरूपं वा करोति न तु कदाचिद्विवादिनम् । ग्रहादयो गोचरो नियन्तव्यो विषयो यस्य स तथा । —A.B. on N.S. 28, 68-69.

³ तदधर्यमेव तारावधिमवेक्ष्य च वक्ष्यमाणपञ्चमादित्यादिना तारमन्द्रस्थितिः । —A.B., *ibid.*

functions of graha and amṣa were identical. Abhinava here quotes the case of the jāti nandayantī where the different functions of graha and amṣa were obvious; for in this jāti, pañcama was the amṣa whereas the graha was gāndhāra.

Range in tāra and mandra

Tāra and mandra, in a general sense, meant the higher and the lower octaves, respectively. But when used in the context of jāti-characteristics, these terms acquired a somewhat different implication. The tāra of a jāti indicated the highest note in the higher octave up to which a jāti could ascend; similarly, mandra was the lowest note in the lower octave upto which it was permissible in a jāti to descend. To avoid confusion between tāra and mandra in general and these notions as jāti-characteristics, Bharata uses the expressions tāragati (movement in the higher octave) and mandragati (movement in the lower octave) instead of just tāra and mandra.

The general rule regarding the limiting extent of the melodic movement in the tāra octave was summed up in a formula: one could move as high as the fifth note from the amṣa in the tāra octave. Thus when the note ri was the amṣa in a jāti, the movement in the higher octave could ascend upto the note dha which is the fifth note beginning with ri. However, since only three octaves were conceived in the jāti system, jātis with ma, pa, dha and ni as amṣas could only ascend in the higher octave upto the higher ni; the octave beyond, namely, the atitāra, being out of bounds (madhyama-pañcamadhaivataniṣadeśu niṣadāntā eva te grāhya, A.B. on N.S. 28-70).

Dattila has specifically mentioned only the fifth note after the amṣa as the limit of movement in tāra. Bharata states that the movement could either be upto the fourth or the fifth note after the amṣa (amṣāttāragatīm̄ vidyādācaturthasyavarādiha āpañcamātpañcamādvā, N.S. 28, 70). The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī states that in some cases one could ascend upto the sixth note from the amṣa.¹ Kallinātha, in his commentary (on S.R. 1,7, 35-36) states that the fifth note from the amṣa was the limit in the ṣadja-grāma whereas in madhyama-grāma the limit was upto the fourth note. We do not know his source of information in this matter.

Abhinava's comments on tāra-movement are worthy of attention. Giving an example he says that if ṣadja be the amṣa, then one could move in the tāra upto ri ga ma pi, provided one was skilled enough to reach such a high note, but not higher even if one was capable of doing so. No blemish, however, lay in moving only upto notes lower than the highest permissible one: "tatram yadā ṣadjo'mśo bhavati tadā tārasaptakam̄ rigamapa ityetatparyantam̄ grāhyam̄ yadi śaktirasti na tu tataḥ param̄ śaktiyoge'pi, ūnagrahaṇe tu na doṣa iti paraśabdena darśitah" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 70). With ri as amṣa, Abhinava adds, one could move in the tāra upto dha; with gāndhāra as amṣa one could sing all the seven notes of the tāra octave upto ni (gāndhāre v amṣe niṣadāntā sapta). With madhyama the rule was to move only to the fourth

¹ कदाचित् पष्टस्वरारोहणं पि (? रोहणमपि) तारः।

—Bṛ. Vṛtti on 196.

higher note, i.e., tāra ni, if one could move so high.¹ In effect, with the five notes ga ma pa dha and ni as amśa the whole of the tāra octave remained the potential field of movement; only with sa and ri was the range limited.

Jātis were sung to a hexatonic or pentatonic structure also. How was tāra movement to be calculated in such cases? With a structure like sa ri ma pa ni and with ri as the amśa, could one move upto ni in the tāra? Dattila gives no answer but Bharata (in the text as followed by Abhinava)² has specified the rule to be followed in such cases. The same rule had been stated by Viśakhila also (as Abhinava quotes him).³ The rule was that in determining the upper limit of the possible movement in the tāra, the omitted note was also to be counted. Thus in the pentatonic structure cited as an example above, one could move upto dha, and since dha was omitted, the upper tāra limit remained pa.

These rules regarding tāra movements were a binding factor only in gāndharva and the jāti form. In grāma-rāgas they were not binding. Commenting on the word 'iha' used by Bharata in expounding the tāra rule⁴, Abhinava says : " 'iheti', jātiṣu, grāmarāgādau nāyam niyamah iti vibhāvah" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 70).

The general rule regarding tāra-movement had an exception in nandayantī, for in this jāti the movement in the higher octave was confined upto the first tāra note, i.e., the tāra ṣadja. Thus the ancients allowed this jāti virtually no scope for movement in the higher octave (tāragateḥ saṅkocastvācāryaiḥ kṛtaḥ, Kalā on S.R. 1, 7, 36). Bharata has not noted the example of nandayantī as being an exception in the context of the general rule regarding tāra but in expounding the structure of nandayantī he points out its restricted tāra movement, decreeing that tāragati in this jāti does not stretch beyond the tāra ṣadja (tāragatyā tu ṣadjastu kadācinnātivartate, N.S. 28, 134).

The extent of movement in the lower octave also depended upon the amśa. One possible lower limit of the movement was the amśa itself in the lower octave. Thus in the jāti śuddhā ṣadjā (or ṣadji) one could descend upto the note sa in the lower octave, the lowest possible note of the three octave range.

There was another alternative for the limit of the lower movement: the final note or nyāsa could be the limit. There was yet another alternative; it was permissi-

¹ ऋषभेष्ठो पुनर्यंवतात्त्वाः स्वरस्तारसप्तर्थम् ग्राहा भवन्ति । गान्धारे त्वंशे निपादान्ता सप्त । मध्यमपञ्चमधीवतनिपादेयु निपादान्ता एव ते ग्राहा इति पञ्चस्वरेषु समस्त एकस्तारसप्तकः संगृहीतो भवति । मध्यमः पुनर्यंदि शक्तिः चतुर्स्वरपरमारोहणम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 70.

² After N.S. 28, 70 a line is added in brackets:
(लोपस्वरोऽपि गणः स्याद्बुधेस्तारविघो पुनः)

The editor of the N.S. text comments:

एतदर्थं व्यञ्जको ग्रन्थभागः न कस्यांचिदपि मातृकायां दृश्यते । व्याख्यानात्स एव पतितः स्यादिति श्लोकाद्यं रचयित्वात् निवेशितम्

Though Abhinava gives only a word or two of the line, which in his ms. was part of the text, the purport of the line is well put together by the editor on the basis of Abhinava's comments.

³ तथा च विशाखिलाचार्यः । नाश्यस्वरस्तारविघो संख्यायते इति ॥

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 70

⁴ अंशात्तारगति विद्यादाचतुर्थस्वरादिह । बापञ्चमात्पञ्चमाद्वा नातःपरमिहेष्यते ॥
—N.S. 28, 70

ble to descend to the note immediately below the nyāsa. Bharata, giving an illustration, says that with gāndhāra as nyāsa one could move down upto ṛṣabha¹.

According to the reading in the Asiatic Society edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, there was still another alternative : the apanyāsa could also function as the lower limit for the movement in the mandra (trividhā mandragatih—amśaparā nyāsaparā apanyāsaparā ceti' N.S. A.S. ed., 28,95). Kallinātha seems to have accepted this reading of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.²

Bahutva

According to Kallinātha, bahutva or the ample use of a note could be effected in two ways: (1) by alaṅghana, i.e., by not transgressing it in rendering a melodic movement and (2) by abhyāsa, i.e., the frequent repetition of it.³ The notes which obviously had an ample use in a jāti were its vādī and saṃvādī (sonant and consonant); other notes on which bahutva operated were the notes called paryāyāmśas or the alternative amśas.

The term paryāyāmśa has not been used by Dattila or Bharata. Later theorists seemed to have coined it in order to explain a certain phenomenon present in the jāti-structure. The term is to be found in the expositions of Abhinava and others.

Many jātis are decreed as having more than one amśa; śadjamadhyamā, for example, had seven amśas. All possible amśas of a jāti could not become the vādī-note at the same time. But evidently they were all potential vādis and each could become a vādī in a different rendering. Amśas other than the operative one, remained paryāyāmśas, or alternate amśas. Thus Kallinātha explains paryāyāmśa as: "vādibhūt-āmśādvyatiriktāmśah" (Kalā on S.R. 1, 7, 49).

Paryāyāmśas, when not acting as the main note, did not lose their importance and remained strong notes. Abhinava states this idea negatively: "notes which are not paryāyāmśas when used in antaramārga should not be emphasised by repetition, for example, the niṣāda and the ṛṣabha in the śāḍjī jāti."⁴ In śāḍjī, which had five amśas, the only notes which were not amśas were niṣāda and ṛṣabha.

Alpatva

Alpatva was just the reverse of bahutva. It was effected by laṅghana and anabhyāsa. The first was effected by gliding over a note in a way that left it unempha-

1 त्रिधा मन्द्रगतिः । अंशपरा न्यासपरा तत्पराचेति ।
मन्द्रस्त्वंशात्परो नास्ति त्वासौ तु द्वी व्यवस्थितौ । गान्धारन्यासलिंग तु दृष्टमार्षभसेवनम् ॥

—N.S. 28, 70-71.

2 Kallinātha says : यथोक्तं भरतेन... "त्रिधा मन्द्रगतिरंशपरा न्यासपराऽपन्यासपरा चेति ।
—Kalā on S.R. 1,7, 37-38.

3 He evidently takes his cue from the N.S. where alpatva, the converse of bahutva, has been defined as : द्विविघमल्पत्वं लङ्घनादनम्यासाच्च ।
—N.S. 28, 74.

4 येऽत्र तु स्वरा: पर्यायाम्शा न भवन्ति यथा षाड्ज्यां निषादर्थं भी तौ यदाङ्गतरमाणे प्रयुज्येते तदाङ्गम्यासः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 74.

sised and thus rendered it subordinate to the emphasised note (*laṅghanaṃ sprṣṭvaivā-viśramyaiva tatsvarāntaragamane tasya svarasya svapradhānīkaraṇam*, A. B. on N.S. 28-74), or by avoiding to repeat it (*anabhyāsa*). *Anabhyāsa* operated on weak notes, i.e., the notes which were not potential amśas (*anamśa*). Curiously, it could also operate on notes that were actually to be omitted (*śāḍabaudubitakārāṇām*).¹ Dattila too says that the note which has to be omitted is an alpaka note; alpatva, in other words, operates on it. Thus in making a jāti śāḍava or auḍuva and (in Dattila's words) rendering it 'hīna'—diminished—the notes to be dropped were not sometimes totally dropped but were made alpaka or weak; this was considered as amounting to omission (Datt. 61A).

Śāḍava and Auḍuva

Well-defined rules as to notes that could be dropped for forming śāḍava and auḍuva had been laid. We have already discussed some general rules. We shall meet with details in dealing with individual jātis.

Nyāsa and Apanyāsa

Nyāsa was the note on which a melody came to rest. *Apanyāsa* was a *nyāsa* within a *vidārī*. *Vidārīs* were, in short, smaller units within the musical whole of a melody.

Bharata gives a somewhat different definition of *nyāsa* and *apanyāsa*. *Nyāsa*, he says, occurs at the end of a portion or part (*aṅga*); *apanyāsa* is similar but it comes at the end of a smaller segment within a larger part or *aṅga*: "aṅgasamāptau nyāsah, tadvadapanyāso hyaṅgamadhye" (N.S. 28, 72). Abhinava defines *nyāsa* as the svara on which the structure of a jāti finally comes to rest, that is, the note on which a jāti is consummated.² *Apanyāsa*, Abhinava remarks, is, as Bharata states, similar to *nyāsa* (*tadvad*), but it occurs as an intermediate final note (*avāntarasamāptau*): it occurs at the consummation of smaller parts within the jāti structure. Bharata's phrase 'aṅgamadhye' then evidently meant the same as Dattila's words, 'vidārīmadhyagah', which Abhinava indeed quotes.³

We shall see later on that every jāti had one or more specified note as *nyāsa* and *apanyāsa*. Bharata has given us the total count of all the *nyāsas* and *apanyāsas* laid down for the 18 jātis. The total number of *nyāsas* were 21 and *apanyāsas* 56: "atha nyāsa ekavimśatisaṅkhyah...ṣaṭpañcāśatsaṅkhyo' panyāsah" (N.S. 28, 72). The jāti śāḍjamadhyamā had two svaras as *nyāsas*, kaiśikī had three; the other 16 jātis had

¹ द्विविधमल्पत्वं लङ्घनादनभ्यासञ्च । तत्र पाढवौद्भवितकाराणांमनशानां च गीतान्तरसार्गमुपगतानां स्वराणामनभ्यासः लङ्घनादनभ्यासाद्यथा जात्यल्पत्वं तद्वद्भूलत्वं च ।
—N.S. 28, 74.

² अस्यां जातिशरीरसमाप्तो कर्तव्यतायां वा स्वरः सन्ध्यासः तहि अस्यते प्रयोगो येनेति न्यासः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 73.

³ अपन्यासमाह । तद्विति । समाप्तो तहि न्यासात् कोऽस्य विशेषः । आह । अङ्गमध्य इति । अवाःतरसमार्तवित्यर्थः । तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः 'विदारी मध्यगतस्तथा' इति ।
—A.B., *ibid.*

only one each; total number of nyāsas thus being 21 : “śadjamadhyamāyāṁ dve, kaiśīkyāstrayah, śiṣṭānāṁ ṣoḍaśeti” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 73). The jātis of the ṣadja-grāma together had 24 apanyāsas: ṣadjamadhyamā had 7, ṣaḍjodīcyavā had 2 and the other 5 jātis of this grāma had 3 each; together they had 24 apanyāsas.¹ The madhyama-grāma jātis similarly had 32 apanyāsas.

Other Jāti Characteristics

Bharata has once used the phrase: “samavayājjātayastu jāyante”: jātis are born of a conglomeration—(samavāya) (N.S. 28, 46). This samavāya, as Abhinava remarks, consisted of śrutis and svaras grouped according to the basis of graha etc.² The jāti-lakṣaṇas, in other words, together formed the ‘samavāya’ which resulted in a jāti. Yet any living and complex structure cannot be entirely summed up in a precise number of characteristics; nuances are bound to escape lakṣaṇa-formulations. Abhinava, in fact, observes that some old theorists had said that jātis resulted not only through amṛsa, graha etc. but a hundred such formal arrangements and combinations (yojanā): “amṛśāgrahādiśatayojanāyā jāyanta iti jātaya ityanye” (A. B. on N. S. 28, 46).

The *Nātyaśāstra* recounts one more prominent element of the jāti-structure besides the ten characteristics. This was the antaramārga (N.S. 28, 75). Though not included as part of the jāti-lakṣaṇa list which appears to have become conventionally limited to the 10 standard characteristics (daśakam jāti-lakṣaṇam; N. S. 28, 66), antarmārga was an important element. *Saṅgitaratnākara* and later texts include antaramārga as a jāti-lakṣaṇa and add two more, namely, sanyāsa and vinyāsa. Śāringadeva thus enumerates not 10 but 13 jāti-lakṣaṇas (S.R. 1,7, 29-30).

Dattila defines and indicates the use of sanyāsa while pointing out some details of jātis when moulded to gītakas (Datt. 141). But he does not include sanyāsa among the list of lakṣaṇas. Both sanyāsa and vinyāsa appear to have been sub-categories of apanyāsa. Kallinātha states that the reason why Bharata, Maṭaṅga and others have not included these as jāti-characteristics was that these elements, like apanyāsa, were dependent upon vidārīs (see verse 142), and as such were included in the general idea of apanyāsa.³

Giving reasons for exclusion of antaramārga from the ancient jātilakṣaṇa list, Kallinātha says that antaramārga was only a mode of combining the various elements of a jāti such as amṛsa and has, therefore, not been separately enumerated. But Kallinātha also justifies Śāringadeva who has included antaramārga as well as sanyāsa and vinyāsa as lakṣaṇas; he says: “Since sanyāsa and vinyāsa are undoubtedly two distinct components, they should be separately enumerated. Inclusion of antaramārga,

¹ तत् पद्मजग्रामे षड्जमध्ययः।या: सर्वान्यासाः। पद्मजोदीन्यवायां द्वौ, पठचानां प्रत्येकं त्रय इति इति चतुर्विशतिः। शेषास्तु मध्यमग्रामे।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 73.

² निर्होत्ती समवायात् श्रुतिस्वरग्रहादिसमूहाधतो जायन्ते ततो जातय इति चतुर्विशतिः निर्वचनम्
—ibid., 28, 46.

³ भरतमतञ्जलिदिभिः संन्यासविदयासयोविदार्थश्रितत्वादप्यशासेऽतभवेण पृथगुदेशो नापेक्षित इति दशकं जातिलक्षणमुक्तम्।
—Kalā on S.R. 1, 7, 29-34.

too, as a distinct element is necessary, for it is the mode by which various elements of a jāti are related to each other and this is essential for rendering a jāti.”¹

Antaramārga

Bharata, in a verse, says : “movement (sañcāra) over the amśa and strong notes, rendering the weak notes as unemphasised, nyāsa and antaramārga [are the factors]—that manifest jātis.”

sañcārāmśabalasthānāmalpatve durbalāsu ca
nyāsaścāntaramārgastu jātiṇām vyaktikārakaḥ

(N.S. 28, 75).²

Abhinava comments that some theorists understood this verse as a definition of antaramārga (antaramārga-lakṣaṇatvena ślokam vyācakṣate). Taking the word nyāsa not in its technical sense as the final note but in a general way (ni+√ as : ‘to arrange’ etc.), they interpreted the verse to the following effect : antaramārga was the factor which manifested a jāti; antaramārga depended upon alpatva and bahutva; it was rendered by emphasising the amśa, the anuvādī and other strong notes and placing or arranging (nyasanam) the weak notes through laṅghana in such a way that they remained unemphasised.³

Abhinava himself explained the śloka somewhat differently as laying down a rule for certain jātis which had a large number of paryāyāmśas. Yet he seems to have shared views regarding the general nature and function of antaramārga with the theorists he refers to. However, he makes the reservation that in some jātis even weak notes could be emphasised in the antaramārga; in kārmāravi, for example, ga was a weak note being an amśa (*i.e.*, other than a paryāyāmśa) but it was yet copiously used and movements were made to it from every note.⁴

Antaramārga emerges to have been a term which denoted the characteristic melodic movement over notes in a jāti. The term itself is suggestive. It denotes the internal, the deeply individual path traced by the melody in a jāti (antaramārgaṇami-

¹ तथाऽपि संन्यासविन्यासयोः पृथग्वयवत्तेनान्तमागंसय तु सत्रवंशादिष्ववयवेषु तेन विना प्रयोगासिद्धेस्तस्यावशिकत्वालक्षणेषु पृथग्विद्यय लयोदयेत्युक्तं मन्यकारेण
—Kalā, *ibid.*

² Abhinava interprets sañcārāmśa in this verse as meaning paryāyāmśa : ‘सञ्चारेण पर्यायेण योऽप्तः’ Thus according to Abhinava’s interpretation the notion of paryāyāmśa has been overtly listed; if not explained, by Bharata.

³ अन्ये त्वन्तरमागंस्य सर्वं प्रधानस्याल्पत्वबहुत्वाभ्यां विना स्वरूपलाभ एव (न) भवतीति तात्पर्यं मन्यमाना अन्तरमागंलक्षणत्वेन श्लोकं व्याचक्षते । कथम् । ‘च’ हैं । यस्मादन्तरमागों जातीनां’ व्यक्तिकृत स चाल्पत्वबहुत्वजीवी तस्य हि लक्षणम् । ‘सञ्चारेति’ । सञ्चारे अनवादिस्वरे अंशाद्वरे च प्रधानभूते दलकल्पे स्थिते ‘बलरथानां’ सरां संवादिनां स्वराणां बलवत्त्याऽप्तते (दुर्बलामुः)..... स्वराणां दुर्बलप्राणकंत्वे विलम्बनेन यसनं यः (करोति) सोऽन्तरमागंस्तस्मादल्पत्वबहुत्वे वर्तत्वं इति

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 75.

⁴ अन्तरमागंसित्यन्तरमागंस्य लक्षणम् । ‘यथाजातीति’ । ववचिदनंशोऽपि नात्पः । तथा च कार्मारव्यां गान्धारस्य सर्वस्वरसञ्ज्ञत्वा बहुत्वेनान्तरमागे ‘प्रयोग इति वक्ष्यते ।

—A.B., *ibid.*

tyantaramārgasya lakṣaṇam, A.B: on N.S. 28, 74). It is significantly suggestive of our own term ‘calan’—individual movement of a rāga.

Dattila does not list antaramārga as a jāti-lakṣaṇa, but uses the word twice in a significant context. In defining aṅga, a topic in tāla, he relates the structure of a certain class of aṅgas to melodic structures and says that these aṅgas should be rendered according to antaramārga and further specifies that in case of śuddha jātis, antaramārga should depend upon amṛsa (Datt. 147).

Sanyāsa and Vinyāsa

Dattila defines sanyāsa as the note which was not a vivādī of the amṛsa and which served as the final note (nyāsa) in the first vidārī (Datt. 141). Dattila does not mention vinyāsa. Perhaps the use of vinyāsa was not a universal factor in the jātis. Kumbha argues that this was the reason why Dattila had not spoken of vinyāsa.¹ Unlike Dattila, Bharata defines both sanyāsa and vinyāsa.² Śāringadeva defines vinyāsa as the note that occurs at the end of each small melodic unit set to a single word within a vidārī (yo vidārībhāgarūpapadaprāntē'vatiṣṭhate, S.R. 1, 7, 48; see also Kalā). Śāringadeva, on this point, seems to have based his words upon Abhinava’s comments on Bharata’s definition of vinyāsa. Abhinava says that “vinyāsa is a note which is placed (vinyasyate) at the end of a single pada or word (padāntē) within a vidārī-unit. Such a note could be either the samvādī or the anuvādī of the amṛsa: amṛsasya samvādyanuvādī vā kāpi vidārībhāva(?ga)rūpasya padasya padānte vinyasyate tadā vinyāsah” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 73).

After expounding jāti-lakṣaṇas, Dattila explains the nature of śuddha jāti in Datt. 62.

In a śuddha jāti the note after which the jāti was named was its amṛsa, nyāsa, graha and also its apanyāsa. (svavarāmśagrahanyāsāpanyāsaśca; N.S. 28, 45). Another necessary factor was that the nyāsa occurred necessarily in the mandra or lower octave. Bharata also states: “nyāsavidhāvapyaśām mandro niyamaḥ vikṛtāsvaniyamaḥ” (N.S. 28, 46).

In vikṛtas there was no strict limiting factor except for the nyāsa which had to remain on the nāma-svara (the note after which a jāti was named) though not necessarily in the mandra(yā vikṛtāstāsu nāmakārī mandra bhavatītyaniyamaḥ, Br. Vṛtti on 187, also quoted by Sudhā on S.R. 1, 7, 3). By successively dropping one or more essential features from a śuddha jāti, many vikṛtas could be formed. Śāringadeva

¹ विन्यासस्य प्रयोगोऽन्न न सर्वतं मतः सताम् । दत्तिलाद्यैरतो नाम न हि शास्त्रेषु लक्षितः ॥

—S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 98,

² तत्र प्रथम विदारीमध्ये न्यासस्वरप्रयुक्तस्तु । विवदनशीलं मुक्त्वा सन्त्यासः सोऽभिधातव्यः कृत्वा पदावसाने विन्यासात् व्यापि विन्यासः ।

—N.S. 28, 73,

Abhinava, in introducing his comments on these lines, says that though unlisted, these notions were important being offshoots of the notion of amṛsa and have therefore been expounded : अथानुद्विष्टमप्यंशलक्षणपैक्षितं प्रसङ्गालक्षयति ।

enumerates fifteen vikṛtas of the śādji alone. (For details, see S.R. 1, 7, 4-7, and the two commentaries). Abhinava enumerates the vikṛtas when describing śuddha jātis in detail.

A question here arises as to why should nyāsa have been chosen as the constant invariable when the same result could have been achieved by taking the graha or the apanyāsa or the amṣa as the constant, for in a śuddha jāti, the nāma-svara was not only its nyāsa, but also its graha, apanyāsa and amṣa as well. Kallinātha says that nyāsa was the main factor which distinguished two jātis, but does not give reasons for this assertion. If the nyāsa, too, he further says, were to be taken as a variable, then it would not be possible to recognise the śuddha source of a vikṛta jāti.¹ Kallinātha's comment does not answer our question, for the problem remains as to why nyāsa should have been taken as the constant invariable where other choices seem to be equally eligible.

The Jāti Śādji

- 63A. *amṣāḥ syuh pañca śadjāyā niṣādarśabhabavarjitāḥ*
- B. *apanyāsāstu gāndhāraḥ pañcamaścātha saṅgatiḥ*
- 64A. *śadjagāndhārayostu syāt śadjadhaivatayostathā*
- B. *śādabatvam niṣāde syānnasyāmaudubitam bhavet²*

In śādji [jāti], with the exception of niṣāda and ṛṣabha, there are five amṣas; gāndhāra as well as pañcama are the apanyāsas. In it, association (saṅgati) occurs between śadja and gāndhāra as well as between śadja and dhaivata. It is rendered śādava by [dropping] niṣāda. It admits no auḍuvita.

NOTE :

Dattila now begins delineating the structural features of different jātis, noting their amṣas and other necessary characteristics. These in śādji are clear enough. The term saṅgati, however, needs an explanation. The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* in this context

¹ नामस्वरमेव न्यासं कृत्वाऽपन्यासादीन्स्वरान्तरं रणि कुर्यादिति । एवं कृता यदि, तदा विकृता, विकृतांवस्थाऽपन्ना भवन्ति, न तु विकृतसंसर्गजातजातिवद्व्यपदेशान्तरभाज इत्यर्थः । अत न्यासनियमस्य परित्यागो नेष्टः ; तस्मन्नपि परित्यक्ते सर्वते विकृतासु जात्यन्तरभेदकात्मेन प्रधानभूतावयवा ननुवृत्ती तासां तत्तच्छुद्जातिमेदत्वप्रतीतिनं स्यात् ।

—Kalā on S.R. 1, 73.

² Br. 201-230A is the same as Datt. 63-91A. The lines are not acknowledged as borrowed from Dattila. For textual implication of this fact see ch. II. Br. 201-202 have the same reading as Datt. 63-64. Apparently in Datt. 63-64 some words were missing and were filled in by the editor from Br. These have been bracketed in the T. ed. from 'गान्धारः' in Datt. 63B to 'पद्जः', the first word in Datt. 64A. B.B. (I) ch. VI quotes 61B to 64 with the words: 'यशहद त्तिः'. 63A here reads 'अं गाश्च पञ्च' पाड्ज्याः स्युर्भिर्गादर्पं भवत्तिः'. 63B reads पञ्चमस्याय सङ्गतिः instead of above. 64 reads: बहुगान्धारयोर्स्तु स्यात् बहुधेवतयोस्तया । पाड्जं तु निपादे स्यात् पञ्चमोद्दुवितं भवेत् ।

However it must be remembered that B.B. (I) readings are full of scribal and other errors and are not collated readings.

defines saṅgati as a to and fro movement (parasparagamanam ca saṅgatih, Br. Vṛtti on 251) between the two notes ṣadja and dhaivata and also between ṣadja and gāndhāra. Bharata in N.S. 28, 95-97 uses a clearer term sañcāra, to describe this very movement. Kallinātha in his commentary on S.R. 1-7-61, defines the nature of this movement more specifically. "Here in ṣāḍjī", he says, "the note ṣadja should be associated with the two notes gāndhāra and dhaivata, both of which are one note removed from it. The movement should be aesthetically satisfying (yathārakti); the phrase rendered should be either sa ga, sa ga sa dha, or ga sa, ga sa, dha sa."¹ This saṅgati was, it appears, a typical movement of the antaramārga in this jāti.

Dattila has not named the weak notes in this jāti. But on the basis of the general principles discussed above, we may infer that ni and ri, which are not possible amśas, (i.e., paryāyāmśas) should have been weak. Bharata explicitly states: "alpau vai sapta-maṛṣabhu" (N.S. 28, 97).

Bharata mentions the nyāsa here as sadja (N.S. 28, 97). Dattila does not name thenyāsa. Naming it was indeed unnecessary since in a svara-jāti like ṣāḍjī, ṣadja was by rule the nyāsa.

The Jāti Ārṣabhi

65A. ārṣabhyāstu smṛtā amśāni niśādarṣabhaivatāḥ
B. ṣadjapañcamahīne ca ṣāḍabaudubite kramāt²

Niśāda, ḥṣabha and dhaivata are said to be the amśas of the ārṣabhi (jāti). It is rendered ṣāḍava and auḍuvita by omitting (hīne) ṣadja and pañcama in due order.

NOTE :

The last line of Dattila's description does not imply that this jāti can be rendered ṣāḍava by successively omitting ṣadja and pañcama. What Dattila intends is that the jāti is rendered ṣāḍava by omitting ṣadja alone and auḍuvita by dropping both ṣadja and pañcama. Bharata has a statement similar to Dattila on this point.³ Abhinava clarifies: "ṣadjhīne ṣāḍavah ᷣadjapañcamyorhīne auḍuvitatvam" (A.B. on N.S.

¹ सग्योः सधयोश्चात् संगतिरिति । अत पद्जस्य गान्धारेणकान्तरितेन तादृशेनैव धैवतेन च यथारक्ति सम्बन्धः सगसग-सघसेति गसगसधसेति वा कार्यः ।

—Kalā on S.R. 1, 7, 61.

It should, however, be remembered that the saṅgati here noted by Kallinātha was most likely an imaginative reconstruction of what it might have been like. No available ancient text gives the actual structure of the saṅgati.

² T.ed. 65 has a lacuna of five letters at the end of the verse. However both in Br. and in B.B. (I) the full verse is found. In Br. the reading is faulty but B.B. (I) clearly reads पाडबौडुवित क्रमात्. Br. 203 is same as Datt. 65. B.B. (I) ch. VI quotes Datt. 65 as a parallel testimony to N.S. 28, 98 which is quoted with the words : वापर्षभी; तत्सुक्तम्. Datt. 65 is then quoted with दत्तिलश्चाह, reading as above.

³ पट्पञ्चस्वरता चात् पद्जपञ्चमयोर्विना

—N.S. 28, 98.

28, 98). We have translated the word 'hīna' as 'omitting' or 'dropping'; but in this context the word was used in a rather qualified sense. For, a note rendered hīna was one on which alpatva operated and the note was not always totally dropped.

Bharata notes details about āśabhbī which Dattila seems to have taken for granted (N.S. 28, 98-101). The apānyāsa notes in this jāti were the same as the amṣa notes; ṛśabha was the only nyāsa. The fact that ṛśabha was the nyāsa, however, followed from the general maxim that in śuddha jātis the nāma-svara was the nyāsa.

Abhinava notes two saṅgatis in this jāti: one between sa and dha and another between ri and ga (sadhau rigau ca saṅgacchete, A.B. on N.S. 28, 98). He further says that when this jāti was pūrṇa—septatonic—sa, ga, pa were alpa notes; when auḍuvita, ga ma were weak notes: “pūrṇāvasthāyāṁ ṣadṛjagāndhārapañcamā alpatvat̄m bhajante, auḍuvite ca gamayoralpatā” (A.B., *ibid.*).

The Jāti Dhaivatī

- 66A. *dhaivatyāṁ gurubhiḥ proktāvamsāvṛṣabhaivatau*
B. *samadhyamāvapanyāsau prāguktā hīnatotkramāt.*¹

Teachers declare ḫsabha and dhaivata as the two amśas in dhaivatī [jāti]. These two, along with the madhyama, are [also] the apanyāsas. The [process of] hīnatā [occurs in the same way] as afore-mentioned, but by reversing the order (*i.e.*, śāḍava is obtained by dropping pañcama and auḍuvita by dropping both śāḍja and pañcama).

NOTE :

Dattila (unlike Śāṅgadeva) has taken up the jātis according to the two grāma divisions which loomed large in actual ancient musical practice and not in their serial order. Thus, after sādjī and ārśabī, he deals with dhaivatī and other jātis of the śadja-grāma. Later he takes up the madhyama-grāma jātis as a separate group. Bharata has followed the same order as Dattila.

The phrase 'prāguktā hīnatotkramāt' evidently refers to the *hīnatā* in this *jāti* and this is described in relation to the previous *jāti*, ārṣabhbī. Dattila's attempt at brevity has made his language more precise than clear. However, his purport (as we have rendered it) is clear from the *Nātyasāstra* which says:

śaḍjapañcamahīnam tu pāñcasvaryam vidhīyate
pañcamena vīṇā caiva śāḍavam parikīrtitam (N.S. 28, 100)

"The five-note structure is rendered by dropping śadja and pañcama and śādava is rendered by dropping pañcama."

¹ Br. 204 is same as Datt. 66. B.B. (I) ch. VI quotes Datt. 66 with the words 'दत्तिलाचार्योर्पि आह'. Line 66 B has scribal mistakes. The last portion of the line reads as 'प्रागुक्तास्तेनक्रमादिति'. The verse is quoted as authoritative testimony parallel to N.S. 28, 120-122.

² In this connection S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 168 reads औइवं समयोर्लोपात्, an error either of the compositor or the copyist, since no other authority describes 'ma' as hina. The correct reading evidently is ; औइवं सपयोर्लोपात्

We notice that in this jāti ṣadja could be dropped. In addition (a fact which further confounds us moderns) pañcama could also be dropped.

Bharata notes some more characteristics of this jāti. We can infer that, being amśas, ri and dha were strong notes; Bharata adds that gāndhāra was also strong. He also states that when the jāti was pūrṇa, sa and pa were to be employed only in the ascent but were otherwise notes on which laṅghana applied (N.S.28, 100-101).

The Jāti Niṣādayatī

67A. *amśau niṣādayatīstu dviśruti sārṣabha smṛtāu*
B. *dhaivatīvad bhavēccheso nyāso nāmakṛdeva tu¹*

Along with the ṣabha, the two two-śruti notes (*i.e.*, niṣāda and gāndhara) are said to be the amśas of the [jāti] niṣādayatī. The note after which it is named is indeed its nyāsa. The rest [of the characteristics] correspond to dhaivatī.

NOTE :

A word should be said here regarding features in this jāti which are said to correspond with dhaivatī. Bharata, enumerating these features, says: "The process of śādava and auḍuvita in this jāti is the same as in the dhaivatī (*i.e.*, by dropping pañcama and by dropping ṣadja and pañcama respectively); moreover, these two notes are unemphasised (laṅghaniyau) and are also strong (balvantau) in a similar way as in the dhaivatī (jāti)" (N.S. 28, 103). The latter statement of Bharata may appear contradictory and perplexing. For a clarification we shall consider the comments of Abhinava and observations found in the Vṛtti on the Brāhmaṇadeśī. ṣadja and pañcama in dhaivatī were notes that could be dropped (*hīna*); this implies that they were meant to be weak notes even when employed in the pūrṇa state of the jāti. Bharata has said that these notes are laṅghaniya and are to be used only in the ascent. Abhinava comments that in a pūrṇa dhaivatī, ṣadja and pañcama should be used in the ascending movement and although these notes are *hīna* and omitted for the process of śādava and auḍuvita; yet they are powerful notes (when the jāti is pūrṇa). (Iopyatvällaṅghanam siddhamapi punah prakarsalābhavamuktam; A.B. on N.S. 28, 101).

The Vṛtti on Brāhmaṇadeśī remarks: "śādava is rendered by dropping pañcama and auḍuvita by dropping pañcama and ṣadja. These two, ṣadja and pañcama, should be made strong (balau), [although] they should sometimes be unemphasised by laṅghana (laṅghaniyau). When the jāti is pūrṇa the notes ṣadja, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañcama and niṣāda with the exception of the notes ṣadja and pañcama are rendered as alpa. These [last two] are alpa in the auḍuvita. The rest are strong."²

¹ Br. 205 is same as Datt. 67. Datt. 67B has चलेते नामकृदेव तु within brackets. Evidently the line was indistinct in Datt. and the editor supplied the words from Br. B.B. (I) ch. VI quotes Datt. 67 with 'दत्तिलोप्याह'. The Datt. verse is quoted as parallel authority to N.S. 28, 102-103.

² पञ्चमहीनं पाडवं। (पञ्चमषड्जहीनं पष्टवं?) पञ्चमषड्जहीनमोडुवितम्। तावेव पद्मजपञ्चमस्वरी तु बली कर्त्तव्यो। कवचित् लंघनीयो।

—Br. Vṛtti on 251,

This similarity between the two jātis, dhaivatī and niṣāḍavatī, (which certainly provides an example of jāti-sādhāraṇa) did not, however, extend to apanyāsas. The apanyāsas in the dhaivatī were dha, ri, ma, whereas those in niṣāḍavatī were the same as its amśas, viz., ni, ri, and ga. There must have been other features which distinguished the two jatis (such as their differing antaramārgas) in actual musical practice.

The Jāti Ṣadjakaiśikī

- 68A. *amśāḥ syuḥ ṣadjakaiśikyāṁ śad jagāndhārapañcamāḥ*
 B. *saniṣādāstvagāndhārā apanyāsāsta eva tu*
 69A. *r̥ṣabho'psaprayogaḥ syānnyāśo gāndhāra iṣyate*
 B. *nityam pūrṇasvarā ceyamācāryaiḥ parikīrtitā¹*

In ṣadjakaiśikī [jāti], the amśas are ṣadja, gāndhāra and pañcama. These very notes including the niṣāda but excluding the gāndhāra are the apanyāsas. The application of r̥ṣabha is not frequent (alpaprāyogaḥ). The nyāsa ought to be on gāndhāra. This [jāti] invariably consists of seven notes; so have the teachers declared.

NOTE :

We come now to the saṅkara jātis of the ṣadja-grāma.

Ṣadjakaiśikī jāti was born through a combination of ṣāḍjī and gāndhārī (Datt. 49). It had three amśas: sa, ga, pa; the other notes, the anamśas, were by implication relatively weak notes. Dattila overtly describes only r̥ṣabha as weak, probably implying that this svara was weaker than the other anamśa notes. Bharata mentions another svara as weak along with ri; this according to Abhinava's reading was ma, but dha according to another reading.² "That ma and ri are weak", says Abhinava, "follows from their being anamśas but they have been especially named to reveal their extreme weakness; ni and dha consequently are relatively stronger notes.³ The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī also names ma and ri as weak notes; it, however, adds a qualifying remark: "ma was weak but ri was weaker: madhyamānām (?) alpatvam r̥ṣabhasyālpataratvam" (Br. Vṛtti on 251).

Jātis were rendered ṣāḍava and auḍuva according to strict rules. In preceding jātis, notes which could be dropped are named. Further, we have seen that there were jātis, such as ṣāḍjī, which permitted no auḍuva. Here we meet with a jāti which permitted neither ṣāḍava nor auḍuva. Such restrictions were typical of gāndharva.

¹ Datt. T.ed. 68B reads : सनिषादास्तु गान्धारा... which makes no sense. We have modified the text on the bsais of Br. 206 which reads the same line as 'सनिषादा गान्धारा'... Br. 206-207 are same as Datt. 68-69.

² दौर्वल्यं चात्र कर्तव्यं घैवत (मध्यम) स्यापंस्य च
—N.S. 28, 105.

The word 'madhyama' in brackets indicates the reading accepted by Abhinava who say 'मध्यमर्षमयोदीर्वल्यम (न) शत्वात्सिद्धं पुनराधिक्याथं ज्ञापयति । निधयोरत्र किञ्चिदाधिक्यमिति ।

³ 'मध्यमर्षमयोदीर्वल्यम (न) शत्वात्सिद्धं पुनराधिक्याथं ज्ञापयति । निधयोरत्र किञ्चिदाधिक्यमिति ।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 104-105.

A.B. text reads मंशत्वात्सिद्धं—an evident error since ma and ri were anamśas, not amśas.

The Jāti Śadjodīcyavatī

- 70A. syāt śadīcyavatyamśāḥ śadjamadhyamadaivataih
 B. sanīśādairapanyāsa vijñeyau śadjadhaivatau
 71A. ṛṣabheṇa vihīneyam dvābhīm cet pañcamena ca
 B. mandragāndhārabhūyastvamasya nyāsastu madhyamah¹

Śadja, madhyama [and] dhaivata along with niśāda are the amśas of the [jāti] śadīcyavatī. [In it] śadja and dhaivata should be known to be the apanyāsas. Ṛṣabha is dropped [for rendering śādavita] and if two notes are to be omitted pañcama as well is dropped. Madhyama is the nyāsa in this [jāti]. [The use of] gāndhāra is abundant in the lower octave (mandra).

NOTE :

Abhinava explains the name of this jāti by remarking that it was much liked and cultivated by the people of the North, hence it was called udīcyavā: 'of the north', or 'from the north'. He adds the general remark that many compositions (gīta) are named after particular regions for this very reason. He then names a few: ṭakka rāga (from North-West Punjab); mālava-pañcama (from modern Malava in Central India); gauḍī (from Gauḍa or North-West Bengal); mālavī (again from Malava) and kāmbhoji (from a region in North India).²

The abundant use of ga in the lower octave was certainly a peculiar feature of the antaramārga in this jāti. Bharata mentions another movement to be rendered between the amśa notes sa ma dha ni: "parasparāmśagamanamīṣṭataśca vidhīyate" (N.S. 28, 107).

Ga was an anamśa and yet a strong note, used abundantly in the lower octave. Ri, another anamśa, was also strong; sa already strong by definition, being an amśa, was especially powerful : "śadjaścāpyaraśabhaściva gāndhāraśca bali bhavet" (N.S. 28, 109).³

The Jāti Śadjamadhyamā

- 72A. saptāmśāḥ śadjamadhyānyāśo vai śadjamadhyamau
 B. kramānniśādagāndhārāvayam hīnatvakāriṇau

¹ Br. 208-209 is same as Datt. 70-71. Datt. 71B in Br. reads मपत्यासस्तु मध्यमः This is evidently erroneous since apanyāsas have already been named in Datt. 70.

² उदीच्या: प्रयोकारो वाहूल्येन सन्त्यग्यामित्युदीच्या । वर्ति गच्छन्तीति । उदीच्येऽपि च दृश्यते । गोतं च देशनामधेयै वाहूल्यादिभिरुचितत्वापेक्षया व्यपदिश्यते एव । टक्करागो, मालवपञ्चमो, गोडी, मालवी, काम्भोजीत्यादि —A.B. on N.S. 106-109.

³ सरिगा वलिनः । पङ्गजस्यांशत्वात् सिद्धं वलित्वं पुनराविक्षयार्थमुक्तम् । ऋषभस्याल्पत्वं प्राप्तं प्रतिषेद्धुः (यिदु) गान्धारस्य मन्त्रस्थाने वाहूल्यम् ।
 —ibid. 28, 106-109,

73A. *yatheṣṭam syācca sañcāro yathāgrāmāvirodhakṛt*
 B. *ṣadjagrāme tu saptaitāḥ śeṣā madhyamajātayah*¹

There are seven amśas in ṣadja-madhyama. Ṣadja and madhyama are [its] nyāsas. Niṣāda and gāndhāra in due order effect the process of hīnatā, (*i.e.*, it is rendered ṣāḍava by dropping niṣāda and auḍuvita by dropping niṣāda and gāndhāra). In it sañcāra is left to one's discretion (yatheṣṭam) provided it is not contrary to the grāma.

These are the seven [*jātis*] of the ṣadja-grāma. The rest are madhyama-[grāma] jātis.

NOTE :

The term sañcāra here signifies a specific melodic movement, which was evidently included in the antaramārga.

Dattila's description of the ṣāḍava and auḍuva in this jāti leaves the matter somewhat ambiguous. Bharata, however, clearly says that ṣāḍava was effected by dropping ni and auḍuva by dropping both ni and ga (N.S. 28, 111).

The Jātis Gāndhārī And Raktagāndhārī

- 74A. *gāndhāryā dvāvanamśau tu heyāvr̥ṣabhadhaivatau*
 B. *kramānnityamapanyāsau vijñeyau ṣadjapañcamau*
 75A. *dhaivatādṛṣabham gacchedevam syāt sarvameva tu*
 B. *prāyaśo raktagāndhāryā apanyāsastu madhyamah*
 76A. *bahuprayogaḥ kartavyo dhaivato'tha niṣadavān*
 B. *ṣadjagāndhārasañcāraḥ kāryaścasyāḥ prayoktrbhiḥ*²

R̥ṣabha and dhaivata, [these] two [alone] in the gāndhārī [*jāti*] are non-amśas. They are also heya in due order (*i.e.*, their dropping renders the jāti ṣāḍava and auḍuvita). Ṣadja and pañcama are the two constant apanyāsas. [In this jāti] movement should be from dhaivata to ḫ̥ṣabha. All these characteristics are largely the same in raktagāndhārī, though the apanyāsa [in it] is madhyama. In this jāti the application of dhaivata and niṣāda should be copious [and] the experts should render the typical movement (sañcāra) between ṣadja and gāndhāra.

NOTE :

Now we come to madhyama-grāma jātis.

Many features were common between gāndhārī and raktagāndhārī. They had the same amśas, the same nyāsas; moreover, the same notes were to be dropped

¹ Br. 210-211 are same as Datt. 72-73. Datt. 72 in Br. however reads as:
 सवांशोन्नामकृन्यासां विजेया पद्ममध्यमा । स्यात् निषादगान्धारावस्यां गीतत्वकारिणी ॥

The line might have originally contained some significant pāṭhabhedā with the Datt. text, but in the form that we have it the lines are undoubtedly corrupt.

² Br. 212-214 are same as Datt. 74-76. Line 76B in Datt. T.ed. reads 'कार्यश्चासां प्रयोक्तुभिः'. Our amendment is based on Br. where 214 reads का (यं चा ?यंश्चा) स्याः प्रयोक्तुभिः.

in rendering the jātis śādava and auḍuvita. The distinctive features of raktagāndhārī, however, were that the apanyāsa in it was madhyama; the notes niṣāda and dhaiavata (and dhaiavata in spite of being an anamśa and a lopyasvara)¹ were strong. Further, it had a special movement between śadja and gāndhāra. This special sa ga movement was, says Bharata, to be made without sounding ri: "gāndhāraśadjayoścātra sañcāra-ścārṣābhādvinā" (N.S. 28, 117). Abhinava remarks that ri should be skipped in moving from sa to ga and back, thus bringing these two notes together: "ṛṣabham collaṅghya sagetyanayoranyonyanaikaṭyam melanam ca" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 116-117).

In gāndhārī jāti the two notes ṛṣabha and dhaiavata were not included among the amśas; further, they were dropped in the process of making the jāti śādava or auḍuvita. Śādava, says Bharata, was rendered by dropping ri and auḍuva by omitting ri and dha (N.S. 28, 114-115). This implied that they were characteristically weak notes. Yet a typical movement in the jāti was made from dhaiavata to ṛṣabha; though, as Abhinava says, only when the jāti was pūrṇa, that is, it used all the seven notes (pūrṇāvasthāyamṛṣabhbhāddhaivatagamanam; A.B. on N.S. 28, 115). Bharata mentions another typical movement: "vihitastvitī gāndhāryāḥ svaranyāsāmśagocarāḥ" (N.S. 28, 115). This Abhinava explains as meaning that all notes which are not amśa or nyāsa should, in making a movement (sañcāra), be associated with the nyāsa and the amśa: "anyeśām svarāṇām nyāsasvaraviṣayo'mśasvaraviṣayaśca sañcāraḥ, tadāha 'svaranyāsāmśagocara iti'" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 113-115).

The Jāti Gāndhārodīcyavā

77A. *gāndhārodīcyavā prāyāḥ śadjodīcyavatīsamā*
B. *śadjaśca madhyamścāmśau na caudubitamīsyate²*

The [jāti] gāndhārodīcyavā is largely similar to the [jāti] śadjodīcyavatī. Śadja and madhyama [in it] are the two amśas and [it] should not be [rendered] auḍubita.

NOTE :

We here meet with another possible case of jāti-sādhāraṇa.

In śadjodīcyavatī, Dattila has described sa and dha as the apanyāsas, ma as the nyāsa and has said that this jāti employs ga profusely in the lower octave. These characteristics he obviously implies as being typical also of gāndhārodīcyavatī. Features which were not common, he names. Śadjaścīyavatī had three amśas while the present jāti had only two; moreover, the auḍuvita was not permitted here.

¹ धैवतो बलवानक दोबर्लयं तस्य लोपतः:
—N.S. 28, 116.

² Br. 215 is same as Datt. 77.

Śādava evidently was permitted. Ri as in śadjodīcyavatī was presumably the note dropped. Bharata explicitly says : “śaṭsvaryamṛṣabham̄ vinā” (N.S. 21. 118). Regarding similarities between this jāti and śadjodīcyavatī, Bharata remarks that antaramārga, nyāsa and apanyāsa are here same as in śadjodīcyavatī (N.S. 28, 119). Abhinava elucidates : “antaramārga here comprises of a sañcāra between the two amśa notes—asyāmantaramārgah̄ parasparamamśasvarayoh̄ sañcārah̄”¹ (A.B. on N.S. 28, 118-119 ; regarding śadjodīcyavatī Abhinava had similarly remarked : “amśānā-manyonyasaṅgatih̄”). As in the foregone jāti, gāndhāra was used profusely in the mandra : “mandrasthāne gāndhārasya bhūyastvamiti sarvamatidesāt” (A.B. *ibid.*).

The Jāti Madhyamā

78A. pañcāmśā madhyamā yāstu jñeyā dviśrutivarjitaḥ
 B. kramāt tābhyaṁ ca hīnatvam̄ bahulau śadjamadhyamau²

With the exception of two two-śruti notes (*viz.* the gāndhāra and the niṣāda) the madhyamā [jāti] has five amśas. These two [notes] are [also] omitted in due order [to render the jāti śādava and audubita]. [In this jāti] the use of śadja and madhyama is copious (bahulau).

NOTE :

A few words regarding ‘bahula’ in the context of madhyamā. In this jāti, śadja and madhyama were, as it is, among amśas, and thus bahutva by definition applied to them as to the other amśas. Why then repeat ? Abhinava, commenting on Bharata, who makes the same injunction, states the purpose : “the bahutva of sa and ma is self-evident for they are paryāyamśas. It should be understood from the special injunction that they are more than normally strong: “samayoh̄ paryāyamśatvāt siddham̄ bahutvam̄ punarvacanāt prakṛṣṭam̄ mantavyam” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 122).

Gāndhāra, in this jāti, was a weak note being a lopya svara. Yet Bharata remarks : “gāndhāralaṅghanam̄ cātra kāryam̄ nityam̄ prayoktṛbhīḥ” (N.S. 28, 122). Abhinava comments that gāndhāra was a svara that could be dropped and was thus by definition weak. To name it specifically as a weak note implied that even when the jāti was rendered as a pūrṇa, septatonic structure, ga was particularly weak: “gāndhārasya lopyatvālabbhāmalpatvam̄, pūrṇāvasthāyāmapi paścāllabhāyate” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 120-122).

¹ The sañcāra thus was between sa and ma. Br., however, says : रिध्योसंगतिज्ञेयः (Br. 257), a detail which diverges sharply from Bharata. Śāringadeva and Kumbha follow Mataṅga on this point; See S.R. 1, 7, 90 and S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 279.

² Br. 215 is same as Datt. 78. B.B. (I) ch. VI quotes Datt. 78 with the words ‘दत्तिलो प्याह’. The line is quoted in support of N.S. 28, 120-122 which is introduced with ‘अथमध्यमा, तत्र सूतं यथा’ B.B. (I) inserts an extra line in between Datt. 78 : ‘अपन्यासास्त एव स्युः विद्वदभिः परिकीर्तिताः ।

The Jāti Madhyamodīcyavā

- 79A. *gāndhārodīcyayāvāttu madhyamodīcyavā bhavet*
 B. *sāptasvaryam tu nityam syādasyūmaṇīṣastu pañcamah*

The [jāti] madhyamodīcyavā resembles [the jāti] gāndhārodīcyavā. It is invariably of seven notes (*i.e.*, it has no śādava and auḍuvita forms) and in it pañcama is the amśa.

NOTE :

This jāti resembled the gāndhārodīcyavā which in turn resembled śādjodīcyavā. They were thus of a group. Their very name, as Abhinava indicates, implied that all these jātis were popular in the same geographical region. This was probably the reason for the many common features in their structure.

In gāndhārodīcyavā there were two amśas : śajda and madhyama. It had no auḍuvita but śādava was effected by dropping the ṛṣabha. This jāti madhyamodīcyavā permitted neither śādava nor auḍuvita. Abhinava adds that in madhyamodīcyavā there was copious use of ma and ga : “madhyamagāndhārabāhulyam” (A.B. on N.S. 28, 123). In gāndhārodīcyavā, on the other hand, only ga was bahula, especially in the mandra octave.

The Jāti Pañcamī

- 80A. *pañcamyāmī gurubhiḥ proktāvamīśavṛṣabhabapañcamau*
 B. *saniṣādāvapanyāsau madhyamarṣabhasaṅgatih*
 81A. *śadjamadhyamagāndhārā alpāstu parikīrtitāḥ*
 B. *syānniṣādācca gāndhārō madhyamāyacca hīnataī¹*

In the pañcamī [jāti] ṛṣabha and pañcama have been declared to be the two amśas by the teachers. These two along with niṣāda are [also] the apanyāsas. [In this jāti] the saṅgati is between madhyama and ṛṣabha. The weak notes (alpāḥ) are śadja, madhyama and gāndhāra. [Movement] should also be [made] from niṣāda to gāndhāra. In it the process of hīnata (*i.e.*, śādava and auḍuvita) is the same as in madhyamā [jāti].

NOTE :

There are two readings in the *Nātyaśāstra* regarding the saṅgati in this jāti. The Asiatic Society edition enjoins a sañcāra (*i.e.*, saṅgati) between madhyama and

¹ Br. 218-219 is same as Datt. 80-81. Br. 219B appears to have been repeated with slightly different readings. The line first reads : र्यात्निषादाच्च गांधारो अत्पस्य परिकीर्तिः. The very next line repeats the matter with a reading closer to the Datt. text. It has a lacuna of three letters : स्यात्निषादाच्च + + मध्यमा च च द्वैन्तरा. B.B. (I) ch. VI quotes Datt. 80-81 after describing pañcamī in the words of N.S. 28, 124-126. The Datt. lines are introduced with ‘यदाह दत्तिः’; 80A in B.B. (I) reads पञ्चम्यां मुनिभिः; 80B reads मध्यमा यत्र संगतिः.

ṛṣabha : "sañcāraṁ madhyamasyarśabhasya ca" (N.S. A.S ed. 28, 133)—a reading which agrees with that of Dattila. Śāringadeva and Kumbha also supports this.¹ However, the reading in the Gaekwad edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* records a sañcāra between pañcama and ṛṣabha, though the commentary of Abhinava seems to lend support to the reading in the Asiatic Society edition: "rima (pa) ityanayoranyonyasaṅgatih" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 126). The pa in brackets is not part of the manuscript reading but added by the editor. Indeed we see that commenting on N.S. 28, 127-128 Abhinava clearly remarks that Bharata has enjoined a saṅgati between ma and ri: "uktam 'madhyamarśabhasaṅgatirniśādāgāndhāra iti pañcamyām'."

Though the main saṅgati was between ma and ri, another movement has been mentioned between ni and ga; this might be called a secondary saṅgati, for Bharata says that its use should be less frequent (gāndhāra gamanāṇi caiva kāryāṇi tvalpāṇi ca saptamāt, N.S. 28, 126). Abhinava, logically enough, adds that this movement takes place when the jāti is pūrṇa; for, otherwise, these two were the notes omitted in the process of śāḍava and auḍuvita (see madhyamā).

Regarding the apanyāsas in this jāti Abhinava reads the N.S. text as 'niśādāvapanyāsau. But on the basis of *Dattilam* and considering Śāringadeva's remark, who recounts three apanyāsas like Dattila (ṛṣabhapañcamaṇiśādā apanyāsāḥ, S.R. 1, 7, 75), the correct N.S. reading seems to be: saniśādāvapanyāsau. For, ṛ as short for ṛṣabha would be unusual in N.S. where no svaras are read in a shortened form.

The Jāti Gāndhārapañcamī

- 82A. *jñeyo gāndhārapañcamyāṁ pañcamo'mśaḥ prayoktrībhīḥ*
 B. *sarṣabhaḥ syādapanyāśo nyāśo gāndhāra iṣyate*
 83A. *gāndhāryāmatha pañcamyāṁ yat sañcārādi kīrtitam*
 B. *tadasyāmapi vijñeyām kintu pūrṇasvarā sadā*.²

The experts should know that in gāndhārapañcamī, pañcama is the amṣa [which] along with ṛṣabha is [also] the apanyāsa; gāndhāra ought to be the nyāsa.

The sañcāra etc. which were mentioned in gāndhāri and pañcamī should be known to [apply] here as well, though this [jāti] invariably remains pūrṇa (i.e., septatonic).

¹ रिमयोःसंगतिः

— S.R. 1, 7, 73.

रिमयोः संगतिः कार्यं

— S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 258.

² Br. 220-221 is same as Datt. 82-83. Line 220A reads : गान्धारपञ्चम्याः. B. B. (I) quotes Datt. 83B along with Datt. 80-81. The line in the B. B. (I) ms. has a corrupt reading : स्यात्तरालीस्वरपदति च (?)।

NOTE :

This jāti was derived from an intermingling of gāndhārī and pañcamī (see Datt. 54). This seems to be the reason why it contained the sañcāra of both. The sañcāra in gāndhārī was a movement made from dha to ri. Pañcamī had two sañcāras, a predominant one between ma and ri and a secondary one from ni to ga. Gāndhārapancamī included all the three characteristic movements of its parent jātis. This fact had led Kallinātha to remark that the saṅgati here should be effected with many notes: "evam bhūribhiḥ svaraiḥ saṅgati kartavyāḥ." (Kalā on S.R. 1, 7, 103-104).

Bharata adds that, in this jāti, the movement in the tāra was not to reach beyond the tāra sa: "tāragatyā tu ṣadjo'pi kadācinnātivartate" (N.S. 28, 127). This was a trait which Dattila records only regarding the jāti nandayantī.

The Jāti Andhrī

84A. *andhryāmanamśā vijñeyāḥ ṣadjamadhyamadhaiyatāḥ*

B. *ṣāḍabam̄ ṣadjaḥīnaṁ tu nyāso gāndhāra iṣyate¹*

Saḍja, madhyama and dhaivata in the [jāti] andhrī should be known as the non-amśas. Dropping of ṣadja [renders it] ṣāḍava. Gāndhāra should be the nyāsa.

NOTE:

This jāti has been called āndhrī by Bharata (N.S. 28, 129), perhaps a more correct name. Āndhri, as his discription indicates, had no auḍuvita (nāsti cauduvitam̄ sadā", N.S. 28, 131). The amśa notes were also apanyāsas (N.S. 28, 129). A sañcāra is mentioned by Bharata between gāndhāra and ḥṣabha (N.S. 28, 130). He gives another intriguing detail: "saptamasya ca ṣaṭhasya nyāso gatyanupūrvāśah" (N.S. 28, 131). Abhinava's elucidation is not very clear; he seems to be suggesting that a movement to dha ni should be made from the note which was accepted as the amśa and was hence predominant. Abhinava, however, adds that another explanation maintained that the amśa svaras were rendered in the order of their enumeration (pa, ri, ga, ni) till the apanyāsa was reached.² Kallinātha (on S.R. 1, 7, 105-106) quotes Bharata and an unnamed authority in explaining this matter. But he makes a statement so general in nature as to be hardly any explanation at all. He says: "the first note to be sung should be the one which is accepted as the amśa amongst the notes ni, ri, ga and pa. Subsequently should follow a paryāyāmśa or a non-amśa and the process should culminate with the last note of the gīta, i.e., the nyāsa."³

1 Br, 220B-221A is same as Datt. 84.

2 'निषादधीवतयोश्च न्यासो गत्यनुपूर्वणः'। यो यदांशः प्रधानभूतस्तेन तेन स्या (न्या) सागमनं कार्यम् । तदुक्तम् । 'अंशानु-पूर्व्या न्यासगमनमिति'। अन्ये चाहुः । येनैव ऋमेणांशाः स्वराः पठितास्तेनैव ऋमेण ते कार्या यावदपन्यासस्वर इति । — A.B. on N.S. 28, 129-131.

3 अंशानुक्रममो न्यासपर्यन्तं व्रजेदिति । अंशानुक्रमतः, अत निरिगपानां मध्ये यदा योऽशीकृतस्तथानुक्रमतः, तमंशोभूतं पूर्वमुच्चाश्यानिंशं पर्यायाशं वा पश्चादुच्चारयन् न्यासपर्यन्तं, गीतसमाप्तिकृतस्ववरपर्यन्तम्, आगीतपरिसमाप्तेरित्यर्थः, व्रजेद् गायेदिति नियमः तथा चाह भरतः (N.S. 28, 130B-31A follows) ग्रन्थान्तरे च—स्वांशानुपूर्वी व्याप्तिं च कुर्वन्न्यासावधिं व्रजेत् ।

—Kalā on S.R. 1, 7, 105-106.

Bharata remarks that the *ṣadja* here should be unemphasised by *laṅghana* (N.S. 28, 131).

The Jāti Nandayantī

- 85A. *nandayantyāmapanyāsau jñeyau madhyamapañcamau*
 B. *graho nyāsaśca gāndhārah pañcamo'niśāḥ prakīrtitaḥ*
 86A. *andhrīvāt ṣāḍabām jñeyamanauḍubitameva ca*
 B. *syāñmandrūrṣabhasañcāro laṅghaniyaśca sa kvacit¹*

In *nandayantī* [jāti] *madhyama* and *pañcama* should be known as the two *apanyāsas*. *Gāndhāra* is [its] *graha* and the *nyāsa*; *pañcama* is said to be the *amṛṣā*. As in *andhrī*, [the process of] *ṣāḍava* should be known [by dropping *ṣadja*] and [likewise it] cannot be [rendered] *auḍuvita*. [In it] the *sañcāra* is that of *mandra ṣabha*, though at times the note may be [unemphasised by] *laṅghana*.

NOTE :

The phrase 'sañcāra of ṣabha in the *mandra*' here has been used more in the sense of *bahula* or in other words 'copious use'. In fact, *Mataṅga*, *Sāriṅgadeva* and *Kumbha* have used the word '*bahula*' instead of '*sañcāra*'.² A specific mention of the *mandra ṣabha* evidently implied that in the other octaves the use of *ṣabha* was not so copious.

Another characteristic feature of this *jāti* was that its movement in the *tāra* never exceeded beyond the *ṣadja* (Datt. 58).³

This *jāti* was born of *pañcamī*, *āṛṣabhī* and *gāndhāri*. It had similarities with the *andhrī* which arose out of *gāndhāri* and *āṛṣabhī*. To distinguish it from *andhrī*, Bharata enjoins that the *sañcāra* or the characteristic movements of *andhrī* are not here applicable (*nāndhrīsañcaranāṁ bhavet*, N.S. 28, 133). Abhinava regards this particular injunction as indicative of a general precept: *jātis* which arise out of a common source should not share a common *sāṅgati*.⁴

Bharata and Dattila are unequivocal in considering *gāndhāra* as the *graha* in this *jāti*. But *Mataṅga* and later authors indicate that, according to some, *pañcama* was the *graha* in this *jāti* (Br. 275). In all *jātis*, *graha* and *amṛṣā* were the same note. Whichever note happened to be the *amṛṣā* was also the *graha* (Datt. 57; N.S. 28, 67). *Nandayantī* was the only *jāti* where, according to Bharata and Dattila, *amṛṣā*

¹ Br. 223-B-225A is same as Datt. 85-86.

² मन्द्रपूर्वस्य बाहुल्यम् Br. 275. *Sāriṅgadeva* uses the same expression: S.R. 1, 7, 108: कृष्णमे मन्द्रदेशग बाहुल्यं See also S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 329-330.

³ Bharata has an identical injunction: तारगत्या तु पद्जस्तु कदाचिन्नातिवत्तंते।
—N.S. 28, 134.

⁴ नास्धीसंचरणमिति । गान्धारायांभीम्यामान्धी पञ्चम्यार्षभीगोन्धारोभिन्नंदयन्तीति संसर्गजप्रकरणे निरूपणं (i) जाति वययकारणतुल्यत्वादाः धीवत् संगतिः प्राप्तेति वचेन निपीड्यते । एतच्चारका(क्ति) तुल्यजातिकारणिकानां जातीनां सङ्गतिरतुल्यैव कर्तव्येति सूचयति ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 132-34.

and graha were separate notes. Abhinavā says: "sometimes the amṣa is not the graha, such as pañcama in nandayantī. In this jāti gāndhāra is the graha."¹

Regarding the tāra movement in nandayantī, Bharata says: "tāragatyā tu ṣadjastu kadācinnātivartate" (N.S. 28, 134). Abhinava explains this as meaning that in the tāra one should never reach beyond the sa in this jāti; no note above the sa in the tāra octave should be touched: "tāragatyā ṣadjo nātivartate nātiśayyate tata ūrdhvakam na śirsyasaptakasvarāḥ praṣṭavyā ityarthah." Others, he says, had explained the injunction as meaning that the tāra ṣadja itself also was not to be touched, thus leaving no range in the higher octave at all: "anye tvācakṣate ṣadja eva kadācinnātivartate nāroham bhajate tāram na kiñcit praṣṭavyamityarthah." Yet others understood the word 'kadācīt'—sometimes—in Bharata as indicative of an alternative; it was upto one's discretion to move in the tāra octave beyond sa or to avoid this: "kadāciditi vaikalpiko'yaṁ tāra ityarthah." Dattila, however, unequivocally indicates that no such alternative was permissible.

The Jāti Kārmāravī

- 87A. *kārmāravyāmanamṣāstu ṣadjaṅgāndhāra pañcamāḥ*
 B. *pūrṇatā pañcamo nyāso gāndhāragamanam bahu²*

In the [jāti] kārmāravī the non-amṣas are ṣadja, gāndhāra and pañcama. [This jāti] is pūrṇa. Pañcama is the nyāsa [and] there is a recurrent movement to the gāndhāra.

NOTE:

The movement to gāndhāra needs a few remarks. Dattila merely indicates that a recurring movement should be made to ga. Bharata, however, has more details regarding the nature of this movement. He says: "gāndhārasya višeṣena sarvato gamanam bhavet" (N.S. 28, 136). Abhinava explains: "one should associate or move to the gāndhāra from all the notes, as far as possible: sarvebhyo'pi višeṣena tu gāndhārasya yathāśakti saṅgatih" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 135-36). This movement was to be made also from the anamṣa notes. For in this jāti, according to some, it was held that non-amṣas predominated. Abhinava quotes Viśākhila who had stated: "since the nonamṣas here are copious (bāhulyāt) one should particularly make a movement from all [the notes] to the gāndhāra—yadāha viśākhilācāryaḥ bāhulyāda-namṣānām višeṣataḥ sarvato gāndhāragamanam" (A.B., *ibid.*).

In this jāti, contrary to the general rule, the non-amṣa notes appear to have been rather strong. This fact is clear from the above quotation of Viśākhila as well

¹ अंशोऽपि हि कदाचिद् ग्रहो न भवति । नन्दयन्त्यामिव पञ्चमः । तस्या हि ग्रहो गान्धारः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 67.

² Br. 225B-26A is same as Datt. 87. T.ed. reads गान्धार (गमनं) वह. The word in the bracket has been obviously filled in on the basis of Br.

as from the views held by later authorities like Mataṅga, Śārṅgadeva and Kumbha.¹ Kallinātha, in fact, quotes Bharata as having stated that “in the application of [this jāti] the non-āmśas are invariably strong”.² Mataṅga somewhat qualifies this statement in saying that “the anāmśas were strong in the antaramārga” (Br. 268).

The antaramārga, we see, had a good deal of variety. Though rendered usually by stressing the strong notes, normally the amśas, and unemphasising the weak ones [usually the hīna notes and the non-amśas], yet, as in this case, the non-amśas, too, could be given a strong character and emphasised in the antaramārga. We have noticed other irregularities and peculiarities of the antaramārga earlier and here we have a particularly out-of-the-way example. Our own experience of rāga-forms, however, teaches us that such irregularities in movements are often the rule, for not every aspect can be generalised. The 'calana' of many a rāga (though rāgas are bound by many general rules as to strong and weak notes and principles of movement) achieves its required form only outside the boundary of regularities and general maxims.

Kallinātha in the context of kārmāravī raises a pertinent question : since in this jāti both the amśas and the non-amśas were emphasised what, then, was to distinguish them ? His answer was that in antaramārga the notes which were emphasised in the sthāyi varṇa (sthāyitvena) were the amśas and those emphasised in the sañcāri varṇa (sañcāritvena), the non-amśas.³

The Jāti Kaisikī

- 88A. *kaiśikyāmṛṣabho' namśo nyāsau tu dviśrutī smṛtau*
 B. *rṣabho dhaivataścaiva heyāvasyāṁ yathākramam*
 89A. *pañcamo' pi bhavennyāśo niśādē' mīśe' tha dhaivate*
 B. *rṣabhaḥ syādapanyāsaḥ kaiścidukto' mīśavat tathā*
 90A. *pañcamo balavānasyāṁ syānnisādastathaiya ca⁴*

¹ Mataṅga says : वहवोऽन्तरमागत्वादनंशः परिकीर्तिताः
—Br. 268.

Śāṅgadeva repeats the same words.
—S.R. 1.7, 101.

Kumbha rephrases Mataṅga's words : तर्यवान्तरमार्गत्वादनंशवहुता मता ।
—S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 350

² तथा च भरतः—अनंशा बलवन्तस्तु नित्यमेव प्रयोगतः।
—Kalā on S. P. 1.7.101-102.

This line is not in N.S.

³ यः स्थायित्वेन वहुप्रयोगः सोऽसः । यस्तु संचारित्वेन वहुप्रयोगः सीन्तरमार्गश्चयोऽनेश इति विवेकत्व्यम् ।
—Kalā on S.R. 1.7, 101-102.

⁴ Br. 226B-229A is the same as Datt. 88-90A. Two letters are missing at end of line in Br. 226B. Part of Br. 228 is a prose passage obviously not part of the verse-text but that of the prose Vṛtti; but it has been mistakenly taken to be part of Br. verses.

In the kaiśikī [jāti, the only] non-amṣa is ṛṣabha. The two two-śruti notes (namely, gāndhāra and niṣāda) are said to be the nyāsas; ṛṣabha and dhaivata should be dropped in due order [to render the jāti śāḍava and auḍuvita].

When niṣāda or dhaivata becomes the amṣa, pañcama too can be nyāsa. Ṛṣabha too, like the amṣas, according to some, can become an apanyāsa. In this [jāti] pañcama and niṣāda are strong [notes].

NOTE:

In this, as in another jāti, the ṣaḍjamadhyamā, there were more than one nyāsas. This perhaps implied that any of the notes mentioned as the nyāsas could be taken as the nyāsa proper for a particular rendering, since it is not possible to have more than one note as the last note of a gīta. Ni and ga were the two specified nyāsas, but it has also been enjoined by Dattila that when either dhaivata or niṣāda became amṣas then pañcama, too, was added to the choice of nyāsa notes (pañcamo'pi bhavennyāso). However, Bharata and other authorities have laid down that in the case of dhaivata or niṣāda being the amṣa, pañcama was not just a possible nyāsa but the only nyāsa.¹ Bharata says: "dhaivate'ṃśe niṣāde ca nyāsah pañcama iṣyate" (N.S. 28, 138). Mataṅga agrees: "nidhvām̄shau yadā tadā/nyāsah pañcama eva syādanyadā dviśrutī matau" (Bṛ 262).

Dattila has stated that, like the amṣa notes, ṛṣabha, too, can, according to some, become an apanyāsa. This is another way—a shorter way—of saying that the amṣas in this jāti were in any case also apanyāsas—a fact which Bharata mentions more explicitly: "amṣāḥ sarve caivarṣabham vinā, eta eva hyapanyāsāḥ". (N.S. 28, 137). Bharata also adds ri as a possible apanyāsa: "apanyāsah kadācittu ṛṣabho'pi vidhīyate" (N.S. 21, 140). Abhinava comments that ṛṣabha became an apanyāsa only when the jāti was pūrṇa (pūrṇadaśāyām).² Ri was otherwise a weak note in this jāti; it was dropped both for making the jāti śāḍava and auḍuvita. It was weak even when not dropped. Bharata expressly says: "daurbalyamṛṣabhbhasyātra laṅghanam ca viśeṣataḥ : ṛṣabha is here a weak note and laṅghana should particularly apply to it" (N.S. 28, 140).

Another characteristic was that although being amṣas pañcama and niṣāda were implicitly strong, yet they have been, in addition, also explicitly called strong. Bharata on this point makes a statement similar to Dattila : "balināu cāntyapañcamau : the final note (*i.e.*, ni) and pañcama are strong notes" (N. S. 28, 139). Abhinava clarifies by saying that pa and ni are stronger in this jāti in relation to the other amṣa notes : "pañcamaniṣādayoḥ paryām̄śananyāpekṣam balavattaratvamiti yāvat" (A. B. on N. S. 28, 137-140). Kallinātha has made a similar remark : "itarāmṣāpekṣayātibāhulyam vidhīyate" (Kalā on S.R. 1, 7, 95-98).

¹ Abhinava remarks : पर्यणे धैवतनिषादी यदांशो तदा पंचमो न्यासः।
—A.B. on N.S. 28, 137-140.

² कदाचित् ऋषभोऽपीति । लोपावस्थायां तु नासी । तथा पूर्णतावशायां तु वा भवतीति ।
—A. B. on N. S. 28, 137-140,

Bharata has mentioned a sañcāra here. He says that sañcāra should be as in ṣadjamdhymā. In that jāti all seven notes were paryāyāṁśas and thus strong ; sañcāra was consequently enjoined to be more or less free to roam over all the notes (N. S. 28, 112 ; Datt. 73). Kaiśiki had six amśas and so here, too, sañcāra could be relatively free. Abhinava qualifies the sañcāra by saying that this jāti had six amśas (not seven as in ṣadjamadhymā) and hence its sañcāra was slightly curtailed : “ṣadāṁśā hyeṣeti kiñcinnyūnasañcāreyamiti” (A. B. on N.S. 28, 137-140). Abhinava makes another remark in this connection which, however, is somewhat puzzling. He says that the sañcāra in this jāti could be yatheṣṭa, free as in ṣadjamadhymā, when dhaivata was the amśa : “ṣadjamadhymāyāṁ ca yathā cāha. dhaivatasvarāmṛśāyāṁ yatheṣṭāṁ sañcārastadvadiha” (A. B., *ibid.*).

The Aggregate of Amśas

90B. *iti triṣaṭīramśā ye teṣāmekaikeśo'mśatām*

91A. *prakalpyāpodyate prāptam sāḍabauḍubitam kvacit¹*

In this way there are sixty-three amśas.

Among them taking individually each amśa as the amśa [proper], the process of sāḍava and auḍuvita in some [exceptional] cases shall [now] be laid down.

NOTE :

The statement “*iti triṣaṭīramśāḥ*” may sound puzzling. However, it points to a very simple matter. If one puts together the number of possible amśas in all the 18 jātis the total comes to 63 :

1. sāḍjī	5
2. āṛśabhī	3
3. dhaivatī	2
4. niṣādavatī	3
5. ṣadjakaiśikī	3
6. ṣadjodīcyavā	4
7. ṣadjamadhymā	7
8. gāndhārī	5
9. raktagāndhārī	5
10. gāndhārodīcyavā	2
11. madhyamā	5
12. madhyamodīcyavā	1
13. pañcamī	2
14. gāndhārapañcamī	1
15. andhri	4
16. nandayantī	1
17. kārmāravī	4
18. kaiśikī	6

¹ Br. 229B-230A is same as Datt. 90B-91A,

Bharata in a long passage (N.S. 28, 79-91) enumerates jāti-wise the number of amśas (and grahas) in each jāti, remarking at the end that thus the number of amśas in all the jātis together amounts to 63 : “ete triṣṭirvijñeyāḥ sarvāsvamśāstu jātiṣu” (N. S. 28, 91). Abhinava, elucidating, sums up : “forgetting the grāma division among jātis, because the total aggregate is being reckoned, Bharata now gives the number of amśas in each. He begins with one-amśa jātis and then successively in due order recounts the jātis with all seven svaras as amśas. In this context we see that three jātis have one amśa each; three have two amśas each; three have three amśas each; another three have four amśas each; four jātis have five amśas each; one jati has six amśas and finally another has seven amśas—total being 63.”¹

Enumerations of this nature were a favourite with ancient theoreticians. Bharata has also enumerated the aggregate of possible nyāsas and apanyāsas in all the jātis put together. The purpose of such aggregation is not clear. It could not, evidently, serve a musical purpose. There is, however, one likely explanation. Jātis were bound by very strict rules and bye-rules; amśa, nyāsa, apanyāsa and all other notes were strictly fixed and numbered. Making an aggregate summed up their exact total and thus the student could in a nutshell keep in mind the limited possibilities and their extent.

The grahas add up to the same number and also constitute the same svaras as the amśas with a single exception in the case of nandayantī where the graha is gāndhāra and the amśa is pañcama (Datt. 85).

In ancient texts, graha and amśa are often equated. Bharata says that in all the jātis, grahas are enumerated in the same manner as the amśas: “grahāstu sarvajātiṇāmamśavatparikirtitāḥ” (N.S. 28, 67). Its implication, as Abhinava makes clear, is that both the grahas and amśas have the same total number, i.e., both aggregate 63 (militvā amśavadbhavantiti triṣṭirityarthāḥ, A.B. N.S. 28, 67). Any further equation, particularly as to ‘function’ of the two concepts, seems to be far-fetched if not totally unwarranted. The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī, indeed, while equating graha and amśa in as much as their aggregate is concerned, takes care to distinguish the two functionally. The Vṛttikāra says that graha is the commencing note from which the application of a jāti begins (tatrādau jātyādiprayogo gṛhyate yenāsau grahāḥ, Vṛtti on Br. 197), whereas amśa was a larger concept. It was the note which determined the structure of a rāga (also a jāti by implication) and was more pervasive and thereby had a greater predominance (rāgajanakatvād vyāpakatvāccāmśasyaiva prādhānyamucyate, Vṛtti on Br., ibid.).

¹ तत्र सङ्क्षयानुरोधाद् ग्रामविभागक्रममनादृथेवैकांशस्यांशादियोगं सप्तांशपर्यन्तमाह । ‘भृष्टमोदीच्यवायास्तित्वत्त्वादि’ । तत्र तिसूणामेक एकोऽशः । तिसूणां द्वे द्वे (द्वी द्वी) । तिसूणां त्रयः । तिसूणां चत्वारः । चतसूणां पञ्च । एकस्या: सप्त (षट्) (एकस्याः) सप्तेति त्रिपट्टिः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 79-91.

Nijenhuis in *Dattilam : A Compendium of Ancient Indian Music* has recounted the number note-wise and not jāti-wise (pp. 298-99). Though in effect the aggregate is the same, this is not how the ancients made the calculation. The jāti here was the chief factor not the syaras.

Amśas Which Did Not Permit Śādavita And Auḍuvita

- 91B. *asādabā niṣāde'mśe sati syāt ṣadjamadhyamā*
 92A. *gāndhāre ca yato lopo nāmśasamvādinarmataḥ*
 B. *kaiśikī raktagāndhārī gāndhārī caiva pañcama*
 93A. *tathā ṣāḍjī tu gāndhāre dhaivate tadudīcyavā*
 B. *gāndhārīraktagāndhāryoḥ ṣadjamadhyamapañcamāḥ*
 94A. *saniṣadāḥ smṛtā arīśā anauḍubitabhāginaḥ*
 B. *sadjamadhyamajāṭau tu gāndhāro'tha niṣādavān*
 95A. *kaiśikyāmatha pañcamyāṁ kramaśo dhaivatarṣabhaḥ*
 B. *yojyāṁ saptādhikeśvevaṁ catvāriṇīṣatsu ṣāḍabe*
 96A. *apavādavinirmuktam trimśadauḍubitam bhavet¹*

In case of [either] niṣāda or gāndhāra being the amśa, [the jāti] ṣadjamadhyamā cannot be rendered śādava, for the maxim is that the samvādī of the amśa cannot be dropped.

[Similarly] if pañcama [be the amśa in] kaiśikī, raktagāndhārī and gāndhārī ; [if] gāndhāra [be the amśa in] ṣāḍjī, and dhaivata in ṣadjodīcyavā [then these jātis cannot be rendered śādava].

It is [also] said that if in gāndhārī and raktagāndhārī the amśas are śadja, madhyama and pañcama along with niṣāda ; if in ṣadjamādhyamā [the amśas] are gāndhāra and niṣāda; and if in kaiśikī and pañcamī [the amśas are] dhaivata and ṛṣabha respectively, [then these jātis] cannot be rendered auḍuvita.

Thus, with the forty-seven [amśas that permit] śādava, should be counted the thirty which, barring exceptions, [render the jātis] auḍuvita.

NOTE :

After noting the aggregate of amśas, Dattila lays down certain conditions for rendering jātis śādava and auḍuvita. In gāndharva, we have seen, only certain notes could be dropped in rendering melodic structures śādava and auḍuvita ; single notes and pairs of notes that could be omitted have been enumerated for each grāma separately (Datt. 32-35). Besides, in studying individual jāti-structures, we observed rules regarding particular notes which could be dropped in specific jātis. We also noted that many jātis could not at all be rendered hīna—they had to be always septatonic ; others could not be rendered auḍuvita. Now we come to injunctions which lay down further jāti-wise limitations.

Many jātis had more than one amśa. Only when certain amśas were ruling could these jātis be rendered śādava and auḍuvita. Dattila (from verses 91B to 96A) enumerates amśas which did not permit either the śādava or the auḍuvita.

¹ Br. 243B-250—excepting verse 249—are the same Datt. 91B-96A. They are interspersed with the prose Vṛtti. Br. 248B corresponding with Datt. 95B reads : योज्याः सन्तार्थिकाश्चैव चत्वारिणश्च पाडवे Br. 250B corresponding with Datt. 96A reads : तथापवादनिम् कस्त्रिं शशीहुविते भवेत् ।

All the notes in the ṣadjamadhyamā were paryāyāṁśas. The jāti was rendered ṣāḍava by dropping ni and auḍuvita by dropping ni and ga. But in case ni was taken as the amṣa, the jāti could not naturally be rendered ṣāḍava, for the same note cannot be the amṣa as well as the one that can be dropped. Kallinātha says pointedly : "there is a self-contradiction in assigning the role of an amṣa to a note while dropping it at the same time" (amṣatvam lopyatvamiti ca dharmayorvirodhāt, Kalā on S.R. 1, 7, 85-87). This non-permissibility-of-ṣāḍava rule applied also when gāndhāra was taken as the amṣa. For nisāda could not then be dropped, being the saṁvādī of the amṣa. The non-omission of the saṁvādī of the amṣa was evidently a general maxim.

Regarding ṣadjamadhyamā, Bharata makes a similar statement in this context :

ṣatsvarāḥ saptame hyamṣe nesyate sadjamadhyamā
saṁvadyalopādgāndhāre tadvadeva hi nesyate

(N.S. 28, 58-59)

"When the seventh note (*i.e.*, ni) is the amṣa, ṣadjamadhyamā cannot be rendered ṣāḍava ; similarly, with gāndhāra as the amṣa it can again not be rendered ṣāḍava because the saṁvādī [of the amṣa] is not to be omitted."¹

We can come to understand in many cases why certain notes were not dropped by applying the maxim of 'saṁvādylopa' (the non-omission of the saṁvādī). The three jātis, kaiśīkī, raktagāndhāri and gāndhāri, belonged to the madhyama-grāma where a saṁvāda existed between pa and ri. In these jātis ṣāḍava was effected by dropping the ri. Consequently, when pa was the amṣa, ri could not be dropped because of the saṁvāda and ṣāḍava was not permissible. In ṣāḍjī, ṣāḍava was effected by dropping ni which was a saṁvādī of ga; thus when ga was the amṣa, ni was not dropped. In the jāti ṣadjodīcyavā which belonged to the ṣadja-grāma, ṣāḍava was effected by dropping ri which could not be dropped when, among its four paryāyāṁśas, dhaivata became the amṣa, for a saṁvāda existed between dha and ri.

The 'saṁvādylopa' maxim extended to the process of auḍuvita also. In the jāti ṣadjamadhyamā, auḍuvita could be effected by dropping ni and ga : when one of these was the amṣa it could not be dropped and the other being its saṁvādī, also could not be dropped.

In kaiśīkī, auḍuvita was effected by dropping ri and dha—notes which had a mutual saṁvāda ; therefore, when dha was the amṣa, auḍuvita could not take place.

¹ Abhinava comments : निषादे गान्धारे चाशे तवति (?) पट्स्वरा नेष्यत इत्यर्थः । अत हेतुः—संवादिनो लोपाभावान्निषादेन न स्पात् पाडवः । स च गान्धारस्य संवादी ।

—A B. on N.S. 28, 57-63.

Natyāśatra 28, 58B-59A is, we see, parallel to Datt. 92B-93A, containing the same matter in a different language. Further verses are similarly parallel to Datt. above. See N.S. 28, 59-64A.

However, regarding the jātis gāndhārī, raktagāndhārī and pañcamī, the above maxim (the detailed application of which is found in Abhinava)¹, did not apply. According to Abhinava, in these cases injunction alone set the rule ('tathānirūpaṇa-meva hetuh', A.B. on N.S. 28, 57-63).

After recounting amśas which did not permit śāḍava and auḍuvita, Dattila again gives us an aggregate which may sound puzzling but it is again a matter of simple calculation, evidently, without any musical significance. The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī has detailed the calculations in a straight-forward language as follows : "among the jātis there are four which are always pūrṇa, i.e., they cannot be rendered either śāḍava or auḍuvita ; these four jātis contain a total of nine amśas. In seven jātis, namely, śadjamadhyamā, śādī, śadjodicyavā, kaiśīkī, raktagāndhārī and gāndhārī, seven amśas have been declared as exceptions to the process of śāḍava. Thus subtracting these sixteen out of sixty-three, we get an aggregate of forty-seven amśas which when used permit the jātis to be rendered śāḍava". (Br. Vṛtti on 248). A similar calculation will result in thirty amśas for the auḍuvita (Br. Vṛtti on 250).

Bharata does not give aggregates of the number of amśas permitting śāḍava and auḍuva though he gives indications that he too had these aggregates in mind.² Abhinava has given the process of arriving at the numbers in almost the same terms as the Vṛttikāra.³

¹ 'अंशविकल्पनमिति'। अंशस्वरा विकल्प्यते येन। अस्यां जातावयम्। अंशः पाडवरोहिता (? पाडवरहिता) इति मीलनग्रथेन विचार्यते। तं वक्ष्यामः। 'अञ्जविकल्पनमिति' पाठे अञ्जस्य पाडवोडुविकरूपस्य विकल्पनं कथनम्। अस्मिन्नन्दे तन्नास्तीति। सप्तम इति। निषादे गान्धारे चांशे तद्वति (?) पट्टस्वरा नेष्ट्यत इत्यर्थः। अत्र हेतुः—संवादिनो-लोपाभावानिषादेन न स्यात् पाडवः। स च गान्धारास्य संवादी। गान्धारायादीनां तिसृणामूष्यमेण पाडवत्वमुक्तम्। स च मध्यमायामे पञ्चमस्य संवादीति। तत्रांशे पाडवाभावे धैवतेऽयोः पट्जोदीच्यवायां न पाडवः। ऋष्यमेण हि तत्। स च धैवतस्य संवादी पट्जग्रामे। एकीकृत्योपसंहरति। नि ग प प ग ध इयेतेशाः। अपाडवाः क्लेण पट्जमध्यमादिषु पट्जोदीच्यवायेषु (?)। अथोडुवितशून्यानंशानाह। 'गान्धारीरक्तगान्धार्योरित्यादि'। 'सप्तम इति'। निषादः पट्जमध्यमायां यो द्वावारो गान्धारनिषादी तावन्नोडुविकी। उपसंहरति 'एवं तु द्वादशैवेति'। गान्धारीरक्तगान्धार्योरट्टी, पट्जमध्यमायां द्वौ पञ्चम्यां केशिकायां द्वाविति। अत्र क्वचिदंशस्वावलोपो युक्तिर्लभ्यते। तदलामे तु तथानिरूपणमेव हेतुः।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 57-63.

² संवादलोपात् सप्तमात्: पाद्स्वर्येण विवरिताः।
—N.S. 28, 61.

again एवं तु द्वादशैवेह वज्योः पञ्चस्वराः सदा।
—Ibid., 28, 63.

³ तत्र चतसृणां जातीनां नित्यपूर्णानां नवांशाः अपाडवा इति चतुः पञ्चाशत्। तेभ्योऽपि सप्त पाडवा.....सत (?) इति सप्तचत्वारिंशत् पाडवाः। (1) चतुर्सः पूर्ण एवेति, चतुर्दशानामन्यानां मध्ये चतस्रो नोडुविका इति तासां संवन्धिनो द्वादशांशा वक्ष्यते, शिष्टानां चत्वारिंशत्, ततोऽपि द्वादश औडुविकतामपवादयत्त इति विशदोडुविता;।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 64-65,

Jātis : Parents of All Melodies

96B. *saṅkare rūpabāhulyāt jātinirdeśa iṣyate*

97A. *tasmād yad gīyate kiñcit tat sarvam jātiṣu sthitam¹*

In a mixed or composite form (*saṅkara*), the predominant structure should be considered as the basis of indicating the [parent] *jāti*. Thus all the prevalent forms of singing (*yadgīyate kiñcit*) have their source in *jātis*.

NOTE :

We have had a great deal to say regarding this matter in earlier chapters.

¹ Datt. T.ed. reads : 'सङ्करे रूपबाहुल्यम्'. We have adopted Abhinava's reading who quotes part of Datt. 96B with the words :
तदेवंभूतं यन्मश्रयेयं तस्या जातेरर्थतमिति यन्नियम्यते मतञ्जनन्दिकश्यप्याष्टकादिभिस्तद्धिकेन रूपबाहुल्येन । तत्र 'सङ्करे रूपबाहुल्याज्ञातिनिर्देश' इति दत्तिलाचार्योप्याह ।

— A.B. on N.S. 28, 141.

B.B. (I) ch. VI quotes Datt. 96B-97A along with-Datt. 18A with the words : दत्तिलोप्याह । He reads the verse as ; तस्माज्ञातिप्रधानन्तु गान्धवेषु व्यवस्थितम् । यत्किंचिदगीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जातिषु स्थितम् ।

TOPIC 11

VARNA

- 97B. *atha varṇāstu catvāro jñeyā anvarthasamjñayā*
 98A. *sthāyisañācriṇau caiva tathārohyavarohiṇau*
 B. *ekasvarā pade gītih sthāyivarṇo' bhidhiyate*
 99A. *sañcārī svarasañcārad yathārthau cottarāvapi¹*

Now, the varṇas : [they are] indeed four. [Their nature] may be known by their names which are self-explanatory (anvarthasamjñā). They are : sthāyi, sañcārī, ārohī and avarohī.

While [singing] a pada if the song (gītih) stays on a single note, it is known as sthāyivarṇa, [and it] becomes sañcārī by movement over notes. The latter two (viz., ārohī and avarohī) are also explained by their names (yathārthau).

NOTE :

Varna was the general term used to indicate musical or melodic movement over notes. The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī calls it 'song itself' (varṇaśabdena gānamabhidhīyate, Br. Vṛtti on 119-120). It was a term which encompassed all possible melodic movements. These were classified into four broad categories : sthāyi, sañcārī, ārohī and avarohī.

The movement which rendered any single note as constant, usually by repetition, was termed sthāyi varṇa. Defining sthāyi, Bharata says : "sthirāḥ svarāḥ samā yatra sthāyi varṇaḥ sa ucyate : where the same notes are constant, that is called sthāyi varṇa" (N.S. 28, 16). Abhinava comments that in rendering this varṇa the same note, whether in the tāra, madhya or mandra octave, should be repeated at short intervals. It should not be stretched over long periods without an accent or break, as happens in the long-drawn sound of a bell. He also suggests that a note when stressed by repetition did not lose its status of a sthāyi even if one or two other

¹ S.S.S. 1, 42-43, bears a remarkable correspondence with Datt. 97B-99A :

आलप्तिसंज्ञका वर्णाश्चत्वारोऽन्वर्थसंज्ञकाः । स्थायिसञ्चारणो चैव तथारोह्यवरोहिणो ॥
 एकस्वरूपवेशीति स्थायिवर्णोऽभिधीयते । सञ्चारी स्वरसञ्चारावद? नवर्थवितरावपि ॥

Pārvadeva the author S.S.S. has indeed acknowledged Dattila as one of the early authorities (especially on tāla) to whom he was indebted. In S.S.S. 9, 1-2 he states :

तथा सलक्षणं वक्ष्ये पूर्वशास्त्रानुसारतः । श्रीसोमेश्वरदत्तिलप्रभृतिभिस्तालस्वरूपं पुरा ॥
 प्रोक्तं सर्वजगद्दिताय.....

It is thus not surprising that in S.S.S. there are quite a few verses borrowed from the *Dattilam* (without acknowledgment).

notes, either higher or lower, were also rendered with it.¹ The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī expounds the sthāyi in similar terms (Br. Vṛtti on 120A). An example given by the Vṛttikāra from the śādji-jāti shows that sthāyi could employ more than one svara : sa ri sa, sa ri sa, provided that the main sthāyi note created an impression of constancy (or, as the Vṛttikāra says, it remained 'anupahata').²

Śāringadeva says that it is the holding of a single note for prolonged periods that characterises the sthāyi varṇa. Kallinātha adds that notes separately dwelt over in the same movement also constitute sthāyi such as sa si sa, ri ri ri (see S.R. 1, 6, 2 and Kalā).

Ārohī was the varṇa predominated by a melodic movement ascending over notes from low to high. Avarohī was the converse of this. Sañcārī had both ascending and descending movements and was characterised by an effect of wandering over notes.

In current theory also all four varṇa terms are used, but with a widely different connotation. Ārohī and avarohī are now the terms denoting structural ascent and descent characteristic of individual rāgas. They indicate formal peculiarities rather than movements. Sthāyi (with its counterpart antarā) is a basic aspect of the plan of melodic elaboration as well as of model compositions (bandish), particularly in the khayāl style of Hindustani music. In dhrupada compositions, two further parts are conceived of in the structural plan of melodic development : sañcārī and ābhoga. This present-day sañcārī has little to do with the ancient term.

The ancient varṇas were conceived as inseparably connected with padas (words) in a song. While a jāti, as Abhinava suggests, could be purely a note structure (jātirnāma svarasamūhamātram, A.B. on N.S. 29, 14), without necessarily implying words (as in instrumental renderings), the notion of varṇa was so inherently connected with pada that it could not be defined without it (padasambandhādhināstū vastuvarṇavyavahārah; also : varṇo nāma padasambandhamantareṇa lakṣayitum eva na śakyate, A.B. on N.S. 29, 14). The melodic movement to which a single word was sung was the unit of a varṇa, so that every word in a song demarcated one varṇa (ekapadaniṣṭhatva, A.B., ibid.). This precise demarcation of varṇas by words was imperative to avoid certain confusions. For example, an ārohī movement followed by an avarohī could be confused as a sañcārī if the two movements were not clearly demarcated by two distinct padas (words). In fact, without the pada-demarcation, the total effect could almost always have been that of sañcārī.

Dattila's definition of sthāyi evidently suggests that he, too, held that the demarcating factor as well as the basis of a varṇa unit was the pada or a single word

¹ 'समा' इति तुल्यजातीया: । तेन मद्रतारमध्यमरूपतया तस्यव स्वरस्य प्रयोगः । स्थायेव वर्णः विच्छिद्य विच्छिद्य पुनः प्रयोगः कर्तव्यो न तु दीर्घेणाविच्छिदेन घण्टास्वनवदिति दर्शयितुं 'स्वरा' इति बहुवचनप्रयोगः । स्वरा उपस्वराश्चेति सर्वक्षेष इति केचित् । एतन्तु गान्धारिण्ययुक्तस्वरद्वयमप्यारोहणावरोहस्थिरस्त्व (तद्) व्यतिरेकेण कथं प्रतियोज्यम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 16.

We must, however, remember that the example itself might not be quite correct. The use of two notes might be a whim of a non-musical scribe rather than a deliberation of the Vṛttikāra. The other example of sthāyi from the jāti madhyamā is seen to be a repetition of the same note: मध्यमायां तु मा मा मा इति ।

—Br. Vṛtti, ibid.

in a song. Bharata gives a similar definition of varṇa and its relation to pada :

evam padam lakṣaṇasamāyuktam yadā varṇo'ṅkarṣati
tadā varṇasya niśpattirjñeyā svarasamudbhavā

(N.S. 29, 18)

"In this way (*i.e.*, through stbāyī, sañcāri etc.) when a pada, which has the right attributes (*i.e.*, which is grammatically correct) is stretched in rendering a varṇa (*i.e.*, becomes long-drawn in singing) then arises varṇa and it is known to consist of svaras."

Abhinava concludes : "thus when a single word is stretched by a varṇa, or in other words, becomes long-drawn in singing a melodic line we have one single varṇa : tena padamekam yadā yato varṇagītikriyānukarṣati dīrghakālam karoti, tadā tato varṇastasyaikasya saṅkīrṇasya niśpattiḥ" (A.B. on N.S. 29, 18). Commenting on the expression 'lakṣaṇasamāyuktam' in Bharata's definition, Abhinava (besides explaining the epithet as standing for a grammatically correct word) remarks that "this epithet implies that even in long samāsas consisting of a conjunction of many padas, the rule is that each pada be individually considered a demarcating limit (for a varṇa) :" viva-kṣitasamjnā nirdeśo 'lakṣaṇasamāyukta' vacanena dirghe'pi samāsapade bhāgaśah padaniyamamāśrityāvadhiniyama iti darśayati" (A.B., *ibid.*).

Pada was thus inherently connected with the concept of varṇa and played a significant structural role in gāndharva. The unit of an alaṅkāra, too, was pada.

Varṇas, then, were basic melodic movements analysed into four possible types : static, ascending, descending and wandering. Surely these movements were intimately linked with the melodic structure of jātis. Why, then, was the topic varṇa not expounded as part of jāti by Bharata (and also Dattila) ? It is Abhinava who raises this question as a possible objection to Bharata's scheme : "nanu varṇāderjātiśarīrānu-praveśājjātilakṣaṇa eva nirūpaṇam yuktam dṛṣyate", (A.B. *ibid.*). The objector could also argue that varṇa should have been propounded before taking up jātis, because varṇa denoted the very basic movements through which jāti structures were formulated,¹ (Mataṅga, indeed, describes varṇa and alaṅkāra before taking up jāti, Br. 119-173). One could perhaps assent to the exposition of varṇa as part of jāti (for as Abhinava says) there exist precedences for delineations of this nature but a description of varṇa after jāti would certainly strike one as illogical.

Abhinava replies to these possible objections by saying that jātis were basically a group of notes and both in gāndharva and in gāna one did find musical structures being rendered without words (tarhi gīyamānapadābhāve kaścidapi svataḥ svaropayogo'sti gāna gāndharve vā; A.B. *ibid.*). But varṇa was a concept which could not even be understood without referring to pada. This is why it was described separately after the svara structures of jātis and their characteristics had been expounded.

¹ लघात्मलाभस्य हि विनियोगो युक्तः । दशलक्षणादपि वा पूर्वः विनियोगो वक्तव्यः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 29, 14.

² विनियुक्तस्य लक्षणमित्यपि दृश्यते । पृष्ठे तु तदमिधानमयुक्तमेव ।
—A.B., *ibid.*

Varṇa was basically a concept pertaining to song. Bharata thus says that varṇas are born of śārīra-notes (śārīrasvarasambhūtāḥ, N.S. 29, 17). Varṇa could, of course, be also rendered on instruments, for all songs are capable of such renderings; but it was in the first place a vocal concept. Abhinava, commenting on Bharata's notion of varṇas as 'śārīrasvarasambhūtāḥ' says: "(varṇas) are basically dependent upon sung notes. But even on the viñā one does find melodies rendered as resembling songs and thus varṇas are present there too; it is not that alaṅkāras (which depend upon varṇa) are not played on viñās."¹ Abhinava here quotes a kārikā to the effect that there were elements of music which were not very clearly revealed through the voice and others which were indistinct (calita) on the viñā but determinable through singing.

sāriryām tvaspūtā ye tu dāravyām te vyavasihitāḥ
dāravyām calitā ye tu sāriryām te suniścalāḥ (A.B. on N.S. 29, 17)

Śrutis, we have seen, were better demonstrable on the vīṇā; varṇa, on the other hand, could be clearly understood only in relation to song.

¹ ‘शारीरस्वरसम्भूता’ इति । शारीरस्वरेषु मुह्येष्वाश्रितेषु लक्षणमिदमुक्तम् । तत्सदृशस्वरोपलभ्म एवान्धत्र वीणादाविति तत्प्रापि पर्यन्वस्थतीति न तु वीणादावालङ्काराभावः ।

-A.B. on N.S. 29, 17.

TOPIC 12

ALAṄKĀRA

- 99B. *varṇāśrayāstu vijñeyā alaṅkārāstrayodaśa*
 100A. *nāmato rūpataścaiva saṅkṣepena bravīmi tān*
 B. *prasannam pūrvamuccārya śanaiḥ sandīpayetsvaram*
 101A. *prasannādirbhavedevam prasannānto vilomataḥ*
 B. *evam prasannamadhyāscā prasannādyanta eva ca*
 102A. *ete sthāyinalaiṅkārāścatvārāḥ parikīrtitāḥ*
 B. *kvacit svare ciram sthityā sprśtvā tāram tato'gnivat*
 103A. *pratyāgacchettu tatraiva bindureśo'bhidhīyate*
 B. *syānnivṛttaprvṛttākhyastadvanmandram spṛśed yadi*
 104A. *preṅkholidam dvayorvidyāt tulyakālam gatāgatam*
 B. *krameṇa paramātāram gatvā mandram patet tataḥ*
 105A. *tāramandraprasanno'yamalaṅkāro'bhidhīyate*
 B. *mandrādutpatitastāram krameṇaiyāvahati*
 106A. *mandratāraprasanno'yam, sarvasāmyāt samo bhavet*
 B. *urahkanṭhaśirasthasya triśruteḥ kampanād bhavet*
 107A. *kampitam haritam caiya recitam ca yathākramam*
 B. *eṣām ca pañca bindvādyā nityām sañcārisaṅśrayāḥ*
 108A. *prasannādiḥ prasannānto (tathārohā) varohiṇau²*
 B. *śeṣā api yathāyogaṁ sarvavarṇāśrayāḥ smṛtāḥ*

The alaṅkāras should be known as based upon the varṇas; [they] are thirteen. I shall now, in brief, relate them by their names and their forms.

Having first sung a low note (prasanna), notes should be raised gradually; thus arises [the alaṅkāra called] prasannādi. By reversing [the process] arises [the alaṅkara called] prasannānta. Similarly arise [the alaṅkaras] prasannamadhyā and prasannādyanta. These four have been described as the alaṅkāras of the sthāyi [varṇa].

Hold any note for a long period; then touching a higher note (tāra) like lightening (agnivat) return to the same note : this [alaṅkāra] is called bindu. If likewise a lower note (mandra) is touched, then the [alaṅkāra] is called nivṛtta-pravṛtta.

¹ S.S.S. 1, 44-46 is the same as Datt. 99B-102A. The only difference is that S.S.S. 44A has हलङ्कारा instead of the text above in 99B. The Datt. passage is incorporated by Pārvadeva without acknowledgment of the source.

² There is a lacuna of four letters at the end of Datt. 108A. The T.ed. text reads : प्रसन्नात्मो+++++ वरोहिणी . Our suggested reconstruction is based upon a contextual analysis of the matter and upon similar statements in other texts.

Know preṅkholita to be [the alaṅkāra in which] the to-and-fro movement (gatāgatam) between two [notes] is of even duration.

Successively rising to the extreme tāra, then, should one drop to the mandra, the alaṅkāra is called tāra-mandra-prasanna. Leaping from the mandra to the tāra [and then] descending successively, is [the alaṅkāra] mandra-tāra-prassanna.

If all [the movements] are uniform, then is [the alaṅkāra] sama.

By a quiver of three śruti in the chest (*i.e.*, mandra), throat (*i.e.*, madhya) and head (*i.e.*, tāra) arise [the alaṅkāras] kampita, harita and recita respectively.

Of these [alaṅkāras], the five beginning with bindu are invariably based on the sañcārī [varṇa].

Prasannādi and prasannānta are [the alaṅkāras] of the ārohī and the avarohī. [respectively]. The rest [of the alaṅkāras] are known as being duly based upon all the varṇas.

NOTE :

Alaṅkāra is defined by the Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* as a decorative adornment (maṇḍana) which creates a pleasing effect in a song (Bṛ. Vṛtti on 120). The form of an alaṅkāra was described and classified on the basis of varṇas.

Dattila calls the alaṅkāras ‘varṇāśrayāḥ’, *i.e.*, ‘based on’ or ‘dependent on’ varṇas. The four varṇas, we have seen, denoted all possible melodic movements; alaṅkāras were melodic flourishes which lent colour and charm to these melodic movements. The alaṅkāras themselves, naturally enough, consisted of melodic movement (though of a specifically subtle and sophisticated nature) and hence were in this sense ‘varṇāśrayāḥ.’ Bharata, too, like Dattila, has described alaṅkāras as dependent upon varṇas :

ete varṇāstu vijñeyāscatvāro gītayojakāḥ
etān samāśritān samyagalaṅkārān nibodhata (N.S. 29, 19)

The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* quotes an ancient kārikā which likewise says: “*amī varṇāstu vijñeyā alaṅkārādisiddhaye*” (Bṛ. Vṛtti on 121A).

A pada was the unit of a single varṇa. It was also the unit of an alaṅkāra.

In Sanskrit poetics, alaṅkāras such as the upamā (simile), anuprāsa (alliteration) etc. have been described through the analogy of ornaments like kaṭaka (a bracelet) keyūra (a bracelet of the upper arm) which men and women wore in order to beautify their person.¹ A similar analogy has been used by the Vṛttikāra in describing melodic alaṅkāras: “*tatrālaṅkāraśabdena kimucyate? alaṅkāraśabdena maṇḍanamucyate. yathā kaṭakakeyūradinālaṅkāreṇa nārī puruṣo va maṇḍitāḥ śobhāmāvahet, tathā etairalaṅkāraiḥ prasannādibhiralaṅktā varṇāśrayā gītirgātśrotṛṇāṁ sukhāvahā bhavatīti*” (Bṛ. Vṛtti on 121A).

¹ यथा अङ्गदादयः शरीरशोभातिशायिनः शरीरणमुपकुर्वन्ति तथानुप्रासोपमादयः शब्दार्थं शोभातिशायिनो रसादेश्पकारकः। — *Sāhityadarpana* 10, 1.

A word about the terms 'prasanna' and 'dipta' in this context. The word prasanna in musical phraseology was synonymous with mandra or low (mandra was, in later texts, shown with a dot above a written note, e.g. ū), and dipta with tāra or high (tāra was indicated with a vertical line above a written note e.g., ū); we find that Dattila uses the term sandipana to convey a rise in pitch.

The term prasanna, mandra etc. were, in this context, often used in a broad relative sense: prasanna was a low note in relation to the dipta or high note, whatever the octave in which they occurred. Any note which had a lower position was prasanna while a higher note was tāra (pūrvasthānastho svaro mandraḥ parasthānasthastāra iti, Sudhā on S.R. 1,6, 6-7). Abhinava also makes the same suggestion in saying: "dīpanām tāratā prasādo mandratā dīptirnāma śrāvakaśrotṛṇiṣṭho višeṣo dharma ityanuktasamām svarasādhāraṇam" (A.B. on N.S. 29, 33-37).

The Sthāyī Alāñkāras

Dattila enumerates and expounds four alāñkāras as pertaining to the sthāyī: (1) prasannādi, (2) prasannānta, (3) prasannamadhyā and (4) prasannādyanta. Dattila describes them in general terms as: (1) prasannādi is the alāñkāra with a low note in the beginning and a gradually rising movement; (2) prasannānta has a low note at the end; (3) prasannamadhyā is that where a low note occurs in the middle, and (4) prasannādyanta is one where a low note occurs both at the beginning and at the end. Bharata gives a similar description (N.S. 29, 33-35).

Regarding their actual structures, we find two divergent descriptions. The Vṛtti on *Brhaddesi* illustrates these alāñkāras as:

1. prasannādi : sa ri ga ma pa dha ni ū
 2. prasannānta : ū ni dha pa ma ga ri sa
 3. prasannādyanta : sa ri ga ma pa dha ni ū, ū ni dha pa ma ga ri sa
 4. prasannamadhyā : ū ni dha pa ma ga ri sa, sa ri ga ma pa dha ni ū
- (Br. Vṛtti on 120)

Saṅgitaratnākara gives quite a different structure:

1. prasannādi : ū ū ū
2. prasannānta : ū ū ū
3. prasannādyanta : ū ū ū
4. prasannamadhyā : ū ū ū

(the dot on top stands for a mandra note and the vertical line for a tāra note)
(S.R. 1,6, 3-48 and Sudhā)

¹ प्रसन्नत्वं मन्त्रभावः तत्र विन्दुलेकिंभिज्ञानम् । तारत्वे रेखोऽर्था शिरोगता । सा (?सां)साइति ।
—A.B. on N.S. 29, 20.

The printed A.B. text has the dot below the written note. Abhinava has not specified its exact location ; but Śāringadeva clearly says : मन्त्रो विन्दुशिरा भवत् (S.R. 1, 6, 8). Regarding the term dipta, Abhinava says : दीपनं तारता प्रसादो मन्त्रता (A. B. on N.S. 29, 33-37). Śāringadeva also says: तारस्तु दीप्तिः (S.R. 1, 6, 8).

On the face of it, it would appear that the *Saṅgitaratnākara* is more dependable, as the *sthāyī varṇa* is said to remain on the same note. But the Vṛttikāra's description is earlier and also tallies with those of Dattila and Bharata who have described the first alāñkāra as consisting of a gradual rising and the second of a gradual lowering. Abhinava explains the seeming discrepancy between the alāñkāras and the varṇa to which they belong by observing that in the alāñkāras of this varṇa, the insertion of different notes did not destroy the *sthāyī* effect (*svarāntarānupravreśo bhavannapi na sthāyivarṇadhiyam bādhate*, A.B. on N.S. 29, 30). These alāñkāras were graces that adorned a varṇa and the manner in which they were rendered must have played a large part in their structure and in judging their varṇa. Thus we find that the four *sthāyī* alāñkāras could (as we will see) also become alāñkāras of the ārohī or the avarohī varṇa: the manner of their rendering in such cases must have undergone subtle but sure changes.

The four *sthāyī*-varṇa alāñkāras are followed by (1) bindu and (2) nivṛttapravṛtta. Bindu according to the Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī*, was rendered by holding a note and then suddenly, like lightning, touching the same note in the higher octave and returning to the original place. Nivṛttapravṛtta was the converse of this and was rendered by speedily touching the identical note in the lower octave.¹

Abhinava has a different description. He states that just any another higher note had to be touched in rendering bindu and not necessarily the octave of the basic note (*cirakālamavasthāne svarāntaroparañjakastailabinduvat prasarṇāt*; A.B. on N.S. 29, 21-22). In sannivṛttapravṛtta, says Abhinava, a similar movement was made, but here it was a descending movement (*avaruhya yadārohaṇām tadā sannivṛttapravṛttaḥ*; A.B. *ibid.*). In describing bindu, Abhinava gives the analogy of a 'spreading drop of oil'; the idea is not very clear. Not knowing the exact musical nature of the alāñkāra, we cannot grasp the purport behind the analogy used by Abhinava. Alāñkāras like bindu and sannivṛttapravṛtta were, says Abhinava, of a subtle nature and could be understood only as part of the song they embellished. They could never be properly described—their description was only a pointer which could perhaps help one recognise them when heard in a musical context.²

Dattila says that in these two alāñkāras, the higher (or the lower note) should be touched like lightning. Bharata, apparently, gives the exact duration of the alāñkāra in stating "bindurekakalo jñeyah" (N.S. 29, 38).

Sāringadeva, in describing bindu, borrows Dattila's expressive phrase 'spṛṣṭvā agnivat', but the alāñkāra itself by his time seems to have undergone modifications

¹ चिरमेकस्मिन् स्वरे षड्जादिरूपे स्थित्वा तदीयतारमभिनवत् (पृ. स्पृ.) पृष्ठा कलामे (म्यः?) कां च स्थित्वा यत्र पुनरपि समा सा मन्द्रया गम्यते स विन्दु सां सो इति विन्दुः एककलातरं स्पृष्ट्वा विन्दुरेव विपर्ययोच्चारणात्प्रवंत्तो विनिवृत्तत्वाद् निवृत्तार्थः; यथा सो सां सो निवृत्तप्रवृत्तः
—Vṛtti on Br. 120.

² यद्यपि चैव तेऽलङ्काराः यत्र विहितास्तत्त्वेन भान्ति तथापि प्रतीतस्य गीतसमयप्रविष्टस्याभिज्ञानादयं लिखिताः
—A.B. on N.S. 29, 21-22.

and had become more like modern 'palṭās'.¹ A similar transformation had occurred in sannivṛttapraṇītta.²

After bindu and sannivṛttapraṇītta, Dattila describes preñkholita.

The alaṅkāra preñkholita has been aptly described by Abhinava as "preñkhito dolābandhavat". (A.B. on N.S. 29, 21-22). Its form resembled the movement of a swing. It apparently consisted of a swinging movement between two notes—what we would call an āndolana. In fact, Abhinava, while explaining Bharata's description of preñkholita (Bharata describes the alaṅkāra as: "gatāgatapravṛtto yaḥ sa preñkholita iṣyate", N.S. 29, 38), uses the very term āndolana to bring out its characteristic feature: "gatāgatapravṛtto yaḥ sa preñkholita iti bindukampitāndolanādityarthah" (A.B. on N.S. 29, 38). The nature of this āndolana evidently depended upon two other ancient alaṅkāras, the bindu and the kampita. Śārṅgadeva describes this alaṅkāra also as a kind of palṭā with the notation: sa ri ri sa, ri ga ga ri, ga ma ma ga, ma pa pa ma, pa dha dha pa,... (S.R. 1, 6, 41-42).

Preñkholita is followed by tāra-mandra-prasanna.

The expression "extreme tāra" (paramāṇi tāram) used in expounding this alaṅkāra is cryptic. Bharata is more definite when he says: "one should ascend gradually to the fifth or the sixth (note) in this alaṅkāra" (N.S. 29, 40). The *Saṅgitaratnākara* describes this alaṅkāra as a gradual rise from a low note to its octave and then a sudden drop to the initial note (śa ri ga ma pa dha ni śa śa) (S.R. 1, 6, 57-58). Dattila's description seems to correspond with that of the *Saṅgitaratnākara*.

Mandra-tāra-prasanna—the alaṅkāra next described—was very much like tāra-mandra-prasanna. In it, the first movement was a sudden leap from a lower to a higher note and then a gradual descent back to the original low note. Bharata's description of it corresponds with that of Dattila (N.S. 29, 41). Śārṅgadeva describes the alaṅkāra on the same lines as Dāttila and notates it as : śa śa ni dha pa ma ga ri śa (S.R. 1, 6, 57, 58).

According to the Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī*, however, both these above alaṅkāras had two alternate renderings: one could either ascend to the fifth or sixth note and then descend to the basic note or, alternatively, one could go upto the higher octave of the initial note (which in Bṛ. is said to be the amṣa) and then suddenly descend (Vṛtti on Bṛ. 120).

The alaṅkāra sama probably consisted of an ascending movement which complimented a similar and equal descending movement without any sudden leaps or falls. Bharata like Dattila describes it as: "sarvasāmyāt samo jñeyah" (N.S. 29, 35). The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* describes sama somewhat differently. It says that in this alaṅkāra the same range of the seven svaras is sounded in all three octaves: "sthānatraye'-pi sadṛśadhvaniḥ saptasvaroccāraṇah samah" (Bṛ. Vṛtti on 120). The idea is not

¹ अथ विन्दुः सप्लुताधः स्वरम् कूत्वाऽग्निवत्परं स्पृष्टवाऽधः स्पर्शेनाखिला; कलाः। स इरिस रिङ्गरि गृहमग मृष्म पृष्ठप दृशनिधि

—S.R. 1, 6, 37-38.

² सप्तमगरि रिषयमग गणिधपम .

—S.R. 1, 6, 48.

clear and the accompanying notations are obviously corrupt. Śāringadeva interprets sama as a kind of palṭa.¹

The three alaṅkāras, kampita, harita and recita, were obviously similar except for a difference in the octave (sthāna) where they were rendered. The expression "a quiver of three śruti" used by Dattila in describing them is far from clear. Bharata, describing kampita, says that it consisted of "a quiver lasting three kalās" (kampitaśca kalātrayam, N.S. 29, 43). Abhinava speaks with disapproval concerning the interpretation of kalā as śruti by some authorities and says that kalā here meant a unit of time (kalātra na śrutiḥ api tu kāla-kalāḥ, A.B. on N.S. 29, 43). Elsewhere (A.B. on N.S. 29, 21), Abhinava says that kampita, harita and recita resulted from a certain subtle quivering of the three-śruti note (triśruteḥ svarasya) and adds that though these three alaṅkāras could be recognised in a melody, yet they could not at all be indicated in words and were thus more subtle than bindu and preñholita etc. which could at least be indicated.² Abhinava (and also Dattila) seems to imply that these alaṅkāras were used only on the notes ri and dha (and pa in madhyamagrāma), the three-śruti notes.

Dattila enumerates thirteen alaṅkāras in all. Five, he says, belong to the sañcāri varṇa, one each to the ārohī and avarohī varṇas and four to the sthāyī varṇa. Other alaṅkāras belong to varṇas appropriate to them (Datt. 108). It should be noted that the alaṅkāras prasannādi and prasannānta are in his description common to two varṇas. The former is both a sthāyī and an ārohi alaṅkāra and the latter is both a sthāyī and an avarohī alaṅkāra. In the classification of Bharata and others also, we come across alaṅkāras common to two or more varṇas.

While Dattila enumerates only thirteen alaṅkāras, Bharata and Mataṅga have accepted thirty-three alaṅkāras.

Mataṅga and the Vṛttikāra say that there are thirty-three well-known alaṅkāras. They obviously had the *Nātyaśāstra* in mind when naming this figure, for the *Bṛhaddeśī* puts great reliance upon Bharata in describing the alaṅkāras.³ Abhinava refers to the 'Tīkākāra' (or Tīkākāras, for he says 'tīkākṛdbhīḥ') in this context who had spoken of thirty-three alaṅkāras on the basis of works by Sadāśiva and others: "tīkākṛdbhistu sadāśivamatādigranthāntarālikhitam 'trayastrīśadimeproktā alaṅkārāḥ' (A.B. on N.S. 29, 43).

¹ सरिगमगरिस रिगमपमगरि गमपघपमग मपघनिष्वमम ।

—S.R. 1, 6, 40.

² 'रेचितकम्पितकूहरास्तु' शिरोवक्षःकण्ठनिविष्टस्य त्रिश्रुतेः स्वरस्य कम्परूपा इत्यभिज्ञानेनापि दर्शयितुमशक्या इति न विलिखिता इति ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 21-22.

³ Mataṅga introduces alaṅkāras with the words :

यस्मिन् वर्णे स्थिता ये च अलङ्कारा मनोहराः । तानिदानीं प्रवक्ष्यामि भरतोक्तविधानतः ॥

—Br. 125

and ends the subject with: अलङ्कारास्त्रयस्त्रिंशदेवमेते मयोदिता:

—Br. 170.

The Vṛttikāra says: इदानीं मुप्रसिद्धास्त्रयस्त्रिंशदलङ्कारापादेना (?) ततः प्रयोगतश्च कथ्यन्ते

—Vṛtti on Br. 120.

Dattila, we have said, has listed prasannādi as a sthāyī alaṅkāra as well as an ārohī alaṅkāra (although there is a lacuna here in the text, the purport appears to be clear). Bharata includes this alaṅkāra in the sañcārī list also (N.S. 29, 21-22). The inclusion of this alaṅkāra among ārohī alaṅkāras seems logical because the alaṅkāra was formulated through a movement of ascent, but the reason for its inclusion among sañcārī alaṅkāras is not clear. Again, Dattila lists the alaṅkāra prasannānta as sthāyī as well as avarohī; its avarohī form is clear, for it consisted of a movement of descent. Bharata has termed this alaṅkāra an ārohī alaṅkāra (N.S. 29, 24) but we do not know why. Preṅkholuta, the alaṅkāra which involved a constant swing-like āndolana between two notes, has been aptly listed as a sañcārī alaṅkāra by Dattila, whose dictum "nityam sañcārī-saṁśrayah" (Datt. 108) obviously implies that this alaṅkāra along with the other four of its group—bindu, nivṛtta-pravṛtta, tāramandra-prasanna and mandra-tāra-prasanna—belonged to sañcārī alone. Bharata lists preṅkholuta as an ārohī-alaṅkāra (N.S. 29, 23-24); the basis of his classification is not clear.

Mataṅga also gives a varṇa-wise classification of alaṅkāras, avowedly on the basis of Bharata (bharatotktavidhānataḥ, Br. 125). His list, however, does not entirely agree with Bharata's list as accepted by Abhinava.

The *Vāyupurāṇa* also describes thirty three alaṅkāras (chapter 87). On the nature of the alaṅkāras, the Purāṇa says: "just as a woman is adorned by various ornaments, so is a varṇa adorned by alaṅkāras arising from the varṇas themselves" (*Vāyu*, 87, 25). Later theorists like Śāringadeva enumerate as many as seventy alaṅkāras (S.R. 1-6). One reason why the number of alaṅkāras described by Dattila is so small, might be his attempt at brevity. It is likely that he considered only thirteen alaṅkāras to be the important ones and others as included within these. Another cogent reason, as we have argued earlier, could be that Dattila represented an earlier, somewhat less florid tradition of gāndharva where fewer alaṅkāras were used.

Of the thirty three possible alaṅkāras, Bharata considered only about seventeen as valid in dhruvās (N.S. 29, 30-32). His list of alaṅkāras suitable for dhruvās contains some names not found in the saptarūpa list, such as ūrmi and apāṅga.

Conclusion of Svara Topics

109A. iti ślokaśatenedamuktam svaragatam sphuṭam

Thus, in a hundreded verses, the topics relating to svara (svaraṣṭam) have been clearly expounded.

NOTE :

Dattila began the exposition of svara topics after enumerating svaroddeśa with the 8th verse and concludes the section with the 108th verse. He thus takes not hundred but (to be exact) a hundred and one verses for describing the subject.

SECTION II

ON TĀLA

A SHORT PREAMBLE

- 109B. *atha tālam pravakṣyāmi (yathāśāstram pramāṇataḥ)*
 110A. *tālāt sāmyam bhavet sāmyādiha siddhiḥ paratra ca¹*

Now I shall expound tāla (based upon authentic accounts in the śāstras). Through tāla is achieved sāmya (equipoise), [and] sāmya is the source of fulfilment here (in this world) and hereafter.

NOTE :

This verse forms a short introductory preamble concerning the nature of tāla. Tāla (from \sqrt{tal} , 'to establish')² has been defined by Abhinava as the action which reveals definite demarcations in musical forms on the basis of time units (cf. tālah paricchityātmakākālakhaṇde kriyārūpo dravyātmā sa eva gītakriyā pramāṇaparicchedopāyah, A.B. on N.S. 31, 1). Tāla is a large term, for it denotes not only rhythm, tempo, measure of time, etc. but also the process and actions through which these are achieved and demarcated.

In modern music, drums are utilised to keep tāla; distinctive beats on drums arranged in specific rhythms and groupings effect different tālas. In ancient gāndharva music, the instrument utilised for keeping tāla, as Bharata indicates, was basically ghana (N.S. 31, 1); sound was produced by striking on metal (for details, see ch. V).

The function of tāla, according to Dattila, was, as we have seen, to measure svara. When the measure (tāla) was in perfect accordance with the measured (svara) the result was sāmya, a pivotal term which, though not found in Bharata, has been often used by Abhinava in the context of tāla and its function in gāndharva. The notion of sāmya occurred also in the work on gāndharva by Viśākhila—as a remark by Abhinava suggests.³ In verse 110A Dattila explicitly hints at the adṛṣṭa-end of gāndharva in saying that "sāmyādiha siddhiḥ paratra ca" (see ch. V for a discussion of sāmya).

1 T. ed. 109B reads प्रवक्ष्यामि++++++

2 This is an oft-repeated etymology in saṅgīta texts. Abhinava says : तल प्रतिष्ठाकरणे इति तालः—A.B. on N.S. 28, 11-12.

Śāṅgadeva says :

तालस्तलप्रतिष्ठायामिति ध्रातोर्धंब्रिस्मृतः । गीतं वाचं तथा नृत्यं यतस्ताले प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥
 —S.R. 5, 2.

3 विशाखिलाचार्यः साम्यादिह सिद्धिं परतेति वदन् प्रादीदृशत् ।
 —A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

Mark that Viśākhila's reported words are very close to those of Dattila.

THE TĀLODDEŚA

- 110B. *tatra jñeyāḥ kalāḥ pātāḥ pādabhāgastathaiwa ca*
 111A. *mātrā ca parivartasca vastu caiva viśeṣataḥ¹*
 B. *vidyāryaṅgalayāḥ pāṇiryatiḥ praka (raṇam) tathā*
 112A. *+++ + vajrā? ca gītīrmārgaśca śāstrataḥ*
 B. *ityuddeśah padārthānām jñeyastālagato budhaiḥ*
 113A. *sāṅkṣepenātha vakṣyāmi sūkṣamameśām vinirṇayaḥ*

[In tāla] one should know specifically the kalās, the pātas, the pādabhāgas, the mātrā, the parivarta, and also the vastu, the vidārī, the aṅga, the [different] layas, the pāṇi, the yati and the prakaraṇa, the avayava, (?) the gīti and also the mārga. These, according to the śāstra, are the topics pertaining to tāla the wise should endeavour to understand.

I shall now, in brief, decree the precise nature of these.

NOTE :

Dattila has listed fifteen topics under tāla, whereas Bharata has twenty-one. Bharata does not list kalā, but enumerates the various kalās as separate topics. Thus the discrepancy between Bharata's and Dattila's tāloddeśas, though of import as indicating theoretical differences, is not as basic as it might appear (see ch. I).

Dattila expounds the tāla-topics in the same methodical way as svara-topics, and his exposition strictly follows the listed order.

There exists a lacuna in the *Dattilam* text where the topics are enumerated. Line 111B reads 'prakaka +++'. The intended word is obviously 'prakaraṇam', which indeed is expounded as the 12th topic following 'yati'.²

Again in line 112A, five letters are missing, after which the word 'vajrā' occurs. 'Vajrā' is a term that does not fit into the picture.³ It is not included by Bharata

¹ Kṣīrasvāmin in the nātyavarga of his ṭīkā, *Amarkośodghaṭāna*, on the *Amarakośa* quotes Datt. 110B-111A with the words यद् दत्तिः. The reading is the same as above.

² Nijenhuis thinks that prakaka...is a wrong reading for the term prastāraka, which has been used by Nārada in the *Saṅgīta Makaranda* in connection with tāla (see *Dattilam : A compendium of Ancient Indian Music*, p. 320). Nijenhuis's conjecture is evidently misconstrued. Firstly, the *Saṅgīta Makaranda* is not an early work, and to ascribe a concept to the ancient Nārada on its basis is not satisfactory. Secondly, prakaraṇa occurs as a topic in Bharata, too, who, we have seen, has the entire subject-matter of gāndharva in parallel with Dattila. Prakaraṇa was indeed the most important topic in gāndharva-tāla, for it denoted the seven main tāla structures used in rendering gāndharva. Thirdly, as we have remarked, prakaraṇa is indeed the name of the 12th topic in the lakṣaṇa portion of the *Dattilam* itself where the topics are expounded. After having dealt with yati, the 11th topic in the uddeśa, Dattila in his lakṣaṇa introduces prakaraṇa with :

—Datt. 155B.

³ Nijenhuis has, however, accepted the term 'vajrā' at its face value (see *Dattilam : A Compendium of Ancient Indian Music*, p. 37).

among the topics in tāla, and is, in fact, a minor variety of a specific tāla structure used with others in a more complex tāla structure called oveṇāka. Its enumeration among the general topics to be discussed under tāla is clearly due to a scribal error. The word that should have occurred is 'avayava', a topic found in Bharata but erased in the manuscript from the *Dattilam* list. While taking up the topics enumerated step by step in a logical order, Dattila does not deal with vajrā though avayava does apparently occur, and it immediately follows prakaraṇa as in the listed order.

The word 'avayava' in the *Dattilam* text was either qualified by an epithet or linked with the rest of the sentence by a preposition, as the number of missing letters indicates. These elude reconstruction. As in the section on svara, so in this section, Dattila promises to give a brief vinirñaya—authoritative exposition—of the topics after enumerating them. In this case, he adds that his exposition will be 'sūkṣma', i.e., 'subtle', 'intricate', 'all-pervading'—besides being brief. Dattila gives greater space to tāla and indeed his exposition concerning this aspect of gāndharva seems to have commanded greater attention from subsequent theorists than his exposition of svara.

TOPIC 1

KALĀ

- 113B. *tatrāvāpo'tha niṣkrāmo (vikṣepaśca praveśana)*
 114A. *(śa) myā tālaśca vi(jñe)yāḥ sannipātaśca saptamī...
 B. kaiścinnimeṣakāle(na)¹ kalā saptavidhoditā*
 115A. *layasthityā ca mārgeṣu kalpitam taiḥ kalāntaram
 B. sarvā ceyam kalā yeṣām ghanṭā nādavatī (sthitā)²*
 116A. *(te)ṣām (citrādi)³ mārgeṣu viṣeṣo'yaṁ kalāśrayaḥ
 B. dvimātrā syāt kalā citre caturmātrā tu vārtike*
 117A. *aṣṭamātrā tu vidvadbhirdukṣiṇe samudāhṛtā
 B. mātrā tu laukikī neha kintu pañcaguṇā tataḥ*
 118A. *tayākāryam kalāmānam prayogo'tha niyamyate⁴*

Kalā should be known as sevenfold : āvāpa, niṣkrāma, vikṣepa and praveśa, śamyā, tāla and the seventh sannipāta.

Some believe that [these] arise through [the unit of time called] nimeṣa. They believe that the state of the tempo (laya) differentiates kalās in the [three] mārgas.

[But] those who hold that [the nature] of these kalās is like a resounding bell (ghanṭā nādavatī) make following distinctions in the kalās depending upon the mārgas : in citra (mārga) the kalā is of two mātrās, in vārtika of four, and in dakṣiṇa the wise describe it as of eight mātrās.

[The term] mātrā in this context is not that of common usage, but is five times that [duration]. By this [mātrā] should kalā be measured. Now the prescribed application.

NOTE :

Kalā in Dattila is a complex term.

Dattila defines kalā first as a group of actions like āvāpa, niṣkrāma, etc. and then also as a unit of time—a unit which, according to some theorists, was based on nimeṣa. Kalā was thus a unified notion both indicative of the actions which manifested or formed the time measure in tāla and the units forming the time measure itself. These two aspects of forming tāla are in fact inseparable. Abhinava argues that since the units of time in tāla are unthinkable without the

¹ T.ed. reads निमेषकाले+

² T.ed. reads घटानादवता++

³ T.ed. reads तेषां म++

S. S. S. 6B-7A is same as Datt. 113B-114A, except that S. S. S. reads विक्षेपोऽथ. S.S.S. 7, 14B-15A is same as Datt. 116B-117A. The debt to Dattila is not acknowledged.

actions that demarcate them, the one notion is inherently connected with the other (cf. na kālāḥ kriyāvyatirekaḥ, api tu sarvesāṁ paricchedahetuḥ kāla ityucyate, paricchedaśa kriyaiva, A.B. on N.S. 31, 1).

Two differing opinions are mentioned by Dattila regarding kalā as time-unit. The exact difference between the two, however, is not very clear. The first opinion, according to Dattila, apparently held that kalā was constituted of nimeśas and was, in various mārgas, distinguished by the state of tempo. Dattila expresses the second opinion through an analogy: that of a resounding bell. Its bearing on the matter remains obscure. However, theorists holding this view did measure kalā in terms of mātrās—on this point the meaning is clear. The number of mātrās in a kalā, according to them, differed in various mārgas.

In the last analysis, however, mātrā too was measured in terms of nimeśas (N.S. 31, 4) and there seems to emerge no basic difference between the two differing opinions mentioned by Dattila.

Kalā was measured in nimeśas. Nimeśa was, according to one Indian tradition, the smallest unit of time. It was the time taken to utter a short Sanskrit vowel (such as a, o, i, u,) which metrically consisted of one mātrā.¹ Mātrā in ordinary or customary measure was thus equal to one nimeśa.

In gāndharva this common (laukika) measure was somewhat modified or rather multiplied. Bharata says that the standards of measure current in ordinary practice—such as kalā, kāṣṭhā, nimeśa—did not apply to tāla in this context, because the mātrā here was equal to five nimeśas (N.S. 31, 2-4). Dattila expresses the same idea in saying that “mātrā in this context is not that of common usage, but is five-times that” (Datt. 117B).

Mātrā was ordinarily measured as the time taken to utter one short or laghu vowel. But in this context, as Abhinava explains, “the standard time through which one unit of measure in singing is to be demarcated from another is equal to five nimeśas, that is, five short akṣaras: nimeśāḥ pañca iti gitakālasya paricchedakālāntaram pramāṇam; pañca nimeśāḥ hrasvākṣarapañcakam yāvat” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 4).

¹ Thus the encyclopaedic *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, in enumerating standard units of time and their measure, records :

लघुकालान्तरम् निमेषः प्रकीर्तिः । अतः सूक्ष्मतरः कालो नोपलभ्यो भूगूत्तम् ॥

—*Viṣṇudharmottara*, 1, 73, 1.

According to this tradition, 2 nimeśas constituted a trūti, 10 trūtis equalled a prāṇa, 6 prāṇas equalled 1 vināḍikā, 60 vināḍikās made 1 nāḍikā and 60 nāḍikās made a full 24 hour cycle of day and night (*Viṣṇudharmottara*, 1, 73, 1-3). Calculation shows that nimeśa in this measure was of 0.2 seconds.

Kauṭilya (in the second chapter of the *Arthaśāstra*) records another tradition with a somewhat different standard for measuring time. According to this tradition, trūti was the smallest unit of time : 2 trūtis equalled 1 lava, 2 lavas made 1 nimeśa, 5 nimeśas made a kāṣṭhā, 30 kāṣṭhās made a kalā, 40 kalās made a nālikā, 2 nālikās made a muhūrta, 15 muhūrtas made a day or a night, i.e., 12 hours. However, the value of the nimeśa was approximately the same according to this tradition, too ; for calculation shows nimeśa as equal to 0.24 seconds. Bharata seems to have had this Kūṭilyan measure in mind, for he says : या लौकिकी कला काष्ठा निमेषश्च स्मृता द्वये: (N. S. 31, 2). Kalā and kāṣṭhā as units of time are not found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* but they occur in the *Arthaśāstra*.

This five-nimēṣa mātrā was the standard for measuring kalā as a time-unit in gāndharva. Kalā is said to be not a uniform unit but differing in duration according to the mārgas. It is stated that in citra mārga the kalā was of two mātrās, in the vārtika of four and in the dakṣiṇa of eight mātrās.

The term mārga literally means 'way'. In music, especially in gāndharva, it signified broadly a mode of rendering tāla. The chief feature of mārga, as such, was laya or tempo. Citra mārga was distinguished by a fast tempo (druta laya) and in it a kalā or each unit of time, says Dattila, was constituted of two mātrās. Vārtika mārga, on the other hand, was distinguished by a medium tempo (madhya laya) and in it a kalā contained four mātrās and was twice in measure compared to citra. Dakṣiṇa mārga was rendered in a slow tempo (vilambita laya) and had a kalā of eight mātrās.

This notion of the kalā measure as increasing and decreasing with mārga was, as we shall see, to be understood in a rather special sense. Ordinarily, as a standard, kalā in gāndharva was understood as an inflexible two-mātric or ten-nimēṣa time-unit.

The Actions Which Demarcated Kalā

- 118 B. āvāpasaujñaka m jñeyamuttānāngulikuñcanam
- 119 A. adhastalena hastena niṣkrāmākhyam prasārānam
B. tasya dakṣiṇataḥ kṣepo vikhepaḥ paribhāṣitah
- 120 A. atha cākuñcanam jñeyam praveśākhyamadhistalam
B. śamyā dakṣiṇopātastu tālo rāmastu kīrtitah
- 121 A. ubhayorhastayoh pātah sannipāta iti smṛtah¹

The [kalā] called āvāpa should be known [through] folding the fingers with [palm] upwards. That called niṣkrāma is [formed] with palm downwards and [fingers] extended. Casting of the [hand] to the right is defined as vikṣepa. And folding it with palm downwards should be known as [the kalā] called praveśa. The beat formed with the right hand is śamyā [and] that with the left is known as tāla. The beat [formed with] both hands is known as sannipāta.

NOTE:

After describing the measure of kalā as a time unit, Dattila now describes its other aspect: kalā as a set of actions that demarcated the time units. The first four actions forming kalā in this sense—āvāpa, niṣkrāma, vikṣepa and praveśa—were formulated as unsounded beats, whereas the last three—śamyā, tāla and sannipāta—were sounded. In tāla, all beats are, as a rule, formulated by an action usually of

¹ S.S. 7, 7B-10A is same as Datt. 118B-121A. The passage is incorporated without acknowledging Dattila as the source. The passage occurs in conjunction with Datt. 113B-114A which forms S.S.S. 6B-7A as already noted. In the S.S.S. version, Datt. 119A reads अतस्तलेन; 119B reads परिभाष्यते and 120A reads प्रवेशाद्यमतस्तलम्

hands and palms, but in case of gāndharva, certain characteristic gestural patterns had been prescribed with these movements, thus giving them a ritualistic significance (see ch. V). It was believed that only by keeping strictly to the prescribed movements, could transcendental merit be acquired.

Bharata has recounted an additional sounded beat called dhruba which Dattila does not include in his list.¹ For our discussion on this point, see ch. I.

¹ शम्या तालो ध्रुवश्चैव सन्निपास्तथा परः । इति शब्देन संगुवतो विजेयोऽपि चतुर्विंश्मः ॥

—N.S. 31, 31.

TOPIC 2

PĀTA

121 B. evamete trayah pātāḥ kalā + + + + +

122 A. (etesām sā)ptavidhye' pi¹ trikalāyām prayojayet

Among the kalās, these [last] three are known as the pātas. Though they are seven, they should be used in the three [modes] of kalā.

NOTE :

These seven kalās stood for the seven beats in gāndharva tāla. Among them only three were sounded or struck beats. Pāta literally means a struck beat. Therefore, strictly speaking, only the three sounded beats among the kālas were pātas. Kallinātha says : "sounded beats are suggested by two terms, pāta and kalā, but beats without sound are signified by only one term : 'kalā'."² Vemabhūpāla makes a similar remark in *Saṅgīta Cintāmaṇi*.³ Dattila too has evidently used the word kalā to signify all the seven beats and pāta to denote the sounded ones alone. Pāta was in effect a part of the larger concept of kalā. Bharata does not include pāta as a topic in his list, though he does distinguish the sounded beats as pātas.⁴

A further clarification of the concept of kalā may be worthwhile before we proceed to describe the three modes of kalā mentioned here by Dattila. In the *Dattilam* (and also the *Nātyaśāstra*), the term kalā has been used with somewhat varying connotations (besides its dual meaning in Dattila, already indicated), and unless the different senses or aspects of the concept are kept distinct, confusion might result. Basically, kalā was a unit of time measured on the basis of two mātrās or ten nimeśas. Kalā also denoted the beats, sounded or unsounded, that demarcated time. But, as we have seen, the measure of kalā was not uniform, but changed according to mārga. Dattila observes : "kalās in different mārgas have different number of matrās; in citra two, in vārtika four, and in daksiṇa mārga eight." This difference in the measure of kalā itself should be understood in terms of what might be called the different modes of kalā-application. The mode of kalā-application in the citra mārga was ekakala; it was consi-

T. ed. reads : + + + पत्विष्ठे पि. Our suggested reconstruction of the missing words is based upon implications of the description of the matter contained in Sāṅgadeva, Kallinātha and Vemabhūpāla.

पातः कला तु सा ज्ञेयति सा सशब्दक्रिया पातः कलेति संज्ञादवयेनोच्यते । निःशब्दक्रिया तु कलासंज्ञयौच्यत इति तु शब्दस्याथ् ।

—Kalā on S.R. 5, 6.

आवापश्चाय निष्कामो विक्षेपश्च प्रवेशकः । एवमेषा तु निशशब्दा कलेत्येव प्रकीर्तिंता ॥

सशब्दापि चतुर्थोक्ता धूवशम्या तथैवच । तालश्च सन्निपातश्च सा स्थात् पातः कलेति च ॥

—S.C., ch. I, section on vādyā.

⁴ एषामन्तरपातास्तु पातसंज्ञा: प्रकीर्तिंता: । शम्या तालस्तु विज्ञेयः सन्निपातस्तथैव च ॥

सत्यहस्तनिपातः स्याच्छम्या तालस्य वामतः । हस्तयोरस्तु समः पातः सन्निपात इति स्मृतः ॥

—N.S. 31, 36-37.

dered the basic mode. In vārtika (also called vṛtti mārga), the mode of kalā application was dvikala. In dakṣiṇa mārga, kalā measured 4 times the basic citra-mārga unit of kalā, and the mode of application was known as catuṣkala. When Dattila says that kalā has different measures in different mārgas it is evidently to the ekakala, dvikala and castuṣkala modes that he is referring. Thus kalā itself remained the same (=10 nimesas) but the unit of time measure in different mārgas changed in terms of the number of kalās: citra had a 1-kalā unit, vārtika a 2-kalā unit and dakṣiṇa had a 4-kalā unit. However, the notion of kalā seems to have had still more complexities (see note on 'yati' and 'mārga').

The ekakala mode was also known as yathākṣara and was considered the prototype mode. It was called yathākṣara for a reason. A number of kalās (both as time-units and actions forming sounded and unsounded beats) distributed into groups, formed talā. There were two such basic group formations: those based on a duple arrangement (yugma) and those based on a triple arrangement (ayugma). These arrangements were expressed in terms of certain word-formulas, to the metric syllabic structure of which the ekakala mode conformed (and was hence known as yathākṣara). These yathākṣara structures Dattila describes next.

The modes of kalā

- 122B. *kalānām samudāyo'tha yugmo'yugmo'thavā bhavet*
- 123A. *yugmaścaccatpuṭasthāḥ syādayukcācapuṭāśrayah*
- B. *tālākṣarāṇāmeteṣāṁ samsthāpya gu(rulāghavam)*
- 124A. *yugmāntyam̄ plutavat kṛtvā kalāyogam̄ prakalpayet*

A group of kalās can either be yugma or ayugma. Yugma is based upon caccatpuṭā(h) and ayugma depends upon cācapuṭāḥ.

In these letters of [yathākṣara] tālas, having established the laghu and the guru and rendering the last [syllable] in yugma as pluta, one should duly group the kalās.

NOTE:

After a short aside on the pāta, Dattila comes back to the concept of kalā; for though Dattila has given to pāta an independent status as a topic (unlike Bharata) yet pāta was a notion subsidiary to that of kalā.

The basic structures of tālas had been classified into two broad categories: the yugma and the ayugma. The prototype of all yugma (lit. 'even') rhythms was called the tāla caccatpuṭāḥ which was conceived of as a unit comprising four kalās (thus also called caturasra). The prototype of ayugma (lit. 'odd') rhythms was conceived to be cācapuṭāḥ—conceived as a unit consisting of three kalās (also called tryasra).

¹ The Hindustani kaharvā has a basic yugma arrangement whereas dadrā has an ayugma mode. In Karnatic music tālas are classified into tryasra (ayugma) and catusrasra (yugma) types—a very methodical classification. In ancient times, too, tryasra was a synonym for the ayugma and catusrasra for the yugma. We shall often come across these terms.

The terms cācapuṭah and caccatpuṭah are themselves meaningless, but they constituted word-formulas which when analysed letterwise (yathākṣara) and metrically on the basis of mātrās contained in each syllable, yielded the basic prototype of the yugma and ayugma modes of grouping kalās. Dattila does not analyse the words cācapuṭah and caccatpuṭah in detail, but simply gives general instructions in a verse (123B-124A) regarding the arrangement of mātrās in these tālas assuming a syllabic analysis as known to his readers.

In Sanskrit prosody, metre is measured in terms of mātrās (*i.e.*, the time taken in uttering a short vowel). A laghu is a syllable containing one mātrā. Guru contains two mātrās and pluta three.

Bharata gives the full metrical analysis of the term cācapuṭah: Cā + ca + pu + ṭah. It contains a guru syllable followed by two laghus and then another guru. The total number of mātrās are six and we thus have a basic triple time structure :

traysraścācapuṭah prokto gurulaghvākṣarānvitah
ādau gurvākṣaram jñeyam laghunī guru caiva hi
tryasrah sa khalu vijñeyah tālaścācapuṭo budhaiḥ

(N.S. 31, 9)

In the yathākṣara yugma, *i.e.*, caccatpuṭah—cac + cat + pu + ṭah—the distribution of laghu and guru is : guru + guru + laghu + guru. The total number of mātrās is thus seven; one short of the required number of mātrās that could form the four kalās (a kalā=2 mātrās) of which this tāla-prototype consisted. Hence Dattila has enjoined that the last syllable in the caccatpuṭah should be considered as pluta, *i.e.*, containing three mātrās. This gives the required number of mātrās, *viz.* eight. Bharata in analysing caccatpuṭah on the ‘akṣara’ or syllabic basis does not say that the last syllable should be considered as pluta; he simply enjoins it to be pluta :

ādau dve guruṇī yatra laghu ca plutameva ca
sa vijñeyah prayogajñāstālaścaccatpuṭāśrayah

(N.S. 29, 10)

“That tāla is known as based on caccatpuṭah by experts which has two gurus in the beginning followed by a laghu and a pluta.”

Sāṅgadeva says that the last syllable in this yathākṣara should be known as pluta (though is actually not so): ayamekakalaścaccatpuṭe tvantyam plutam viduh” (S.R. 5, 19). He notates its metric arrangement thus: SSIS (the last ‘S’ standing for a pluta).¹

¹ प्रत्येकं ती नामगतिर्गंस्तत्र यथाक्षरः । अयमेककलशच्चत्पुटे त्वन्त्यं प्लुतं विदुः ॥
SSI इति यथाक्षरश्चाचपुटः ॥
SISI इति यथाक्षरश्चाचपुटः ॥

—S.R. 5, 19.

Caccatpuṭah and cācapuṭah were thus the two basic tāla-prototypes or yathākṣaras. Bharata calls them the yonidvaya (N.S. 31, 7), for with them as base were constructed other tāla or kālā modes.

Abhinava reports that Āgamas and Purāṇas had traced these yathākṣara word-formulas to Śiva himself.¹ He reads two verses in this context (perhaps as part of the Nāṭyaśāstra for he attaches them to N.S. 31, 8-11) which state that the syllables 'caccatpuṭah' were uttered by Lord Śiva in four breaths, after which he stopped. He did not utter the last syllable as plutā because it is not deemed fit that great personages should end their utterances with a plutā. The second syllable was also not uttered as plutā for such a practice is followed only by the lowly. The plutā, in other words, was left as understood.

Abhinava quotes :

"tadāha caccatpuṭastviti
devaścaturbhīrniśvāsairakṣarāṇāṁ catuṣṭayam
udīrya tasyātite tu viśrānto girijāpatih
plutāntanyāsato nāyamuttamānām vidhīyate
dvitiyo na tathā tena hyadhamānām pratīyate" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 8-10)

Though Śiva had not uttered the last syllable of caccatpuṭah as plutā yet obviously it was meant to be plutā and considered so in tradition.

Abhinava stresses that these prototype (yonirūpa) word-formulas had a special adr̥ṣṭā significance attached to them : "yonirūpamadr̥ṣṭavīśeṣasya hetubhūtam kīrtymāṇamāgame prasiddham" (A.B., *Ibid.*).

The Nāṭyaśāstra speaks also of basic tāla units comprising five, seven, nine, ten and eleven kalās; these Bharata calls saṅkīrṇa.² But these units, Bharata says, were not employed in the gāndharva gitakas (saptarūpe) or in the dhruvā-songs of ancient dramas (na hyeṣā mupayego'sti saptarūpe dhruvāsu vā; N.S. 31, 25).

Gāndharva, as we have observed, was a zealously guarded form of music which limited itself to only certain enjoined and approved forms. It is thus small wonder that in respect to tāla, too, gāndharva revealed a strict selectivity. But as to why the complex rhythmic forms based on units of five, seven, etc. were not employed in dhruvā (which contained a very pliant form of music allowing all kinds of modes) is

¹ Again we notice the connection of gāndharya with Śiva. The four letters, says Abhinava, of the yathākṣara formulas were pronounced by Śiva Himself and were thus charged with spiritual significance and their utterance resulted in transcendental merit :

पुराणे चागमादौ भगवतो महेश्वरस्य वक्त्रचतुष्कोदभूतमेतदक्षरचतुष्कमेतदावर्थमानमभ्युदयदायीत्युक्तम्

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 8-10.

The traditional basic syllabic formulas of Sanskrit grammar such as अङ्गउण् ऋत्तुक्....., etc. were also said to have been devised by Śiva and were thus called Māheśvara sūtras.

² कला: पञ्च तथा सप्त पुनर्नवं च कीर्तिताः । दशेकादश चैवते संकीर्णाः समुदाहताः ॥
न ह्यषामुपयोगोस्ति सप्तरूपे ध्रुवासु वा ।

—N.S. 31, 24-25.

somewhat difficult to understand. Perhaps it was the very oddity of these uneven rhythmic structures which made them unsuitable for dhruvā, for the complex structure of such rhythms may have hampered with the direct communication of poetic meanings. These rhythms were certainly used in non-dramatic popular forms.

Measure of Kalā

124B. *kalāṁ guruṇi yuñjīta laghunyardhakalāṁ tathā*

125A. *plute sārdhakalāmevam bhavedekakalo vidhil*

In a guru should be rendered one kalā [and] half a kalā in laghu. Likewise, one and a half kalās [should be rendered] in pluta. Thus is [rendered] the mode [called] ekekala.

NOTE:

In these lines, Dattila lays down the measure of kalā, as well as its arrangement in the yathākṣara yugma caccatpuṭah. One mātrā in ordinary usage—which amounted to the time taken in uttering a short vowel—was in gāndharva considered as a duration of time taken in uttering five short vowels (Datt., 117). Two mātras, we learn here, formed one kalā. Kalā thus was a unit of time equal to ten common metric mātrās. Or, to avoid confusion between the two different measures accorded to mātrā, we can say that one kalā was equal to ten nimeśas, since a nimeśa was the time taken for uttering one short vowel.

In yathākṣara or ekakala modes of tālas, a guru equalling two mātrās was rendered as one kalā. Consequently a laghu was half a kalā and pluta one and a half kalās.

Syllables and Kalā

125B. *yathākṣareṣu yoktavyāḥ pātā ete yathākramam*

126A. *sannipātaśca śamyā ca tālaḥ śamyā tathaiva ca*

B. *eṣa pātavidhirjñeyo Yugme cāyugma eva ca*

127A. *śamyātāl(au ca)¹ Yugme dvistālah śamyamathāpi vā*

In yathākṣara [tālas], following are the beats (pātas) in due order : sannipāta, śamyā, tāla and again a śamyā. This is the process of beats in [both] yugma and ayugma. But in yugma [the alternatives] śamyā + tāla twice repeated or tāla + śamyā occurring twice [are also applicable].

NOTE :

The yathākṣara patterns described above were to be applied in the ekakala mode. The yathākṣara syllabic arrangement in yugma was : guru, guru, laghu, pluta.

¹ T. ed. शम्याताल+युग्मे

Our suggested reconstruction is based upon the description of the beat formations found in other authoritative texts, chiefly the N.S. Bharata describes the structure in this context in words similar to Dattila :

शम्यातालौ द्विरम्यस्तो तालः शम्या तथापि वा

—N.S. 31, 12A.

A two-mātrā-unit was equal to a kalā unit of time. Thus the pattern of tāla in terms of kalās was in caccatpuṭah : one kalā + one kalā + half a kalā + one and a half kalā. In rendering the ekakala mode of tāla these kalās were formulated through pātas alone, i.e., only through sounded beats. The beats enjoined by Dattila for these kalās have three alternatives :

1. sannipāta, śamyā, tāla, śamyā.
2. śamyā, tāla, śamyā, tāla
3. tāla, śamyā, tāla, śamyā.

The yathākṣara metric pattern in cācapuṭah was : guru, laghu, guru, laghu ; or in terms of kalās : one + half + one + half. The beats enjoined were the same as in the first alternative (given above) for rendering caccatpuṭah. Thus in the ekakala mode, though yathākṣara caccatpuṭah had four kalās and cācapuṭah had three, the number of beats (pāta) in both cases was four. This was because in the yathākṣara mode the syllabic structure of the word formulas comprising the tālas was adhered to. Both cācapuṭah and caccatpuṭah had four syllables and consequently both were formed with four beats. Bharata says : "yathākṣarakṛtaḥ pātaistalo jñeyo yathākṣarah" (N.S. 31, 39).¹ The number of kalās forming a duple and a triple grouping respectively, distinguished the two tālas.

Bharata has given the same three alternative beat arrangements for the caccatpuṭah as has Dattila (N.S. 31, 11-12). The first alternative which begins with a sannipāta, he calls the 'śuddha' alternative :

sannipātastataḥ śamyā tālah śamyā tathaiva ca
evamekakalah śuddho yojyaścaccatpuṭo budhaiḥ (N.S. 31, 117)

He adds that the second formation beginning with śamyā was used in āśāritas (these were structures in the gītaka vardhamāna) and the third in the gītaka pāṇikā (N.S. 31, 13-14). These two gītakas were not within the saptarūpa fold, though they were gāndharva forms.

Dattila states that the latter two of the three alternative beat-arrangements were renderable only in caccatpuṭah (yugma) and not in cācapuṭah (ayugma). Bharata, however, considered that all three alternatives were permissible in the cācapuṭah also, but the first alternative—beginning with sannipāta—was the strong one (balavān).² Abhinava comments that in cācapuṭah the beat-formation beginning with sannipāta was the one mostly used : "cācapuṭah sannipātādireva bhedah pracuraprayogah" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 15). It was, of the three, the only beat-formation for cācapuṭah which was

¹ Mark Abhinava's comments on this line :

यथाक्षरकृतैः पातेरिति यावन्त्यक्षराणि तावत्संब्लाक्षिस्तथाक्षरसदृशकलोपेतैरिति

² चच्चत्पुटस्य ये भावाः सन्निपातादयश्च ये । त एव भेदा विज्ञेया दुधैश्चाचपुटे पृथक् ॥

सन्निपातादिकस्तवस्य बलवानितरी तथां । पट्टकलो पट्टकलश्चैव तालो हस्मात् प्रवर्तते ॥

—N.S. 31, 14-15.

further expanded with the addition of other beats to form dvikala and catukala modes. This was the reason why, Abhinava says, theorists like Viśākhila and others had considered this formation to be the only valid one in cācapuṭah.¹ Dattila, on this point, was evidently in agreement with Viśākhila. Vemabhūpāla in his *Saṅgitacintāmanī* has indeed noted that Dattila did not consider the two latter alternatives as valid in cācapuṭah but Bharata did. He says, "The beats beginning with sannipāta have been unequivocally laid down for cācapuṭah. But the other two alternatives beginning with śamyā and tāla (respectively) have been decreed by Bharata (alone); Dattila and others do not mention them."²

Later theorists like Śāriṅgadeva, too, have described the beat formations of the two yathākṣara tālas. They have also notated the structures, using dimunitives for the name of the beats and have listed the alternatives for caccatpuṭah as follows :

1.	S	S	I	S
	sam	śa	tā	śa
2.	S	S	I	S
	śa	tā	śa	tā
3.	S	S	I	S
	tā	śa	tā	śa ³

(S stands, as in Sanskrit metrics, for a guru mātrā, I for a laghu. Further, sam = sannipāta ; śa = śamyā, tā = tāla. Similar short forms were current for the other beats too. We do not know when these short forms became accepted in practice. They are to be found in Abhinava but not in Bharata; nor in Dattila, in spite of the fact that he was zealously after brevity).

Śāriṅgadeva notes that the two latter possibilities were, according to Bharata, valid in cācapuṭah also : "anyadbhedadvyayam cācapuṭepyasti munermatam" (S.R. 5, 29), implying that other ācāryas held a different view.

¹ एवं भेदतयसम्भवेन चाचपुटस्येतरेण साम्यमुपाद्य विशेषं दर्शयति । सन्तिपातादिविक्षेपैर्द्विकलचतुष्कलसिद्धिः । तथा चार्यविशाखिलादिभिः स एवास्य भेदो दर्शितः ।

— A.B. on N.S. 31, 15.

² भेदस्तु सन्तिपातादिज्ञेयश्चाचपुटे स्फुटम् । भेदो शम्यादितालादौयावपि चाचपुटे ब्रवीत् ॥

भरतो दत्तिलस्त्वत नालोचताव्यावपि

— S.C. ch. I, section on vādyā.

³ चचत्पुटे त्वेककले संशताश यथाक्रम्

S S I S

सं श ता श

यद्वा शताशता तालःशम्या वा द्विवर्भवेदिह

S S I S S S I S

श ता श ता ता श ता श

— S.R. 5, 27-28,

The yathākṣara tāla ṣaṭpitāputrakah

- 127B. *uttarah pañcapāṇyākhyah ṣaṭpitāputrakākṣarah*
 128A. *ayugmotthah plutādyantastathā cāhātra kohalah*
 B. *dvau tu cācapuṭau kṛtvā dvitīyopāntyake kramāt*
 129A. *ādyantayorniyujyainam ṣaṭpitāputrakam viduh*
 B. *sannipātaśca tālaśca tasyādyantau yathākramam*
 130A. *(dvi)rmadhye tālaśamye ca (pātā)dibhyo (ka)lāvidhiḥ¹*

The uttara [tāla, also] called pañcapāṇi [is formed] with the syllables ṣaṭpitā-putrakah. [This tāla] arises from the ayugma. In it the first and the last [syllables] should be rendered as plutā. Regarding it, Kohala says : "having juxtaposed two cācapuṭahs, place the first syllable at the second [in cācapuṭah] and the final syllable at the last but one [in cācapuṭah] such is known as ṣaṭpitāputrakah." In its commencement and its end, respectively, are sannipāta and tāla ; in between is a pair of tāla and śamyā formed twice. These are the beats that form the kalās [in this tāla].

NOTE :

Uttara was another yathākṣara tāla. Though not 'yonirūpa' or prototypal, it was still an important formation. This tāla had three names : uttara, pañcapāṇi and ṣaṭpitāputrakah (S.R. 5, 23). The first was the name proper, the second appears to be a descriptive epithet and the third represented the word-formula or syllables that formulated the tāla. It was a form of ayugma and contained twelve mātrās or six kalās.

Metrically analysing the syllables of 'ṣaṭpitāputrakah' (a strange word, indeed, which literally means 'a son of six fathers') into mātrās we obtain only ten mātrās : ṣaṭ (guru) + pi (laghu) + tā (guru) + put (guru) + ra (laghu) + kaḥ (guru) = 10 mātrās. However, it had been ordained, as Dattila has stated, that the first and last guru syllables were to be considered plutā or three-mātric. Thus the tāla had 12 mātrās.

Dattila has described the metric arrangement of this tāla in a short aphoristic phrase characteristic of his laconic style : 'plutādyantah' (Datt. 128).² Bharata, however, elucidates the whole metric structure syllable by syllable. "The first letter of the ṣaṭpitāputrakah", he says, "is a plutā, the second laghu, third and fourth are gurus, the fifth is laghu and the last is plutā : ṣaṭpitāputrakakṛṭah pañcapāṇirudāhṛṭah/ādyam plutam dvitīyam ca laghu yatrākṣaram bhavet/trīyam ca caturtham ca guruṇi pañcamam laghu/plutāntah ṣaṭpitāputrakah" (N.S. 31, 17-19).

Dattila has given a dictum from Kohala in which the syllabic structures of two juxtaposed cācapuṭahs has been compared with that of a ṣaṭpitāputrakah. The purpose and nature of this comparison is not very clear. However, we attempt at a reconstruction of the idea.

¹ Datt. 130A in the T. ed. reads :

विमर्शये (?) तालशम्ये च + दिस्मो + लाविषि :

Our suggested reconstruction follows descriptions found in other texts.

² Śāṅgadeva echoes this phrase from the *Dattilam* in describing the ṣaṭpitāputrakah : पट्पितापुत्रकस्त्वयश्चभेदः सोऽपि तथा त्रिधा । यथाक्षरे विशेषोऽत्र प्लुतमाद्यन्तयोभ्येत् ॥

—S.R. 5, 22.

Kohala—according to Dattila—had said that having placed two cācapuṭahs together the first syllable of ṣaṭpitāputrakah should be placed where the second syllable in cācapuṭah occurs, i.e., under 'ca'; the last syllable of ṣaṭpitāputrakah was to be placed under 'pu', the last but one syllable of the second cācapuṭah.

The number of syllables or letters in two juxtaposed cācapuṭahs amounts to eight, while in ṣaṭpitāputrakah there are only six syllables. The following chart makes the comparison between two juxtaposed cācapuṭahs and a ṣaṭpitāputrakah (as was perhaps intended by Kohala) clear:

Cā	ca	pu	ṭah	Cā	ca	pu	ṭah
ṣaṭ	pi	tā	put	ra	kaḥ		

And in terms of metric structure:

S	I	I	S	S	I	I	S
Ś	I	S	S	I	Ś		

(signs: I=laghu, S=guru, Ś=pluta)

We notice that the metric structures correspond throughout except at the beginning and end, but here, too, there is a correspondence: the pluta 'ṣaṭ' is equal to the three mātrās which cā + ca make and the pluta 'kaḥ' similarly equals three mātrās of the pu + ṭah.

There was thus a general correspondence between two cācapuṭahs and a ṣaṭpitāputrakah and the above structural collation shows that the latter tāla was indeed an off-shoot of the former—it was 'ayugmotthah' as Dattila describes it. Kohala's purpose in collating the structures was perhaps just an easy practical method to demonstrate this fact, and it is, apparently, to this end that Dattila quotes him.

Though ṣaṭpitāputrakah was born of the ayugma, it was yet considered a basic tāla in itself. In spite of a correspondence with cācapuṭah it had a fundamental difference as to its beat-structure in the ekakala or yathākṣara mode. In ekakala modes, beats were formed on the basis of syllables and thus ṣaṭpitāputrakah (which had six syllables) had only six beats which formulated its six kalās (one and a half + half + one + one + half + one and a half) whereas two cācapuṭahs had to be formulated with eight beats.

Dattila has given the beat-structure of ṣaṭpitāputrakah in a short formula-like dictum (which, moreover, has some letters missing in the manuscript)—a manner of instruction which he repeats again and again as we shall further see. Bharata gives details arranged syllabically which reveal the following structure:

ṣaṭ	pi	tā	put	ra	kaḥ ¹
sam	tā	śa	tā	śa	tā

¹पञ्चपाणिरतः परम् ॥

पट्कारे सन्निपातः स्यात् पिकारे ताल एव च । ताकारे तु भवेच्छम्या पुकारे ताल एव च ॥
त्रकारे तु भवेच्छम्या ककारे ताल एव च । द्वितीयोऽथेव मेव स्यात् सन्निपातस्ततः परम् ॥
—N.S. 31, 61-63.

also : सन्निपातस्ततस्तालः शम्यातालस्तथैव च । शम्या चैव हि तालश्च पट् पातास्तस्य कीर्तिराः ॥
—N.S. 31, 20,

¹ Sāṅgadeva describes the beats as:

उत्तरे सं ततस्तालः शतालो द्विरन्तरम्

S I S S I S

सं ता श ता श ता

इत्येककलषट् पितापत्रककलाविधि;

-S.R. 5.30.

TOPICS 3 AND 4

PĀDABHĀGA AND MĀTRĀ

130B. guruplutāni hitvātha dvimātrān parikalpayet¹

131A. pādabhāgaṁścaturbhistairmātreti paribhāṣyate

[Now] discarding [the divisions] of guru, pluta [etc.] render [all divisions] into [uniform units of] two mātrās.

With four of the pādabhāgas arise what is a pāribhāṣic mātrā.

NOTE :

In order to render an ekakala yathākṣara tāla into a dvikala, the number of metric yathākṣara mātrās was doubled and divided uniformly in terms of gurus instead of the divisions into pluta, laghu, etc. Each guru as before was equal to one kalā; but in dvikala two such kalās made a single unit and this is why the mode was known as dvikala. One unit of two kalās in the dvikala mode was termed the pādabhāga, and four such pādabhāgas made a larger unit of tāla called mātrā—which term in this sense had a strict technical connotation confined to tāla structures in gāndharva. It should be noted that this mātrā was quite different from the metric mātrā discussed earlier (which equalled one nimeṣa) and also the mātrā as a time unit for measuring kalā in gāndharva (which equalled five nimeṣas). Thus Dattila has called the mātrā here, pāribhāṣic mātrā.²

The pādabhāga and the pāribhāṣic mātrā were intimately connected with the dvikala (and also catuṣkala) modes of grouping kalās and the resultant tālas. And these two modes were, we shall see, very often used in forming gāndharva tāla-structure; thus pādabhāga and its related notion of mātrā (pāribhāṣic) was of the greatest importance in gāndharva.

Let us try with the help of an illustration to graphically understand the way in which the dvikala mode was formed from the ekakala yathākṣara and how the resultant structure was divided into pādabhāgas and mātrās.

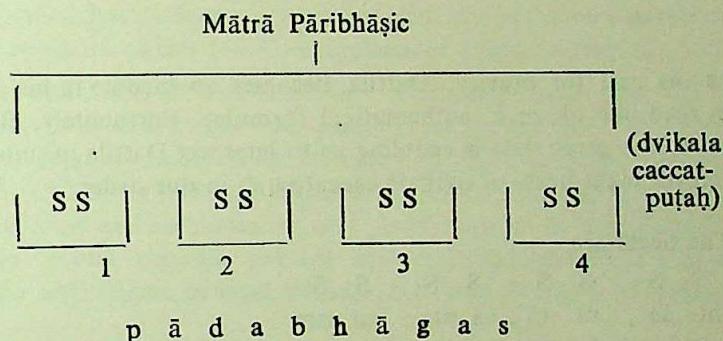
¹ A.B. on N.S. 31, 40 quotes Datt. 130B with the words : तदुक्तं दत्तिलेन. The reading is the same as in Datt.

² This mātrā, says Śāṅgadeva, was used in the gītakas, the gāndharva tāla structures : पदभागे श्चतुभिस्तमर्ता स्यान्मङ्कादिषु —S.R. 5, 21.

Kallinātha, evidently echoing Dattila, calls this mātrā ‘pāribhāṣiki’ :

मद्रकादिषु वक्षमायणेषु गीतकेषु च ते द्विकलोक्ते श्चतुष्कलोक्ते : चतुर्भिः पादभागे ; मात्रा स्यात् । पारिभाषिकी मात्रा भवेत् । —Kalā on S.R. 5, 20-21.

The caccatpuṭah in its yathākṣara mode contained 8 mātrās (gāndharva time-units; each=5 nimeśas) unevenly distributed as: guru+guru+laghu+pluta. For arriving at the dvikala form 8 mātrās were multiplied by two, thus giving 16 mātrās. These were then evenly divided into 8 gurus and the uneven distribution of the yathākṣara into guru, laghu, pluta was discarded as Dattila enjoins (Datt. 130B). The 8 guru were further divided into groups of two, each group having two kalās (one kalā=two mātrās = one guru); this gave the mode its name. Each of these two kalā groups constituted a single pādabhāga and the dvikala caccatpuṭah structure had four such pādabhāgas. This aggregate of four pādabhāgas was known as a mātrā (pāribhāsic). The matter can thus be illustrated through a chart:



It was only in the yathākṣara form that the beats followed the guru, laghu or the syllabic pattern of the tāla letters. In the dvikala and catuṣkala, however, the guru became the basis of a uniform division and the beats followed this guru unit.¹

Dattila has given the process of dvikala formation and the related exposition of the notions of pādabhāga and mātrā (pāribhāsic) in a very condensed, skeleton form. Details can only be filled in with the help of other texts. Bharata, too, is somewhat elliptical on this point,² but Abhinava offers some comments which are helpful. He also quotes Datt. 130B in the course of his remarks on this point (A.B. on N.S. 31, 40-50). It is, however, in Śāringadeva that the actual form of the dvikala mode, metrically arranged, is depicted. He notates the dvikala caccatpuṭah arranged into pādabhāgas as: "SS SS SS SS—iti dvikala caccatpuṭah" (S.R. 5, 20). Each kalā, he says, in this mode is formed with a guru: "guruḥ kalātra dvikale" (S.R. *ibid.*).

The dvikala cācapuṭah was formed on the same principle as the yugma form. Here the structure emerges as SS SS SS. One cācapuṭah cycle had only three pādabhāgas and could not form a complete mātrā (pāribhāsic).

¹ यथाक्षरकृतं पातैस्तालो ज्ञेयो यथाक्षरः ॥ गुरुंक्षरैश्च विशिष्टेः स एव द्विकलो भवेत् ।
द्विभवाद् द्विकलस्यापि विज्ञेयोऽय चतुष्कलः ॥
—N.S. 31, 39-40.

² Bharata's definition of pādabhāga and mātrā, too, is as short as that of Dattila:
द्विकलश्चतुष्कलश्च पादभागः प्रकीर्तिः । चत्वारः पादभागास्तु मात्रेति परिचोद्धते ॥
—*ibid.*, 31, 52.

Beats of the dvikala caccatpuṭah

- 131B. ādyām prakalpya niṣkrāmaṁ dvitīyām tu praveśanam
 132A. sarveṣām pādabhāgānām tataḥ pātām¹ prakalpayet
 B. śamyā dvitīyā kartavyā tālaśamye tu madhyame
 133A. sannipato'vasāne ca dvikalo'yaṁ vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ

[In dvikala caccatpuṭah] one should form niṣkrāma at the beginning and praveśa as the second in all the pādabhāgas. Then one should arrange the pātas [thus]: śamyā should be rendered as the second tāla and samyā should occur in the middle and sannipāta as the final. Such is known the process (vidhi) [of beats] in the dvikala.

NOTE:

In his zeal for brevity, Dattila becomes so laconic in his descriptions that they often read like obscure mathematical formulae. Fortunately, Bharata and also later authors have given details enabling us to interpret Dattila meaningfully. Bharata recounts all the eight beats of dvikala caccatpuṭah in due order.²

The beats are

S S S S S S S S
 ni śa , ni tā , śa pra , ni sam̄

(abbreviations for the seven beats: ā=āvāpa,
 ni=niṣkrāma, vi=vikṣepa, pra=praveśa,
 śa=śamyā, tā=tāla and sam̄=sannipāta).

In the light of this, let us consider Dattila's description. He first makes a general rule that niṣkrāma should be formed in the beginning and praveśa as the second in all pādabhāgas. He then qualifies this general rule by particular details: śamyā, he says, should be formed as the second beat—this, in effect, removes praveśa from the

¹ T. ed. reads पाता (?ता) न्

² Bharata describes the structure as follows, giving the exact finger-gesture for each of the unsounded beats to be applied:
 कनिष्ठांगुलिनिष्क्रामः शम्या चैव ततो भवेत् । कनिष्ठानामिकाम्यां तु निष्क्रामोऽतो विधीयते ॥
 ततश्च तालः कर्तव्यः शम्या चैव तु पंचमी । प्रवेशो मध्यमाषष्ठः कर्तव्यस्तर्जनीकृतः ॥
 निष्क्रामः सन्निपातोऽन्ते नित्यमष्टकलो भवेत् ।
 —N.S. 31, 41-43,

"First the niṣkrāma with the little finger; then the śamyā. Again niṣkrāma, indicated with the little and ring fingers. Then should follow tāla; śamyā should be rendered the fifth beat. The sixth is the praveśa rendered with the middle finger; then occurs niṣkrāma with the index finger. Sannipāta is the last beat. Thus is rendered the form having 8 kalās (i.e., the dvikala caccatpuṭah)."

Sāṅgadeva gives the same array of beats for the dvikala caccatpuṭah:
 निष्पौ निताशप्रविसं द्विकले युग्मके मताः

S S S S S S S S
 नि श नि ता श प्र नि सं
 —S.R. 5, 30,

first pādabhāga replacing it by śamyā. Then he enjoins that tāla and śamyā should occur in the middle—middle in *Dattilam*, evidently, stands for the two central beats. This means that praveśa is to be removed from the second pādabhāga and substituted by tāla and that niṣkrāma is removed from the third pādabhāga and replaced by śamyā. The final injunction is that sannipāta should be the last beat; consequently praveśa is removed from the last pādabhāga to be replaced by sannipāta. We thus arrive at a beat structure, same as that of Bharata.

In verse 131B-132A, Dattila in effect composes a general formula for the tāla formation of all dvikala pādabhāgas; niṣkrāma in these structures was by a general rule the first beat and praveśa the second, unless either or both were replaced by sounded beats through a specific injunction. This formula is utilised by Dattila in depicting the beat-structures of other dvikala forms, too, as we shall see in the very next verse which describes the beat structure of the dvikala pañcapāni or ṣaṭpitāputrakah.

We find an indication in Bharata also of a suggestion that the structure 'niṣkrāma + praveśa' was considered the general prototype beat structure for all pādabhāgas in the dvikala mode. Bharata says: "niṣkrāmaśca praveśaśca dvikale parikīrtitau" (N.S. 31, 35). In itself the statement is ambiguous but Abhinava explains it as meaning that in the dvikala mode the first kalā should be manifested through niṣkrāma and the second through praveśa (in every pādabhāga) as a general rule: "prathamakalākālo niṣkrāmeṇa dvitiyakalākāla praveśena vyāngya iti sāmānyalakṣaṇam".

However, line 2 of the verse from Bharata quoted above reads: "āvāpaniṣkrāmakṛto dvikalo yoga iṣyate" (N.S. 31, 35). This line apparently gives quite a different general structure for the dvikala than the preceding line. Abhinava suggests that the two kalās indicated here (in the second line) were the first two kalās of the catuṣkala form of the pādabhāga—these as we shall see were generally formed with āvāpa and niṣkrāma. Abhinava's words are: "when extension of the kalās is indicated at one end (*i.e.*, when kalās are increased to four, in the catuṣkala pādabhāga) then the two end-kalās are indicated with āvāpa and nikṣepa (=niṣkrāma?)—tathābhutapāryantikavatībhāvасūcīte cāvāpanikṣepakale'tra pāryantikamavdhikam sūcayataḥ" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 35). Some theorists, says Abhinava, gave a different interpretation and considered that āvāpa and niṣkrāma could be the two generally ordained kalās of the dvikala mode also. Abhinava vehemently criticises such theorists. He says that these people are contradicted by the living traditions of the art: the authoritative evidence of texts other than the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as well as by guru-paramparā: forms and techniques as taught and explained by teachers; they are also, he adds, contradicted by the evidence of actual practice. He concludes that no attention should be paid to such erroneous views.¹

¹ अन्ये त्वेककले आहृते यथा निष्क्रामस्तथा द्विकलनायामपि भवत्वावाप इति मन्यमाना यथाश्रुतमेवावापनिष्क्रामात्मकद्विकल मन्यन्ते । तेऽपि पूर्वपरशास्त्रान्तरगुरुमपरपरालक्ष्यविरोधादुपेक्ष्या एव ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 35.

Beats of the dvikala ṣaṭpitāputrakah

133B. pañcapāneścaturthī tu śamyā kāryā tathāśṭamī

134A. trītyaśaṣṭhanavamā(s)tālāḥ śeṣam yathocitam

Whereas, in pañcapāni, the fourth and eighth [beats] should be formed with śamyā, the third, sixth and ninth with tāla. The rest being according to the general rule (yathocitam).

NOTE :

In the dvikala pañcapāni or ṣaṭpitāputrakah there were twelve kalās distributed in six pādabhāgas, and the tāla was rendered with twelve beats. According to the general formula posited by Dattila in the preceding description, each pādabhāga was to be formed with niṣkrāma as the first and praveśa as the second beat. In the case of pañcapāni, Dattila qualifies this general structure by stating that śamyā should replace the fourth and the eight beats and tāla should occur at the third, sixth and ninth beats. We thus have :

The Pattern according to general rule :

ni pra, ni pra, ni pra, ni pra, ni pra, ni pra,

Qualified pattern :

ni pra, tā śa, ni tā, ni śa, tā pra, ni pra,

The pattern given by Nāṭyaśāstra is the same as the qualified pattern here, except that sannipāta is stated to form the final beat (N.S. 31, 47 to 50). Although Dattila does not state so explicitly, it seems to have been another general rule that sannipāta formed the final beat in all dvikala and catuṣkala forms (see Datt. 160 A). This can be inferred from other structures given by both Dattila and Bharata. Perhaps Dattila here does point to sannipāta as the final beat in saying, 'śeṣam yathocitam'. This phrase follows after the naming of each particular beat which were to replace the beats in the general formula and clearly implies that some feature had still remained unsaid. The unsaid feature itself supposedly followed as a general (yathocita) dictum. This seems to have been the final sannipāta.

Before coming to the catuṣkala mode, let us take up some other matters of interest in connection with yathākṣara and dvikala tālas.

Variant yathākṣaras :

Dattila has expounded only three yathākṣara talās, namely, caccatpuṭah (yugma), cācapuṭah (ayugma) and ṣaṭpitāputrakah (another mode of the ayugma). Bharata has described two more yathākṣara structures : udghaṭṭah and sampakveṣṭakah (N.S. 31, 21-22).¹

¹ The N.S. 31, 21 reads सम्पकवेष्टक संजितः but this spelling is erroneous; the fourth syllable should be षट् because Bharata himself says that this yathākṣara consisted of five guru syllables (गुरुपञ्चाक्षर). Abhinava reads the name as सम्पकवेष्टक इति in his commentary and Śāṅgadeva also has the same spelling.

(1) *Udghaṭṭah*, as its syllabic structure indicates, was a ayugma structure consisting of three gurus : SSS. The beats given by Bharata are ni śa śa : 'niṣkrāma followed by two śamyās.¹

(2) *Sampakveṣṭakah* was also another *yathākṣara* ayugma. In its syllabic structure it contained five gurus which make only 10 mātrās. However, as Bharata has stated, the first and last syllables were ordained to be *pluta*². The metric structure thus was Š S S S Š.

Bharata has described the beat-structures of the *sampakveṣṭakah*—which contained five beats as it had five syllables—immediately after that of *ṣaṭpitāputrakah*. Bharata says that (unlike *ṣaṭpitāputrakah*), *sampakveṣṭakah* began with *tāla*. This was meant to imply that the rest of the beat structure was common to the two *yathākṣaras*. Abhinava comments that in *sampakveṣṭakah* the *sannipāta* was to be left out from the *ṣaṭpitāputrakah* structure (thus making it 'tālādi') for it had five beats. He gives the resulting structure as: tā śa tā śa tā.³ The *ṣaṭpitāputrakah* structure was: sam tā śa tā śa tā.

Udghaṭṭah, Abhinava says, was just a mode of the *cācapuṭah* itself and was only sometimes used in practice; but it was rendered with a form somewhat different (from the *cācapuṭah*) : "udghaṭṭopī yathāksarasya cācapuṭasyaiva rūpam kvacit prayogād rūpabhedena oktaḥ" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 53). Similarly, he says, the *yathākṣara* structure called 'sampakveṣṭakah' was a variant of the *pāñcapāṇi* or *ṣaṭpitāputrakah*: "evam sampakveṣṭako bhedah pāñcapāṇereva" (A.B., *ibid.*).

These two forms though different in their *yathākṣara* forms, retained no differences with *cācapuṭah* and *ṣaṭpitāputrakah* in their dvikala (and also catuṣkala) modes. Abhinava reports that "neither in *lakṣaṇa* (*i.e.*, śāstrik exposition) nor in *lakṣya* (musical practice), does one observe a separate dvikala structure for these two: "etyevam ca tayorna pṛthagdvikalabhbhāvo lakṣaṇe lakṣye ca dṛṣyate" (A.B., *ibid.*).

Śāringadeva follows Bharata in describing *sampakveṣṭakah*. He says that in *sampakveṣṭakah* as in *ṣaṭpitāputrakah* (of which the former was a variant), the first and last syllables were to be considered as *plutas*. The resultant metric structure being : Š S S S Š :

sampakveṣṭako'pi bhedah ṣaṭpitāputrakasya saḥ
tadvadyathākṣarah kāryāḥ plutamādyantayorbhavet
S S S S iti yathākṣarah sampakveṣṭakah

(S.R. 5, 24)

¹ त्र्यश्च सर्वंगुरुं कृत्वा निष्कामं त्वत् योजयेत् । शम्याद्वयं ततस्त्वेष उद्घट्टः कथितो बृहीः ॥
—N.S. 31, 22.

² तालादिस्त्र्यश्चभेदोऽन्यः सम्पक्षेष्टकसंज्ञितः । गुरुपञ्चाक्षराद्यन्तप्लुतमात्रासमन्वितः ॥
—*ibid.*, 31, 21.

³ cf. गुरुपञ्चग्रहणात् पञ्चपाणिपदं सन्निपातमेदेनेति तावता मात्राभिधाने असन्निपात नियमो लब्धः । तेन तासं तासं ता तालस्थेव भेदः A.B. reads तासं तासं ता but सं here is obviously a scribal error for ण. There was no *yathākṣara* structure which contained so many *sannipātas*. If it did, Bharata would have especially said so.

The pāribhāśic mātrā and the dvikala :

The two entities, mātrā and pādabhāga, occurred only in the dvikala and catuṣkala modes. Bharata thus says:

dvikalaścatuṣkalaścā pādabhāgah prakīrtitah
catvārah pādabhāgastu mātreti paricodyate

(N.S. 31, 52)

In the cācapuṭah dvikala ayugma structure there occurred only three pādabhāgas—or a pādabhāga less than the mātrā (pāribhāśic). In dvikala ṣaṭpitāputrakah the structure had six pādabhāgas and thus one and a half mātrās. This was certainly an odd arrangement. In the catuṣkala mode, too, though the size of the pādabhāga became doubled to four kalās, mātrā (pāribhāśic) remained equal to four pādabhāgas and thus the basic ayugma structures still contained mātrās in fractional number. We do not know why no separate pāribhāśic mātrās was conceived for the ayugma, which being based on the triple-time rhythm, was certainly structurally quite distinct from the yugma and hence deserved a different mātrā (pāribhāśic) unit based on the triple form.

There is a dictum of Bharata which, as explained by Abhinava, affords some clue as to the reason for this dominance of the duple. Regarding the two differing tāla structures, yugma and ayugma, Bharata says that their basic nature (prakṛti) was one:

tryasraśca catusrasraśca sa tālo dvividhaḥ smṛtaḥ
dvividhasyāpi tālasya tvekā prakṛtiṣyate

(N.S. 31, 7)

“Tāla is of two modes: tryasra (ayugma) and catusrasra (yugma). Both these modes of tāla have one basic nature.”

Abhinava comments: “in both yugma and ayugma structures the guru mātrā (metric) forms the basic unit (after the laghu pluta division is discarded)—thus both the ayugma and the yugma forms are constructed with guru units, which is their basic nature (prakṛti).”¹

Keeping these remarks in mind, we, indeed, notice that both the yugma and ayugma structures in their dvikala and catuṣkala modes were based upon a duple unit, the guru which constituted kalā, the basic time measure. There was no kalā with a triple time-base for the ayugma. Again these guru units were combined into pādabhāgas, and here, too, we notice that a yugma-combination formed the structural basis both for yugma and ayugma tālas: the dvikala pādabhāga was formed with two gurus and the catuṣkala with four gurus (gurudvayaṁ gurucatuṣkam cātra mūlaprakṛtiḥ; A.B. on N.S. 31, 7). In fact, the entire structure of all dvikala and catuṣkala tālas was built up of units based on multiples of two. This evinces that in gāndharva there was

‘एका प्रकृतिरिति’। गुरुरूपो यो भेदः सोऽत्मेकस्वभावे लघुप्लुतादिच्छेदविभागण्यत्यः सोऽत्र प्रकृतिमूलभूतः। तदपेक्षया च त्र्यश्वेतरविभागम्।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 7.

a pronounced leaning towards the *yugma* unit. This was perhaps the reason that led the *pāribhāsic mātrā*, too, to be constructed uniformly of four *pādabhāgas* both for *yugma* and *ayugma* structures.

Abhinava, explaining Bharata's dictum regarding *mātrā* (*viz.* 'catvāraḥ pādabhāgastu mātreti paricodyate', N.S. 31, 52), remarks that in *dvikala* modes eight *kalās* made a *mātrā* and in *catuṣkala* modes (where each *pādabhāga* contained four *kalās*) sixteen *kalās* made a *mātrā*. Even for *ayugma tālas*, he says, the same rule applied. He gives an actual example: that of the *gitaka prakarī* where sixteen *kalās* of the *ayugma tāla* made a *mātrā* (*pāribhāsic*).¹

Mātrās (*pāribhāsic*) of the *ayugma* were evidently formed by repeating the basic *tāla* structure. Whole number of *mātrās* could only have been obtained by multiplying the basic *ayugma* structures in such appropriate numbers of cycles that the resulting *kalās* formed a multiple of eight in the *dvikala* and sixteen in the *catuṣkala*.² Bharata, describing the number of *kalās* contained in the various *ayugmas* (N.S. 31, 28-29), implies that this is what, indeed, occurred. *Ayugma tālas*, he says, have six classes (*śaḍbhedaḥ*) in terms of the number of *kalās* contained in them, namely, those with (1) three *kalās* (*e.g.*, *ekakala cācaputah*), (2) with six *kalās* (*e.g.*, *ekakala ṣaṭpitāputrakah*), (3) with twelve *kalās* (*e.g.*, *dvikala ṣaṭpitāputrakah*), (4) with twenty-four *kalā* (*e.g.*, *catuṣkala ṣaṭpitāputrakah*), (5) with forty-eight *kalās* and (6) with ninety-six *kalās*.³ The last two forms, namely, those having 48 and 96 *kalās* respectively could only have been formed through repetition because the *catuṣkala* mode which was the largest accepted mode could not have had more than 24 *kalās* in any of the basic *ayugma* structures. We notice that the repetition was such that the number of resultant *kalās* was a multiple of 16 (and 8) in both cases. Abhinava explains that a 48 *kalā* rendering of *ayugma* was to be found in the *gitaka* called *madraka* (*aṣṭacatvāriṁśattālā iti, tālastu yo madrakasya prastutah prayogaḥ* A.B. on N.S. 31, 28-29). After 48 *kalā* in this *gitaka*, he says, occurred a *vidārī* (a sectional pause or division).⁴ A similar unit of 96 *kalās* was found in the *gitaka prakarī*.⁵

This further reveals that in *gāndharva* forms it was the duple time rhythm which was more predominant and even triple time forms were grouped in terms of the

¹ मात्रालक्षणं चत्वारः पादभागस्तु मात्रेति । तेनाप्टौ द्विकले चतुष्कले च षोडशकला इति मात्रा । तस्य अयं तुयो मागः । त्र्यश्चेतपि च प्रकर्यादी मात्रा षोडशकलैव भवतीति ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 52.

However, it should be marked that *gāndharva* structures used fractional *mātrās* (*pāribhāsic*) also. Thus the *tāla*-component called *vastu* which formed a limb of some *gitakas* could be constituted of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mātrās* (Datt. 139; see 'vastu'). Yet the duple scheme evidently was the ruling scheme.

त्र्यश्चस्तालस्तु षड्मेदस्त्रिकलः षट्कलस्तथा । कला द्वादश चैव स्यात् चतुर्विशतिरेव च ॥

चत्वारिंशत्थाष्टी च तथा दद्यावतिः कला:

—N.S. 31, 28-29.

⁴ cf. विदार्या अवश्यमेव विद्येया इति तस्य समुदायस्य भागतया कृत्वाऽप्टचत्वारिंशत्कलस्त्र्यस्त्रमेव इत्युक्तम्

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 28-29.

⁵ एवं पण्डवतिकले प्रकर्याः प्रयोगः

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 28-29.

tuple or *yugma*. Abhinava consequently remarks that : "in this way, through *pādabhāgas* and *mātrās*, all *tāla* varieties terminated ultimately in the *catusra* (or *yugma*) and thus *catusra* was the predominating structure."¹

Another point worthy of attention here is that Bharata has recounted groups of *kalās* only upto 96. Larger groups could be built by further multiplications of two but these were evidently not permissible in *gāndharva*. "Numbers in themselves", comments Abhinava, "have no limiting rule, but *gāndharva* is like the *Vedas*; it exists from time immemorial (*vedavadanādi*); usages in it are strictly determined (*niyata*) and in *gāndharva* a grouping of 96 *kalās* (is the largest permissible) cluster."²

The Catuskala Mode

134B. *vinyasya madhye vikṣepamādāvāvāpameva ca*³

135A. *sarveṣāṁ pādabhāgānāṁ prayuñjīta catuskalam*

The application [of *tāla*] in *catuskala* should be [accomplished] by placing *āvāpa* in the beginning and *vikṣepa* in the middle of all [the dvikala] *pādabhāgas*.

NOTE:

Dattila now comes to the *catuskala* *pādabhāga*. He elucidates its beat formation again with a characteristic short formula. He says that two extra beats were to be added to the *pādabhāga* previously described (*i.e.*, the *dvikala*) in order to obtain the *catuskala*.

The *dvikala* *pādabhāga* had two *kalās*. The *catuskala* was double the *dvikala*: "dvirbhāvād dvikalasyāpi vijñeyo'tha catuskalah", (N.S. 31, 40). It had four *kalās*. Consequently, the total number of *kalās* in a *catuskala* *caccatupuṭah* was 16 (4 *pādabhāgas* of 4 *kalās* each=16 *kalas*); in *cācāputuṭa* the number of *kalās* was 12 (3 *pādabhāgas* of 4 *kalās*) and in *ṣaṭpitāputrakah* 24 *kālas* (6 *pādabhāgas* of 4 *kalās*). Dattila has not enumerated the number of *kalās* that obtained in a *catuskala* *pādabhāga* in so many words but in laying down two extra beats (both unsounded) for it, he implies that the *catuskala* *pādabhāga* had four *kalās*.

The *catuskala* *pādabhāga* had two *kalās* more than the *dvikala*. Thus two more beats had to be added to each *pādabhāga* of the *dvikala* in order to render it *catuskala*. There was a simple general maxim for making this addition: *āvāpa* was to be placed in the beginning and *vikṣepa* in between the beats of the *dvikala* mode in all its *pādabhāgas* to render them *catuskala*. The *catuskala* forms thus were:

Caccatupuṭah:

S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S
ā, ni, vi, śa,	ā, ni, vi, tā,	ā, śa, vi, pra,	ā, ni, vi, sam

¹ एवं हि पादभागमात्रादिति चेद् भेदस्य चतुरश्रपयेवसानाच्चतुरश्रस्येव प्राधान्यम्
—A.B., *ibid.*

² संख्याया अनियमाद् गण्यवर्त्य वेदवदनादिसिद्धेन नियतप्रयोगत्वात्तत्र च पृष्णवति कलावान्तर समुदायः
— A.B. on N.S. 31, 30-32.

³ A.B. on N.S. 31, 51 quotes Datt. 134B with the words : 'तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः सप्टमवोचत्
The reading Athinava gives of the line is the same as in Datt.

Pañcapāni:

S S S S	S S S S	S S S S
ā, ni, vi, pra,	ā, tā, vi, śa,	ā, ni, vi, tā,
S S S S	S S S S	S S S S
ā, ni, vi, śa,	ā, tā, vi, pra,	ā, ni, vi, sam.

Cācapuṭah:

S S S S	S S S S	S S S S ¹
ā ni vi śa	ā tā vi śa	ā ni vi sam

The maxim given by Dattila for the formation of catuṣkala pādabhāga has a parallel in Bharata:

esa tvāvapavikṣepavyavadvāhanena pañḍitaiḥ
vidhiścatuṣkalo jñeyah prāguktāṅgulibhiḥ kṛtaḥ

(N.S. 31, 51)

We observe that Bharata has not described the exact placing of the two extra beats to be introduced into the catuṣkala pādabhāga as Dattila has. But Abhinava in his commentary discusses the location to be accorded to āvāpa and vikṣepa. Taking 'vyavadvāhaṇa' in this context to be the key-word in Bharata's kārikā (quoted above), he concludes that the norm for the dvikala pādabhāga which was enjoined as generally consisting of the beat structure 'niṣkrāma + praveśa' (see Datt. 131B) had to be enlarged for the catuṣkala in such a way that an obstruction—vyavadvāhaṇa—was created between the two beats of this structure. This was done firstly by displacing niṣkrāma from the first position it occupied and relegating it to the second place (which, comments Abhinava, was what 'vyavadvāhaṇa' meant in this context). Similarly, praveśa had to be displaced from the position it occupied in the dvikala form and vikṣepa introduced in its place. In this way āvāpa and vikṣepa created a 'vyavadvāhaṇa' between niṣkrāma and praveśa (and resulted in the catuṣkala pādabhāga). Abhinava adds that this matter has been clearly expounded by Dattila and quotes Datt. 134B.²

Sāṅgadeva has also spoken of the rule by which the catuṣkala beat-structure was to be arrived at by enlarging the dvikala. He gives the exact placing of the two

¹ This conforms with the beat structures as notated by Sāṅgadeva and others (see S.R. 5, 31-32).

² यदाऽवापविक्षेपास्यां व्यवधीयते स्थानादपसार्यते तदा पण्डितैः पूर्वनुसन्धानकुशलैश्चतुष्कलविधिजयः । ततश्चावपेनान्यस्यानमाक्राम्याता निष्क्रामोऽपसार्यते द्वितीयस्थानं नीयत इति व्यवधानार्थः । प्रयोगस्य च व्यवधानं विस्तरोकरणमिति । अदा (आ)वापयोगेन निष्क्रामस्य विक्षेपप्रयोगेन प्रवेशस्य च प्रयोगो व्यवहितः कार्यः । आवापविक्षेपास्यां तयोरप्च व्यवधानमिति व्याख्यातम् । सर्वथा नावापविक्षेपी निरन्तरौ निष्क्रामप्रवेशयोर्मध्ये (अन्ते आदी वा क्षेप्यो) इति मन्त्रव्यम् । तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः : रप्टमबोचत् 'विन्यस्य मध्ये विक्षेपमादावा (वा) पर्मेव च' ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 51.

new beats that were to be introduced and was perhaps influenced in this matter by Dattila's description. He also notates the actual beat structure of catuṣkala forms.¹

We notice that in catuṣkala pādabhāgas the first two kalās are almost invariably formed with āvāpa and niṣkrāma (see beat-structures). This is perhaps what Bharata had indicated in saying: 'āvāpaniṣkrāmakṛto dvikalo yoga iṣyate' (N.S. 31, 35). We have already argued that Abhinava appears to have been in favour of such an interpretation (see note on Datt. 131B-133A).

Finger Mudrās For Making Unsounded Beats

- 135B ādyadiyīyamādyāntāt pādabhāgād viduh kramād
 136A. kaniṣṭhānāmikā yuktā madhyamād deśinigatān
 B. ayugmaṇi madhyahīnam syādādyāntādhika uttarāḥ²
 137A. niṣkrāmaśca praveśaśca dvikale parikīrtitau
 B. evam kalādi yoktavyam višeṣo yatrā nocyate

In dvikala [tālas] niṣkrāma and praveśa are said to be [indicated as follows]:

[In yugma] the first two, the middle and the last pādabhāgas are known in due order as indicated by the little, the ring, the middle and index fingers.

In ayugma the middle finger is omitted.

In uttara, the first and the last [finger indications] are added. In absence of any specific injunction, kalās should thus be rendered (yoktavyam).

¹ आदावधिक आवापे क्षिप्ते विक्षेपकेऽन्तरा । द्विकले पादभागः स्यात्पादभागश्चतुष्टकले ॥

S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S
आनिविश	आनिविता	आशविप्र	आनिविसं
इति चतुष्टकलच्चत्पुटकलाविधिः			
S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	
आनिविश	आताविश	आनिविसं	
इति चतुष्टकलचाचपुटकलाविधिः			
S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S
आनिविप्र	आताविश	आनिविता	आनिविश
इति चतुष्टकलपट्टिपापुवकलाविधिः			

—S.R. 5, 31-32.

² Abhinava quotes Datt. 135B-136 twice. When commenting on N.S. 4, 315. he quotes the lines with the words: 'दत्तिलाचार्येण तु संक्षिप्तोक्तमेतत्', indicating that Dattila had expressed in brief a matter which in the N.S. is expounded at length. This matter says Abhinava (when commenting on ch. IV) is described by Bharata with the words "कनिष्ठाङ्गुलिनिष्कामः;" "तज्जनीकूलोनिष्कामः;" etc. in the tālādhyāya (i.e., N.S. ch. 31). Abhinava was here clearly pointing at N.S. 31, 41-49 where Bharata gives detailed instructions for the finger-mudrās for niṣkrāma and praveśa in various pādabhāga units. A.B. reads Datt. 135B as 'आद्यद्वितीयमध्यान्तात्' and Datt. 136 as : कनिष्ठानामिका युक्तमध्यमादेशिनी कृतात् । अयुग्ममध्यहीनः स्यात्. Commenting upon N.S. 31, 40-40, Abhinava again quotes Datt. 135B-135 with the words: 'तदृक्त' दत्तिलाचार्यण. Here he adds this short tippani to these lines: "विदुरिति क्रमादिति स्यादिति पद्मरेव ग्रन्थिमत्वं सूचितम् । यत् तू पातोपादत्वेन गच्छति तत्र साङ्गुलिव्यर्ज्यते" In this instance Abhinava's own reading of the Datt. passage differs somewhat from his previous reading: Datt. 135B reads as in T.ed. But Datt. 136B has 'युक्तमध्यमादेशिनीकृतान्' and Datt. 136B has 'अयं मध्यमहीनः' T.ed. here has many lacunae. But Abhinava gives a full reading.

NOTE :

The ekakala modes of tālas were rendered with sounded beats or pātas alone but the dvikala and catuṣkala modes contained unsounded beats also. The gestures used for indicating praveśa and niṣkrāma have already been described in verses 119-120. Here we find more details specifying particular finger indications which qualified the main gestures. Bharata gives a beat by beat detail regarding these additional finger indications while describing the beats in the pādabhāgas of each of the three basic dvikala modes, caccatpuṭah, cācapuṭah and ṣaṭpitāputrakah (N.S. 31, 41 to 50). Dattila, characteristically, formulates a simple general rule or maxim from which the details follow. Abhinava, indeed, quotes the above verses from *Dattilam* with the words : "dattilācāryeṇa saṅkṣipyoktmetat", (A.B. on N.S. 4, 315).

In the light of details given by Bharata, Abhinava and of Śāringadeva, the rule formulated by Dattila works out to be as follows. In the first pādabhāga of the yugma dvikala tāla (*i.e.*, caccatpuṭah), niṣkrāma or praveśa—whichever of these silent beats occurred—was to be indicated with the little finger in addition to the larger gestures already ordained for these beats. In the second pādabhāga, niṣkrāma and vikṣepa were to be indicated by both the little and the ring fingers. In the third pādabhāga, the middle finger, too, was to be added. Finally, in the fourth pādabhāga the, index finger was also to be included (N.S. 31, 41-43).¹

In ayugma, says Dattila, the middle finger indication was to be omitted. By ayugma he means the cācapuṭah. Ayugma had only three pādabhāgas. The first two pādabhāgas retained the same finger movements as the yugma, but for the third pādabhāga it was not the middle finger that was used—as should have been done if the due succession was to be maintained—but the index finger. The gesture with the middle finger was omitted (ojasya pādabhāgeṣu kalā madhyāṅgulim vinā, S.R. 5, 34). The reason was ritualistic. Abhinava says that this rule depends upon adṛṣṭa alone: "adṛṣṭasāmarthyāt tarjanyeva gṛhyate madhyamā tu tyajyate" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 40-50). In uttara (*i.e.*, pañcapāni or ṣaṭpitāputrakah) in the first four pādabhāgas, niṣkrāma and praveśa were indicated as in caccatpuṭah but for the two extra pādabhāgas, the fifth and sixth, Dattila enjoins the first and the last gestures successively (ādyantādhika uttaraḥ, Datt. 136B). That is to say—as Bharata clearly describes—the tenth kalā (in the fifth pādabhāga) which was rendered with a praveśa was to have the additional finger movement indicated by the little finger and the eleventh kalā (in the sixth pādabhāga) which was a niṣkrāma was to be indicated through the index finger.² The ring and middle fingers, which obtained as per succession, were omitted.

We see that in yugma tālas, finger-indications began with the little finger : the first pādabhāga was invariably indicated with it and successive fingers upto the

¹ प्रथमे पादभागे स्यात्कलाङ्गुल्या कनिष्ठया । तथा चानमयान्यत्र ताम्यां मध्यमया तथा ॥
तृतीये स्याच्चतस्रभिस्तर्ये चच्चत्पुटस्य तु ।

—S.R. 5, 32-33.

² कनिष्ठिकाप्रवेशस्तु दशमी तु कला भवेत् । निष्क्रामश्चैव तज्जन्या तदनन्तरमिष्यते ।
—N.S. 31, 49B-50A.

index were added for subsequent pādabhāgas. In ayugma structures, too, gestures were so arranged that in case of the repetition of a tāta-cycle it was always to the little finger that one returned for the first pādabhāga. The reason for beginning with the little finger was, as Abhinava says, ritualistic and followed Vedic practice. In chanting mantras of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda the accented syllables which were indicated through gestures always began with the kaniṣṭhā (the little finger): "yajuṣi ṛci vā svaritapradarśane kaniṣṭhātā ārabhya svarāṇāṁ kurvate" (A. B., *ibid*).

Line 137B of *Dattilam* also evidently concerns gestures. T.ed. reads 'kāla' in this line which we think is a mistaken reading for kalā, the more appropriate term in this context. Kalā here, evidently, refers to the beat, and this line seems to refer to gestures in the catuṣkala mode and seems to bear the same contention as N.S. 31, 51 where Bharata says: "experts make the aforementioned indications in the catuṣkala also but āvāpa and vikṣepa intervene in between."¹ The finger indications for niṣkrāma and praveśa in the various pādabhāgas of the dvikala have been described. In catuṣkala, niṣkrāma and praveśa were indicated by the same movements but here āvāpa and vikṣepa intervened as decreed. No additional specific finger movements have been laid down for āvāpa and vikṣepa. They were, apparently, indicated only by the movements described in Datt. 118-19.

¹ एष त्वावापविक्षेपव्यवधानेन पठितैः । विधिश्चतुष्कलो ज्ञेयः प्रागुक्ताङ्गुलिभिः कृतः ॥
— N.S. 31, 51.

TOPIC 5

PARIVARTA

138A. *pādabhāgo'tha mātrā vā samastastāla eva vā*
B. gīyate pari(vṛtyā cetparivar)taḥ sa ucyate¹

Repeated singing of a pādabhāga or a mātrā or a complete tāla is called parivarta.

NOTE :

The mātrā referred to in this verse, obviously, is the pāribhāṣic mātrā of four pādabhāgas. The term parivarta literally means to revolve or turn around. Parivarta is listed as a tāla topic in Bharata, too, but he does not elucidate its nature in his exposition. He does, however, use the term in specifying tāla particulars (see also ch. I). Abhinava also uses the term. And it is clear that by parivarta they both meant a repetition², though the form and nature of this repetition is not clearly laid down as in the *Dattilam*.

A few words are missing from Datt. 138B, but the intention is clear. The *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* of Vemabhūpāla has a definition of parivarta which seems to have been borrowed almost verbatim from *Dattilam*:

*pādabhāgasya mātrāyah tālasya sakalasya vā
āvartanam tu yadgīte parivartah sa ucyate*

(S.C. ch I, section on vādyā, verse 82).

Our suggested reconstruction of the missing letters is based mainly upon this verse. Śāringadeva has a definition similar in spirit but he names only the pādabhāga

¹ Datt. T.ed. 138B reads : गीयते परिव + + पवः स उच्यते ।

² Bharata describes an application, where the tāla-limb called āśārīta was formed thrice. Here he uses the word parivarta:

ततश्चासारितं बृद्धैः । परिवर्त्तस्त्रभिरुक्तमतश्चोपोहर्तं भवेत् ॥

—N.S. 31, 335.

Abhinava, following Bharata, often uses ‘parivarta’ to denote a repeated formation of any element in tāla. Describing *vardhamānaka*, where elements termed *khaṇḍikā* had to be repeated in a certain order and were formed ten times, he says:

संहृतवे चान्योन्यापेक्षवत्तिवे दण्डपरिवर्तयोगे इहोच्चरे and again आसारितात्मनि संयोगे योजनाविशेषाधीने प्रयोगे कण्ठिकानामेव सञ्चन्धीं ताल उक्त इति दण्ड परिवर्ता ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 147.

Bharata says:

अत्र तालविविष्टवेष्टः प्रायशस्तुपवर्तने । आदावद्वृट्टकः कार्यः परिवर्तक एव च ॥

—N.S. 31, 265.

Abhinava explains:

परिवर्तक व्यपदेशशङ्क द्विकलेऽपि परिवृत्यागतत्वादन्यस्तालादिशच्चत्पृष्ठतालः कर्तव्यत्वेनोक्तः ।

as a unit for repetition; mātrā and total tāla structures are not named, though they are implied through the use of an 'etc' added after pādabhāga: "āvṛttih pādabhāgādeḥ parivartanamiṣyate" (S.R. 5, 43). Kallinātha comments that by 'pādabhāgādeḥ' was meant the different limbs of a tāla as well as the tāla itself.¹

Later expositions of parivarta are perhaps based on *Dattilam* or another similar text on gāndharva because Bharata does not have it.

¹ पादभागादेः; इत्यादिषब्देनावयवो तालो गृह्णते । तस्य आवृत्तिः अभ्यासः पुनः पुनः करणमिति यावत् ।

TOPIC 6

VASTU

- 139A. *yathā (kramena)*¹ *sañmātrāstisro'dhyardhāpi vā bhavet*
 B. *kecit prādhānyamātreṇa vastusañjñā pracakṣate*
- 140A. *apanyāso'tha vastvante syādamśo nyāsa eva vā*
 B. *sannayāso vātha tasyātra rūpam vi(dvadbirucyate)²*
- 141A. *prathamāyā vidāryāyā madhye nyāsatvabhāk svarah*
 B. *na cedamśavivādī syāt sannyāsaḥ so'bhidhīyate*

A vastu, in due order [consists of] six or of three mātrās or is further reduced by half (adhyardha). The term vastu is used by some because it predominates.

At the end of a vastu is either apanyāsa or amśa or nyāsa or sanyāsa. The form of the last ('tasya', i.e., of sanyāsa), in this context, is known by the wise [as follows]: in the first vidārī the note which is accorded the position of nyāsa (nyāsatvabhāk svarah) is called sanyāsa provided it be not a vivādī of the amśa.

NOTE :

A vastu was one of the main tāla components with which the structure of gītakas was built. We have already defined a mātrā (pāribhāṣic). Many components of the gītakas were measured in terms of mātrā. Vastu was, apparently, a representative of all major tāla components. Nānyadeva, in his *Bharatabhāṣya* (ch. 8-2,3) thus says: "tāla predominates in all the gītakas, mātrā is termed tāla and with mātrā is formulated the vastu".³

In the section on svara, Dattila had first enumerated the basic structures and concepts with which the musical form of jātis was constructed and understood. Similarly, in the section on tāla, he first describes and defines the basic concepts of tāla and its groundwork of structures with which the major tāla-forms called the gītakas were built. The gītakas were complex tāla-structures utilising simpler elements that have been described earlier.

The steps Dattila had followed in describing tāla may here be summed up. Beginning with the basic unit of time (kalā) in tāla, he defines its measure in terms of

¹ T.ed. reads यथा + + + . Our suggested reconstruction is based upon descriptions in later saṅgita texts, especially the S. Raj. Kumbha almost reflects Dattila's words in saying:
 प्रकर्या मन्द्रके वापि तथा चैवापरान्तके । अर्थं (धृतिः) हीनं क्रमाद् वस्तु षष्ठमान्त्रादुत्तरम् ॥
 मा पष्ठ्यमादिके वस्तु प्राधान्यात् कुवचिन्मतम् ।
 —S. Raj 2,4,1, 19-20.

² T.ed. reads:

तस्याद्र रूपं वि (?) + + + + ॥

³ सर्वेषामेव गीतानां तालस्यैव हि मुख्यता । ताला तु गदिता मात्रा मात्रातो वस्तु कल्पना ॥
 —B.B.(I) ch. VIII.

mātrā (metric) the duration of which in gāndharva was defined as equal to five ordinary mātrās equal to five nimeśas. Then he describes the various beats with which time was demarcated (these, too, were denoted through the term kalā). Subsequently he takes up the basic tālas, namely, yugma (caccatpuṭah) ayugma (cācapuṭah) and uttara (ṣaṭpitāputrakah). He describes the syllabic structure through which these tālas were represented, sketches their form and the number of kalās contained in them. He also recounts the pātas or beats which demarcated their structure. Next he takes up the notion of pādabhāga which formed the basis of the two other modes of tāla formation, namely, dvikala and catuṣkala. He delineates the structure of tāla and the kalā unit in dvikala and catuṣkala and introduces the concept of the pāribhāsic mātrā. He then sums up the general rules for the arrangement of beats in the pādabhāgas of the dvikala and catuṣkala modes, giving detailed beats for the caccatpuṭah and uttara tālas.

Now, with Datt. 139 he takes up vastu. And with this he enters into the actual form of the gītakas.

Dattila enumerates three types of vastus: those formed with six mātrās (pāribhāsic), those with three and those with one-and-a-half mātrās. It appears from descriptions given by later theorists that in the gītaka called madraka the vastu was built of three mātrās. In the gītaka prakarī, the vastu contained six mātrās. Bharata thus characterises prakarī as having an expanded form: "prakaryāstu prakīrṇatvāt" (N.S. 31, 203). Abhinava elucidates: "a vastu should here be expanded upto the limit of six mātrās."¹ In aparāntaka the vastu was of one-and-a-half mātrās.

The second line of Datt. 139 is not very clear, though Dattila's contention appears to be that vastu was the model or representative form of all tāla-components (tālāṅga) in gītakas. This, he adds, was according to some the reason why the name vastu was accorded to it. There is no clue as to the theorists who held this view.

In verses 140 and 141, the nature of the association that vastu has with its accompanying melody is expounded and some rules governing structural fusion are specified.

The notions of apanyāsa, amśa and nyāsa have already been explained (in the svara section). The connection of apanyāsa with vidārī has also been noted. Sanyāsa was a more restricted concept, a corollary to apanyāsa. Apanyāsa had been defined as the note accorded the position of nyāsa in a vidārī; sanyāsa was the note accorded the position of nyāsa only in the first vidārī of a composition.

Dattila defines sanyāsa in dealing with tāla because it has an innate connection with the nature of tāla formation. Bharata defines sanyāsa as part of jāti-lakṣaṇas. But the two definitions are quite parallel. Bharata says:

tatra prathamavidārīmadhye nyāsasavaraprayuktastu
vivadanaśilam muktvā sannyāsaḥ so' bhidhātavyah

(N.S. 28, 73)

"That note is called sanayāsa which acts as the nyāsa in the first vidārī and is not a vivādī."

¹ 'प्रकीर्णत्वाद् विक्षिप्तत्वात् विक्षिप्तत्वं च वस्तुः पञ्चात्मेव क्रियत इति
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 203,

Bharata says that the sanyāsa note should not be a vivādī but he does not specify the exact nature of vivāda as Dattila does in saying 'na cedamśavivādī syāt'. Abhinava, like Dattila, remarks : "amśasya vivādī yo na bhavati" (A.B. on N.S. 28, 73).¹

We have had occasion to remark that vidārī was a pause, a sectional ending within the body of musical structures. Dattila's remarks make it clear that vidārī scanned not only tāla but also the accompanying svara-structures. His observations reveal that tāla and svara (with its accompanying pada) were inseparably and intimately interwoven into one unitary structure and imply that each portion and aspect of this whole was pre-determined according to well-set rules of vidhi and niṣedha, do-s and dont-s.

The *Nātyaśāstra* contains no distinct and specific exposition of the term vastu, though being a key concept the term naturally recurs often in its descriptions.

¹ The Vṛttikāra on *Bṛhaddeśi* makes a similar qualification :

इदानीं न्यासोभिधीयते । तत्र प्रथमविवारी मध्ये न्यासस्वराः (१२ः) प्रयुक्ताः (२क्तः), सन्धासः सोऽभिधीयते । अंशस्य विवादी यथा न भवति प्रथमविवादार्थान्ते यदि प्रवृत्तो यदा भवति तदासौ संन्यास इत्यर्थः

—Bṛ. Vṛtti on 197A.

Sāṅgadeva, too, says :

अंशाविवादी गीतस्याद्विवारीसमाप्तिकृत् संन्यासः

—S.R. 1, 7, 47-48.

TOPIC 7

VIDĀRĪ

142A. padagītisamāptau¹ yā prthagītiriva sthitā

B. gītāpeśīm vidārīm tāmāhurgītavidāraṇām

143A. pramāṇavarjam tasyāstu rūpam vastuvadīsyate

A portion of a song (gītāpeśī) which at the completion of a pada or gīti stands as if it were a separate gīti, is called vidārī.

The measure of its form, if not indicated, should correspond with the vastu.

NOTE :

The purpose of vidārī, as the word itself suggests (from √dṛ = 'tear asunder' or 'split'), was to divide or scan a song into parts. Bharata has defined vidārī as the consummation of pada or varṇa.² Abhinava elucidates : "the end of an intermediary sentence (avāntaravākyā) or the consummation of a musical varṇa (such as sthāyī, etc.) on the nyāsa or the apanyāsa is called vidārī."³ He analyses the word vidārī as 'vidāraṇām vidārī' and calls the term 'anvartha'—self-explanatory (A.B. on N.S. 32, 17).

Dattila's definition is akin to that of Bharata, though vidārī, according to Dattila, divides not pada or varṇa but pada or gīti. However, it appears likely that gīti in this context had the connotation of varṇa. The varṇas encompassed all musical movements possible in song—gīti—and Dattila may have had this in mind.

Vidārī was an important notion in ancient Indian music. Abhinava says that "melody or song rendered without the charm of diversity imparted to it by vidārīs, is (monotonous) and sounds as if a book were being read : vidārīvaicitryaśūnye hi gītavyavahāre svarālāpah pustakavācanādāviva" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 200). Abhinava again remarks elsewhere that "the formation of a vidārī imparts great charm to music : vidārī niveśyamānā śobhātiśayam puṣṇāti" (A.B. on N.S. 32, 17). Indeed, pauses within a musical structure are like sentences and paragraphs in prose and stanzas in verse and are just as essential.

Vidārī has been defined in terms of varṇa, that is, the pada units in a song (padavarṇasamāptistu vidārī, N.S. 32, 17). But its measure has been given in terms

¹ T. ed. reads : पदगीतिः समाप्तौ

² पदवर्णसमाप्तिस्तु विदारीत्यभिसंज्ञिता ।
—N.S. 32, 17.

³ पदवर्णब्रमण्डिस्तुविदारीति । अवान्तरवाक्यस्य समाप्तो स्थायादिवर्णस्थाप्यपन्यासेन न्यासेन वा समाप्तिविदारी ।
विदारणं विदारी ।

—A.B. on N.S. 32, 17.

of a tāla-component (Datt. 143A). Dattila says that the extent of a vastu normally comprises one vidārī division. Here we certainly have another indication that a pre-planned correlation existed between the sung melody and tāla.

Vidārī evidently depended to a great extent on punctuations existing in the words of a song. Abhinava suggests this in remarking that vidāris occurred at the end of clauses (vidārī cāvāntarapadasamūhavicchedarūpā, A.B on N.S. 29, 14).

Dattila has explained vidārī as a gitapeśī. Abhinava, with the same contention, says : "gitakhaṇḍa vidārī" (A.B. on N.S. 32, 17). 'Peśī' literally means a carved piece (of meat etc.) and 'peśikṛ' means 'to carve into pieces'. The Vṛtti on Brhaddeśī in expounding vidārī uses both Dattila's and Abhinava's expressions : he equates them, implying that vidārī was based on the act of splitting or dividing a song and thus consisted of a portion of a song : "gitapeśī gitakhaṇḍamiti yāvat" (Br. Vṛtti on 197A).¹

Abhinava at one point somewhat cryptically remarks : "a gitaka is rendered with songs formed with varṇas like sthāyī etc.; divisions or sections in the song (gita) being sung should be made as per the gitaka structure (tadanuvartī). A section or division has to be carved out of the body of the object being divided (which in this case is the gitaka) ; this act of carving is effected through the vidārī which thus imparts sāmya to the (musical) structure. Therefore vidāris are enjoyed as being constructed through the tāla gitas (i.e., the gitaka tāla structures—because the main body which they render into sections in that of the gitakas)."² Abhinava's purport appears to be that though vidārī divides the whole melody into sections yet the act of division is made on the basis of tāla.

Dattila says that when the measure of a vidārī has not been specified, it must be taken to equal a vastu. This seems to imply that the vastu was the largest possible unit of vidārī. The vastu itself, we have seen, could be of differing length in different gitaka tāla-structures. This would, consequently, have shortened or lengthened the vidārī section according to the gitaka in which it was formed. Dattila here has not laid down the standard measure or length of a vidārī in gitakas not formed with vastus. However, he seems to have taken vastu as the representative form and consequently the major tāla-components of the four other gitakas were, apparently, in this matter to be taken as the largest measure of a vidārī.

Vidāris could also be smaller in measure than a vastu. They could even be formed on the basis of single padas and varṇas or small clusters of these contained

1. A full treatment of vidārī is not available in the Br. However, in defining apanyāsa and sanyāsa, some explanation of vidārī was necessary. The Vṛttikāra to that end says : तनु विदारीणवेन किमुच्यते । पादानां (७पदानां) स्यादित्यादि विदारणा खण्डनमिति यावत् । गीतकेशी गीतखण्डमिति यावत् ।

— Vṛtti on Br. 197A.

'गीतकेशी' here is obviously an erroneous reading for 'गीतपेशी' ।

तथा हि । स्थायादयो ये बण्ठस्तनिष्पाद्यनमानं गीतं गीतकमिति तदनुवर्ती विच्छेदः कर्तव्यः । परिच्छेदस्य परिच्छेद (द्य) तनुत्वाद्विदार्यश्च साम्यात्मया परिच्छेदनस्पत्वम् । अत एवेऽत तालगीतेनिर्दिष्टा ।

— A.B. on N.S. 31, 190-91.

within a vastu. Later authorities, including Abhinava, have given the name of mahāvidārī to a vidārī which equalled a vastu, and avāntaravidārī to the sub-sections of mahāvidārī (see A.B. on N.S. 31, 197-98).¹

Bharata has laid down a limit for the number of vidārīs which could be formed in any gītaka. "The vidārīs," he says, "should not be less than three and never exceed eleven in number. But, he adds, "the maximum number of vidārīs that can be formed is twenty-four."² Abhinava explains the first statement as giving the possible numbers of mahāvidārīs and the second as giving the avāntara vidārīs in a gītaka (A.B. *ibid.*). Dattila, as we see in our text, makes no such injunction. Later authorities were aware of Dattila's position and Śāringadeva clearly states: "teachers like Dattila have not laid any rule as to the number of vidārīs" (S.R. 5, 74; see also ch. I).

The mahāvidārī, according to Abhinava, equalled in measure a vastu: "atra vastunyekā mahāvidārī" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 197). Thus in the two gītakas madraka and prakārī—each of which was formed with three vastus (also, alternately, with four vastus)—there were at least three mahāvidārīs: "madrakasya prakaryā vā tāvattatra tisro mahāvidāryā ityanuyogaḥ" (A.B. *ibid.*); this according to Bharata was the minimum number of vidārīs obligatory in a gītaka. The gītaka aparāntaka could be formed with seven vastus or alternately with five or six. In it, consequently, one could have upto seven mahāvidārīs. Hence Abhinava remarks: "one can form vastus more (than three)-i.e., four etc.—upto the number seven, as in aparāntaka : bhūyo-vastutvam tvartha (?) caturthavastutvaprabhṛti yāvat saptavastutvam yadaparāntake" (A.B., *ibid.*).

The maximum permissible number of mahāvidārīs is stated to be eleven. This number, according to Abhinava, is obtained in the gītaka aparāntaka in the following manner: seven vastus in aparāntaka collectively constituted a large tāla-component called śākhā, another such tāla-component complimenting the śākhā (and formed with half the vastu), was the pratiśākhā which consisted of four vastus. One could have four vidārīs in the pratiśākhā (in addition to the seven in the śākhā) and consequently a total of eleven in aparāntaka—"tatra (aparāntake) prativastu vidāri sapta vidāryā iti śākha. ardhacaturtheṣu vastuṣu pratiśākheti. tadgaṭāścatasro vidāryā ity ekādaśeti prayogaḥ" (A.B. *ibid.*)

Abhinava also gives some interesting details regarding the shorter or avāntara vidārīs. Bharata, we have seen, also speaks of a maximum of twenty-four vidārīs (N.S. 31, 198). This according to Abhinava was the total possible number of avāntara vidārīs in a gītaka. He takes the example of madraka. Madraka could be composed of four vastus, each consisting of three mātrās (pāribhāṣic); short vidārī sections were to be made at each half mātrā—thus each vastu had six avāntara vidārīs, the

¹ cf. विदारी तु गीतखण्डं द्विघा च सा । महत्यवान्तरा चेति महती व्याप्तवस्तुका ॥ समाप्ता पदबणीन्तेऽवान्तरा त्वःतर मता ।

—S.R. 5, 72-73.

² त्र्यवरे कादशवरा (कादशपरा) विदार्यः परिकीर्तिंतः । चतुर्विशतिरेतासां प्रमाणं परमं स्मृतम् ॥
—N.S. 31, 197-98.

total in the gitaka being twenty-four: "caturviṁśati etāśāṁ pramāṇam iti. anenedamucyate. trimātre vastuni mātrārdhe yāvad vidārī kartavyā. yena caturthavastuke madrake piṇḍikṛtya caturviṁśatih. prativastu ṣaḍiti gaṇanayā" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 198-99).¹ Abhinava then takes another example. When the vastu consisted of six mātrās and three vastus had to be formed—as in the gitaka prakarī—then short vidārīs could not be formed at every half-mātrā unit (as in madraka); for, this would have resulted in 36 vidārīs and with more vastus (for prakarī could be formed also with four vastus) further avāntara vidārīs would have resulted. Thus vidārīs in order to conform to the rule limiting their number were here to be formed at every mātrā and not half a mātrā: "ṣaṁmātre tu prakte vastuni nārdhamātrāyām vidārī kāryā; evam hi trivas-tuke satrimsad²vidārikādhikatve'dhikavidārikāpi prakarī syāt. etasmānniyamāttu na bhavatīti jñātamātrāyām tara vidārītyuktam bhavati" (A.B., *ibid.*).

Some theorists had interpreted the avāntara-vidārī rule—where the maximum possible number is said to be twenty-four—in quite a different manner. From Abhinava's suggestions the interpretation appears to be as follows. The structure of any tāla-formation could be taken to form a single unit divisible through vidārīs. Take for example the ekakala caccatpuṭah. Taking it as a single unit, one vidārī was obtained. If, however, each kalā was to be made into a single vidārī section, four vidārīs were obtained. And on further divisions of half-kalās and quarter-kalās, one could obtain eight and sixteen vidārīs respectively. The same analysis could be applied to the ayugma cācapuṭah and the ṣaṭpitāputrakah, which could yield vidārīs upto a maximum of twenty-four (*i.e.*, 6 kalās × 4 quarter divisions = 24). Thus, according to this view, the rule regarding the number of permissible divisions (viccheda) referred not to gitaka structures but to time-units of tāla-measure in general (sāmānyakālābhī-prāyeṇa).³ In this view the number of divisions permitted in each kalā were four. Abhinava has illustrated the nature of these divisions with the example of two actually sung syllables, namely, 'ru dra'. But the reading as available in the *Abhinava Bhāratī* does not reveal the illustration clearly: "yathā ru..... dra ityekasyāmapi kalāyām catvāro vicchedāḥ" (A.B., *ibid.*).

Abhinava introduces his comments on N.S. 198A with the words 'matāntaramāha' which seems to imply that the statement regarding 24 as the maximum number of permitted vidārīs was, according to Abhinava, not Bharata's own view but that of another ācārya (or school of thought) whose opinion, however, Bharata may have incorporated out of deference. We do not know which ancient ācārya or school of thought Abhinava (or Bharata) here had in mind.

² The A.B. here has पड्विशत् which is obviously an error, because three vastus of 6 mātrās, each mātrā containing two vidārīs, would yield a total of 36 and not 26 vidārīs.

अपरे सामान्यकालाभिप्रायेण यथा सम्भवं विच्छेदसंख्याप्रतिपादनं षलोकाधीर्घस्य तात्पर्यमाहुः । तथाहि । चच्चत्पुटे समदायविच्छेद एका विदारी । प्रतिकलविच्छेदे चतस्रः । कलाधीर्घविच्छेदेऽटो तदधर्षेऽपि च विच्छुष्कलदक्षिणादियोगेऽपि चित्रैऽपि च हस्तमानमित्युक्तम् । तेन कलाधीर्घप्रिपक्षया लोडश । एव त्यग्ने वाच्यम् । यावत् पञ्चपाणी चतुर्विंशतिः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 198-99.

TOPIC 8

AṄGA

- 143B. *vak ṣyamāṇam mukhādyāṅgam vijñeyam ca caturvidham*
 144A. *ekakam cāvagādham ca pravṛttam vividham tathā*
 B. *nyāsāntamapi vāṇīśāntam vidāryekakasamśritam*
 145A. *avarohyavagādham tu prāyaś' omśāntamisye*
 B. *vidāryo' (ntarahīneṣu)¹ svareṣvekāntareṣu vā*
 146A. *evam nyāsāntamārohī pravṛttamabhidhīyate*
 B. *arohaṇam tu dvividham² tathā caivāvaraḥaṇam*
 147A. *nyāsāpan्यāsayogena bhavedantaramārgataḥ*
 B. *Śuddhāsvamśavaśāt tatra jñeyamantaramārgataḥ*
 148A. *nyāsāpan्यāsayogena vikṛtāsu ca jātiṣu*
 B. *sāmudgo' thārdhasāmudgo vivṛddhaśca yathābhidhāḥ*
 149A. *samo madhyo'tha viṣamo vividhastrividhāḥ smṛtah*
 B. *pāṭhamātrā samā gūtiḥ³ sāmudgo vividho bhavet*
 150A. *asampūrṇavidāryādisāmyam caiva prakalpayet*
 B. *nyāsānto vividhā sarvo muktvā dvaigeyakam bhavet*
 151A. *nityam ca dvividārīkah, pūrve⁴ jñeye tu ṣat pare⁵*

Mukha and others, of which we shall speak subsequently, constitute aṅga; this is of four types: ekaka, avagādha, pravṛtta and vividha.

Ekaka is based upon [a single] vidārī [and] ends with a nyāsa or with an amśa.

Avagādha [contains] the avarohī (i.e., the descending varṇa) and should, in most cases, end with the amśa. Vidārīs [in it should be formed] on notes immediately following [the amśa] or [on notes] once removed from [the amśa]. Similar is the pravṛtta, [but formed with] the ārohī (i.e., the ascending varṇa) and it ends in nyāsa.

1 T.ed. reads : विदार्यो+ +++

2 T.ed. reads : विविधं

T.ed. reads : वाडमात्रा सा महागीति : We have accepted the reading in B.B. (I).

4 T.ed. reads : नित्यं च द्विविदारीका पूर्वो

5 Many lines from the passage on aṅga have been quoted by later authorities : Abhinava quotes Datt. 143B with the words : 'तथा च दत्तिलाचार्येणोक्तम्' (A.B. on N.S. 31, 190-91). His reading agrees with the Datt.

Abhinava also quotes Datt. 147B-148. Before quoting the lines he observes : 'अत कश्चिद्दिशेष उक्तः'; then the quotation is given—which agrees with Datt.—after which Abhinava says: इति दत्तिलाचार्यः Nānyadeva in B.B. (I) ch. VIII quotes Datt. 148B-150—these five lines in the same order as in Datt. Dattila is not mentioned as the source but the context seems to show that Nānyadeva had the *Dattilam* in mind. The B.B. (I) reading is quite corrupt at places. However, it reads Datt. 149B as पाठमात्रसमागमेति:, a cogent reading which makes sense while the Datt. does not. We have accepted the B.B. (I) variant.

[In this context] ārohaṇa and avaraḥaṇa are of two kinds: [firstly] formed by using nyāsa and apanyāsa, [and secondly] depending upon antaramārga. In the śuddha (i.e., unmodified jātis) they should be known [as formed] through antaramārga, which depends upon the amśa. In vikṛta (or modified) jātis [they are rendered] by utilising nyāsa and apanyāsa.

Vividha is said to be of three kinds termed sāmudga, ardha-sāmudga and vivṛddha; [these are respectively] sama, madhya, and viṣama [in nature].

The vividha [called] sāmudga occurs [when the two vidārīs of] a gīti resemble each other completely as to words and mātrās (pāṭhamātrāsamāgītih). Similarly, an incomplete resemblance of vidārīs etc. should be considered to be [the nature of the other two]. All kinds of vividhas, except dvaigeyaka, end on nyāsa. [They are] invariably [composed] of two vidārīs. The two preceding [kinds of aṅgas, viz. pravṛtta and avagādha] are known to [contain] a maximum of six [vidārīs].

NOTE :

Dattila has not expounded the nature of aṅga, contrary to his practice in the case of other topics. He elucidates aṅga with what amounts to an empirical illustration. Mukha which he names as the prime example of an aṅga was formed in the gītaka called uttara : "athādau uttarasya syānmukham" (Datt. 219).

Dattila characterises aṅgas as formed with vidārīs as well as with certain specific end-notes, like nyāsa, apanyāsa and also with varṇas such as ārohī and avaraḥī. The notion of varṇa implicates pada which was innate to varna. He also characterises aṅgas on the basis of jātis—śuddha and vikṛta—and their characteristic movements (antaramārga). This reveals that aṅga denoted a very complex, multi-faceted structural notion. Dattila's exposition is too brief to give us an idea of the nature of this concept and how its various aspects were related to each other and to the gāndharva gītakas. Bharata's exposition, too, is unsatisfactory on this point. Some valuable information can, however, be gleaned from Abhinava.

Abhinava gives two meanings of the notion of aṅga : (1) as tālāṅga and (2) as varṇāṅga.

Aṅga as Tālāṅga :

We have seen that there were three gītakas which were formed with vastus of different measures. The major tāla-components of the other four gītakas were not called vastus. The generic name for the major tāla-components in these gītakas, says Abhinava, was aṅga. He remarks that according to some there was a difference between the vastu and aṅga as tāla-components : vastu had a large frame (mahāśarīratve vastviti) and thus by implication it had a greater number of vidārīs in it—whereas aṅgas were formed with comparatively fewer vidārīs (alpāyām vidāryām tvaṅgam).

In Bharata the use of aṅga as meaning tālāṅga, says Abhinava, was to be

found in the chapter on tāṇḍava in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (i.e., ch. 4).¹ In expounding tāṇḍava, Bharata, indeed, speaks of gītakas of two kinds : (1) those composed of vastus, and (2) those composed of aṅgas.² Abhinava here comments that tāla-components containing many sub-divisions (i.e., vidārīs) and many kalās are vastus, whereas aṅgas are smaller. He names three gītakas composed with the vastu as madraka, aparāntaka and prakarī. The other four—ullopyaka, rovindaka, oveṇaka and uttara—are said to be aṅga-based.³

In chapter 31, Bharata lists the gītakas in the following order : madraka, ullopyaka, aparāntaka, prakarī, oveṇaka, rovindaka and uttara (N.S. 31, 200-201). He then proceeds to describe the arrangement of tāla-components and their numbers—of vastus or aṅgas—in them (N.S. 31, 201-228). Breaking his own order of numeration, Bharata first takes up the three gītakas, madraka, prakarī and aparāntaka, and describes the number of vastus in each. (N.S. 31, 201-203). The reason for grouping these three gītakas together was evidently the fact that they were all formed with vastus. Abhinava with this very idea in mind concludes his remarks on N.S. 31, 203 with the words : “vastunibaddheṣu vastuvibhāgah.”

After vastu-formed gītakas, Bharata takes up the other four, beginning with rovindaka. Bharata describes rovindaka as : “rovindakam tu saptāṅgam ṣoḍāśāṅgam param smṛtam” (N.S. 31, 204). Abhinava introduces his comments on this line with the words : “now the arrangement of aṅgas in the aṅga-formed (gītakas) is being stated—athāṅganibandheṣvaṅgavibhāgamaḥ” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 204-205).

Aṅga as Varnāṅga :

Bharata in expounding the topic ‘aṅga’ as an aspect of gāndharva tāla says :

¹ अत्र च कान्तिचिद् वस्तुनिवदानि । अपरोण्यज्ञरिति ताण्डवाध्याये (ग्रन्थाय 4) सूचितम् । तत्र तालाङ्गमेवाङ्गम् । तत्र महाशरीरत्वे वस्तिवति व्यवहिते । अत्यांयां (विदार्या) त्वज्ञमिति केचित् ।

— A.B. on N.S. 31, 201.

² गीतानां छन्दकानां च भूयो वक्ष्याम्यहं विधिम् । यानि वस्तुनिवदानि यानि चाङ्गकृतानि तु ॥
— N.S. 4, 292.

Later in the passage Bharta states :

एवं वस्तुनिवदानां गीतकानां विधिः स्मृतः ॥ शृणुताङ्गनिवदानां गीतानामपि लक्षणम् ।
— N.S. 4, 296—297.

In another verse in the same passage (a verse not accepted by Abhinava) Bharata characterises vastu-nibaddha forms as ending with graha (the initial note of a jāti) while aṅga-nibaddha forms, he says, began with graha:

यानि वस्तुनिवदानि तेषामन्ते ग्रहो भवेत् । अङ्गानां तु परावृत्तादादावेव ग्रहो मतः ॥
— N.S., passage in brackets following 4, 301.

यानीति भूयांसि खण्डकलादीनि वस्तुनि । स्वल्पानि त्वज्ञानि तत्र वस्तुनिवदानि त्रीणि गीतकानि—मद्रकः (अ) परान्तकं प्रकरी च । अन्यानि चत्वार्यज्ञान्युलीप्यकं रोविन्दकं ओवेणकमुत्तरं च
— A.B. on N.S. 4, 292B.

The A.B. reads : भूयांसि खण्डलकादीनि वस्तुनि । खण्डलकादि is meaningless. We have read it as खण्डकलादीनि which gives a meaning that corresponds in essence with the 31st chapter description of vastu as having a ‘mahasarira’.

ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi gitānāṁ vastukeśvapi
 vivadhaikakavṛttāni trīnyaṅgāni samāsataḥ
 sarvesāmeva gitānām vastuśvavayaveśvapi
 vivadhaikakavṛttāni trīnyaṅgāni bhavanti hi

(N.S. 31, 190-191)

"Now I shall describe the three aṅgas which in aggregate (samāsataḥ) are: vivadha, ekaka and vṛtta. These are formed in the vastus of the gīta(ka)s. In the limbs (avayava) and vastus of all the gīta(ka)s, there occur these three aṅgas: vivadha, ekaka and vṛtta".

Here the three main aṅgas (Dattila has four) are described as being formed within the vastus and limbs—avayavas—of the seven gītakas. Vastus were one kind of tāla-components and avayava here certainly refers to tāla-components other than those termed vastu. Aṅgas were formed within these; thus the denotation of the term here is certainly different from the one which we have considered above according to which aṅgas were themselves major tāla-components other than vastus.

Like Dattila, Bharata also has described aṅgas like vivadha, ekaka and their sub-classes as comprising varnas like ārohī and avarohī and as being formed on the basis of antaramārga and containing nyāsas, apanyāsas and being divided by vidārīs (N.S. 31, 195-98). Aṅgas in this sense are evidently predominated by the melodic rather than the tāla aspect. Consequently, Abhinava elucidating aṅgas in this sense, calls them varṇāṅgas to distinguish them from tālāṅgas. He remarks: "based in this way on varṇa is the varṇāṅga quite distinct from the tālāṅgas; its chief feature is melodic variety."¹ Indeed, aṅgas as elucidated by both Dattila and Bharata are distinguished chiefly through melodic or svara—rather than tāla—characteristics.

We have thus two different meanings of the term aṅga. How were they related in a single concept? It seems that in its primary sense 'aṅga' denoted the notion of what Abhinava terms varṇāṅga as its characteristics described both by Bharata and Dattila so overwhelmingly imply. Yet, aṅga has been included as a topic in tāla and not svara, and inspite of being basically characterised by melodic aspects we observe that it was formed on the basis of vidārīs (which themselves were measured in terms of tāla-units). This implies that aṅga denoted a group of tāla-components too—a usage which Abhinava traces to Bharata. However, the relation between the two aspects of aṅga—as varṇa and tāla-component—is not clear.

Dattila has not used aṅga as meaning tālāṅga but only as varṇāṅga. Vastu, in his scheme of pāribhāṣic usage, seems to be the term which denoted all major tāla-components of the gītakas. He makes no distinction between aṅga-formed and vastu-formed gītakas.

Now to come to the form of the aṅgas. We have observed earlier, (in ch. 1) that Bharata has classified the aṅga into only three categories, namely, ekaka,

¹ एवं च वर्णनुबृत्तित्वादेव वर्णाङ्गकमिति तालाङ्गेभ्यः पृथगव गीतिर्वचित्र्यात्मनामिधानेन प्राधान्यतयोक्तम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 192.

vivadha and vṛtta, whereas Dallila has four.¹ Bharata, however, further classifies vṛtta into two sub-categories: pravṛtta and avagādha. These two in the *Nātyaśāstra* are in essence identical with Dattila's pravṛtta and avagādha (N.S. 31, 195). Thus there is no basic difference between the number of āngas enumerated by Dattila and Bharata, except in point of classification.

Let us attempt to describe these aṅgas one by one in the order in which Dattila elucidates them.

Ekaka :

As the name suggests, ekaka was formed with a single *vidārī* unit: “*ekakam tu vidāryekā*” (N.S. 31, 192), as Bharata unambiguously puts it. This evidently defined the *tāla*-measure of an ekaka. The svara-structure with which the ekaka was rendered was characterised by the fact that it ended either on the *amṣa* or the *nyāsa*. These refer obviously to the *jāti* being rendered, for terms like *nyāsa* (final note) and *amṣa* (predominant note) had no meaning outside a *jāti*. Bharata has not characterised ekaka as ending on either *nyāsa* or *amṣa*. Later authors like Śāringadeva have done so and they seem to have been influenced on this point by Dattīja. In fact, Śāringadeva’s line describing ekaka seems to be an almost exact replica of Datt. 144B: “*nyāsāntamathavāmṣāntam vidāryekaikakam matam*” (S.R. 5, 77).

Avagādha and Pravṛtta:

These two were reciprocal forms. Avagādha according to Dattila depended upon the avarohī varṇa while pravṛtta was formed as an ārohī. Bharata reverses the definition. According to him avagādha was formed with āroha and pravṛtta with an avaroha movement. Later authors follow Bharata.

Kumbha was aware that Dattila's description was the reverse of Bharata. He also knew the details of Dattila's description which he records. His words have a remarkable correspondence with the *Dattilam*:

yato'vagādhamamśāntamavarohiṇī varṇake
ārohiṇī pravṛttam syānnyāśāntam dāttile mate (S. Raj, 2, 4, 1, 54)

Bharata has not specified particulars regarding svaras in these two aṅgas. Dattila has. Avagāḍha, he says, mostly ended on the amśa note while pravṛtta was usually consummated with the nyāsa. Dattila also specifies the nature of vidārī-formation in avagāḍha and notes its relation to the svara-structure of this aṅga. The same process, he adds, obtained in pravṛtta.

Sāringadeva and Kumbha have preserved Viśākhila's injunctions on this matter. Like Bharata, he had classified pravṛtta and avagādha as sub-classes of vṛtta. Kumbha records the opinion of Viśākhila regarding vidāris in vṛtta thus : "the

¹ This difference, we have seen, was noted by later authorities. Kumbha remarks : गीताह्वानि तिधा चाव चतुर्था दितिलोऽवृत्ते

-S Raj 2 4 1 38

vidārīs should be formed either on the amṣa or its saṃvādī or anuvādī, or on notes immediately following these and (alternately) on notes one removed from these.”¹ Śārṅgadeva describes Viśākhila’s opinions in similar terms.² Dattila names only the amṣa, (Datt. 145) but his use of the qualifying phrase ‘in most cases’ (prāyaśo) suggests that he may have had in mind the other alternatives named by Viśākhila.

The statement in the *Dattilam* that vidārīs should be formed ‘one note removed’ (vidāryo + + + + svaresvekāntareṣu vā, Datt. 145B) corresponds with Viśākhila’s injunction. Indeed, Kumbha in recording Viśākhila’s view uses a phrase very similar to Dattila’s ‘ekāntare svare’ (S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 58); this might be a paraphrase of the very words used by Viśākhila. Viśākhila had also said that vidārīs could be formed on ‘anantara’ svaras (S. Raj 2, 1, 4, 57; S. R. 5, 110). We can reasonably presume that Dattila had made a similar injunction. On the strength of this presumption we have attempted a reconstruction of line 145B in the *Dattilam*.

Dattila qualifies the nature of ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa in pravṛtta and avagādha in a kārikā. The two lines of this kārikā (146B-147A) are almost identical with those in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* concerning the same matter.³ We have, on this basis, changed the word ‘vividham’ in the printed *Dattilam* text (a word which is evidently meaningless in this context) into ‘dvividham’ (the word used in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*).

Abhinava, elucidating the ascent and descent in pravṛtta and avagādha, comments: ‘both ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa are in this context of two types. The first type of ascent as well as descent depends mainly upon nyāsa. It is also said to depend upon apanyāsa because apanyāsa is an aspect of nyāsa and is associated with and included within the notion of nyāsa; apanyāsa is thus not made the basis of a separate type (of ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa). The second type is based upon antaramārga and its movements depend upon saṃvādī, anuvādī etc.’⁴ Antaramārga was an important melodic feature of jātis. Dattila had not spoken of it in defining jāti; yet he was clearly aware of the concept.

Datt. 147B-148A notes more details regarding ārohī and avarohī movements in pravṛtta and avagādha, relating them to jātis. These details are not noted by Bharata. Abhinava observes that the statement made by Dattila in Datt. 147B-148A

¹ समापनं तु वृत्तस्थैकतरस्मिन् स्वरे स्मृतम् । न्यासापन्याससन्यासविन्यासानां तु मध्यतः ॥
स्वकीयरागजनकज्ञातिसम्बिन्दिमिह । वृत्तस्थैतु विदारीणां समाप्तिरिह सम्मता ॥

अनुवादिनि वा तस्यानन्तरस्वर एव च । एकान्तरे स्वरे वै तद् वैशाखिलमते मतम् ॥

—S.Raj 2,4,1 55-58.

² वृत्तं तिस्रश्चतुस्रो वा पंचषड्वा विदिरिकाः ॥
अवगाढं प्रवृत्तं च तद् द्विवेति निरूपितम् । आशमारोहिवर्णेन प्रवृत्तमवराहिणा ॥
न्यासापन्याससन्यासविन्यासानां तु कुर्वन्ति : न्यासोऽस्याशेऽस्य सवादिन्यनुवादिनि वा भवेत् ॥
अनन्तरस्वररेकान्तरितैर्वा समापनम् । विदारीणां भवेदत्त्वभ्यधत्त विशाखिलः ॥

—S. R. 5, 108-112.

³ आरोहणं च द्विविधं तथा चैवावरोहणम् । न्यासापन्यासविहितं मार्गान्तररक्षतं तथा ॥
—N.S. 31, 196-97

⁴ आरोहणावरोहणे च प्रत्येकं द्विघा । न्यासयोगेनेत्येकः प्रकारः । अपन्यासोऽपि न्यास एवेति तन्मध्य एव निक्षिप्तो न तु पृथक् सञ्चयया गणितः । अन्तरमार्गेण संवादानुवादिलयोगेनेति द्वितीयः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 196-197,

contains matter which is not found in Bharata. He thus quotes Dattila's lines with the words : "atra kaścidviṣeṣa uktaḥ" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 197).

Dattila in these lines reveals the intricate interconnection between svara-forms (*i.e.*, jātis) and tāla-forms in gāndharva.

Abhinava gives an explanation for pravṛtta and avagādha being so named. Avagādha (according to Bharata) was based on āroha and in singing āroha, Abhinava says, one has to make an exertion and compress or stiffen the limbs of one's body : gādhiκarāṇa hence, the name. Pravṛtta was so named because the avarohī movement can be made with comparative ease : sukhāt pravṛttih.¹ Abhinava's explanations are clearly fanciful and far-fetched; Dattila's reversed nomenclature—which he must have shared with other ācāryas—totally belies it.

Vividha :

This aṅga has been called vivadha by Bharata. Abhinava explains the name as : "vivadham viśiṣṭo vadho hananam vibhaktatāpādanamiti yāvat" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 192). It was, he means, an aṅga which divided the musical structure in a certain specific way. Dattila has divided vividha into three sub-classes : sāmudga, ardhasāmudga and vivṛddha (also known as vivṛtta). He has devoted six lines to the exposition of vividha. This, considering the conciseness of the *Dattilam*, is a rather large space.

The different vividhas have not been described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* text accepted by Abhinava but an exposition is to be found in the Asiatic Society Edition (N.S. Asiatic Society Ed. 31, 212-16). The description given by Dattila is not clear (moreover, it contains faulty readings); the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is also unsatisfactory. Śārṅgadeva and Kumbha give a clearer exposition.

All vividhas contained two vidārīs² which could be similar or dissimilar. The three sub-classes of vividha have been characterised as sama, madhya and viṣama by Dattila. These epithets indicated the nature of the similarity or lack of it between the two vidārīs in a vividha. Sama signified complete resemblance, madhya meant partial resemblance and viṣama denoted dissimilarity. One obtained the vividha called sāmudga when the two vidārī divisions of a vividha resembled each other totally as to pada, varṇa and svara. Ardhasāmudga depended upon partial similarity. It could occur in two ways : (1) when between the two vidārīs of a vividha, there was a similarity as to either varṇa, pada or svara; (2) when a portion of one vidārī resembled totally a portion of the other vidārī.

¹ आरोहणे गात्रसङ्कोचनमित्यवगादव्यपदेशः । अवरोहणे सुखात् प्रवृत्तिरिति प्रवृत्तसंज्ञा ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 195.

² विविधो द्विविदारीकः स त्रिधा परिकीर्तिंतः ॥ सामुद्गश्चार्धमामुद्गा विवृत्ताचेति सूरिभिः ।
—S.R. 5, 67-68.

In vivṛddha (or vivṛtta) the two vidārīs were completely dissimilar. Kumbha adds that vivṛtta depended upon nyāsa and apanyāsa.¹

Vemabhūpala describing vividha in *Saṅgitacintāmaṇi* adds pāta (the sounded beats) to the factors on which similarity between the two vidārīs of sāmudga was judged. He says : "sāmudga is the gīti that arises when two vidārīs are similar as to varṇa, pada (words) and pāta (beats). If only parts of two vidārīs are similar then arises ardhasāmudga. Vivṛtta ('vivṛddha' in the *Dattilam*) contains two dissimilar vidārīs" (*Saṅgitacintāmaṇi*, ch. I in the section on vādyā).

The reading in the Trivandrum edition of the *Dattilam* describes sāmudga as "vānmātrā sā mahāgītih", which makes no sense. Our suggested reading is based upon Nānyadeva who in his *Bharatabhāṣya* quotes Datt. 148 to 150. His reading of verse 149B is "pāthamātrāsamā gītih sāmudgo vividho bhavet". "Pāthamātrā" and "vānmātrā" appear to mean the same, but Nānyadeva's reading 'samā gītih' certainly makes more sense.

Dattila has characterised the three vividhas, as sāmudga, ardhasāmudga and vivṛddha or as sama, madhya and viṣama respectively. These three epithets, in the light of later detailed descriptions, are revealed as pertaining to the nature of the relation between the two vidārīs in the various vividhas. In sāmudga, the two vidārīs were sama—equal—that is, resembling in all respects. In ardhasāmudga (as the name itself suggests), the two vidārīs resembled only partially and Dattila, therefore, terms it madhya. In the third vividha, namely, vivṛddha, the two vidārīs were dissimilar and so this vividha has been aptly called viṣama.

Dattila says that all vividhas except the dvaigeyaka end with the nyāsa.² What was the dvaigeyaka? It was clearly a kind of vividha (it occurred in the third vastu of the gītaka called madraka, Datt. 168). Why then has it been given a separate name? The question is difficult to answer. But from its description in madraka this much is evident that dvaigeyaka was a sub-variety of the sāmudga.

This reminds us of mukha. Mukha has been cited by Dattila as a model illustration of aṅga in his very introduction to the topic where he promises to describe it (vakṣyamāṇa mukhādi.....Datt. 143B). But we come across no aṅga called mukha in the exposition of aṅgas. Mukha is, however, said to occur in the gītaka uttara (Datt. 219). Evidently, like dvaigeyaka it was a sub-variety of one of the aṅgas.

The number of vidārīs was a major factor characterising and distinguishing aṅgas. Ekaka consisted of a single vidārī, as Dattila clearly implies in the phrase:

¹ विदार्यः पदवर्णादिसाम्यात्सामुदगको मतः ॥ विदारीभागयोः साम्यात्क्वर्धसमुदगकी मतः ।
पूर्वस्या वा परस्या वा द्वयोन्वेति विधा च सः ॥ न्यासात्तो विविधः कार्यः सर्वो द्वैगेयकं विना ।
असमानविदारीको न्यासापन्यासनिर्मितः ॥ विवृतः स्यात् ।

—S.R. 5, 69-72.

विवृताख्यस्तु विविधो न्यासापन्यासनिर्मितः ॥ असमानविदारीकोश्चिह्नितोऽरिविदारिणा ॥

—S.Raj 2, 4, 1, 51.

² द्वैगेयकमृते कार्यो न्यासात्तो विविधो विदा । द्वैगेयकाख्यो विविधस्तार्तीयकस्तु वस्तुनः । चतुष्कले मद्रकेऽन्ते . . .
—S.Raj 2, 4, 1, 41-42.

vidāryekakasamśritam (Datt. 144). Regarding the number of vidārīs in the other aṅgas, he has a single cryptic line with which he ends the topic (Datt. 151A). The first part of this line, 'nityam ca dvividārikah'¹, certainly qualifies 'vividha' and signifies that vividhas should always have two vidārīs. The next part of the line reads : "purvo jñeye tu ṣaṭ pare." 'Pūrvo' here should read pūrve in order to correspond grammatically with the neuter dual in jñeye and pare. The first part of the line is seen to refer to vidārīs in vividha; purve then evidently refers to the two preceding aṅgas : pravṛtta and avagāḍha. Vidārīs in them are said to number 'ṣaṭ pare' or a maximum of six. This corresponds with Bharata's enumeration of vidārīs in vṛttā (of which avagāḍha and pravṛtta were sub-classes) as : "ṣaṭparam tryavaram vṛttam—vṛttā has a minimum of three and a maximum of six (vidārīs)" (N.S. 31, 192B). Kumbha gives a similar number.² Dattila gives the maximum but not the minimum.

We may thus conclude that according to Dattila ekaka consisted of a single vidārī, vividha of two and pravṛtta and avagāḍha of a maximum of six. Bharata clearly spells this out :

ekakam tu vidāryekā te cobhe vivadham smṛtam
ṣaṭparam tryavaram vṛttam

(N.S. 31, 192)

¹ The T.ed. reads द्विविदारिका. This is clearly faulty for द्विविदारिका does not grammatically correspond with any other relevant pada. 'द्विविदारीकः' (which we have accepted) qualifies विविधः of the preceding line. Significantly, निविधः has been called द्विविदारीकः by Śāringadeva also —S.R. 5, 67-68.

² वृत्तं चतुर्विंश्येष विदारीयोगतो वृध्यः । तत्रावरं तु तिसृमिश्वत्तरोत्तरतः परम् स्याच्चतसृमिः पञ्चमिः पञ्चमिश्वच्च च समाप्तः ।

—S. Raj 2. 4, 1, 43-44,

TOPIC 9

LAYA

151B. *atha trayo layāḥ siddhāḥ drutamadhyavilambitāḥ*

152A. *(vilambitā)diretesāṁ¹ prayogo dakṣiṇādiṣu*

And now, the three tempos (layas), which have been accepted as established (siddhāḥ) : fast (druta), medium (madhya) and slow (vilambita). Their application in the [mārgas] like dakṣiṇa follows the succession vilambita and so on.

NOTE :

Laya or tempo is a crucial aspect of tāla. Dattila takes it up pretty late as the ninth topic. In Bharata it forms the second topic (see also ch. I). The three layas, vilambita, madhya and druta have been described relatively as consisting of a successive acceleration ; so that madhya had a double tempo *vis-a-vis* vilambita and druta had a double tempo *vis-a-vis* madhya.²

The three mārgas, citra, vārtika and dakṣiṇa were associated with the different modes of laya. Each mārga was defined in terms of certain characteristic factors which together imparted to it its individuality and made it a general musical way (mārga) or manner of rendering tāla in gāndharva. Perhaps the most essential factor in mārga was laya. The dakṣiṇa mārga was characterised by a slow (vilambita laya) ; vārtika by a medium tempo (druta laya).

¹ Datt. T.ed. reads : + + + + द्विरेतेषां. Our suggested reconstruction is based on descriptions from other texts.

² Bharata describes the layas as :

त्रयो लयास्तु विज्ञेया द्रुतमध्यविलम्बिताः

—N.S. 31, 370.

Describing vilambita as 'sthitalaya', he thus describes the nature of their tempos :

तत्र स्थितलयो यां वै सन्निपातो विधीयते । स तु मध्यतया प्राप्य सन्निपाद्यते भवेत् ॥

ततं चापि लयं प्राप्य सन्निपातचतुर्ष्टयम् ।

—N.S. 31, 375-76.

Abhinava clarifies :

तदेको यदा येन विलम्बितेन लघेन गातीति तदा तावतैव कालेन परो हिंगर्यति मध्यलयम् । तदाह 'सन्निपातद्यमिति' । तृतीयस्तु चतुर्ष्टयमिति स द्रुतलयः । तदाह 'सन्निपातचतुर्ष्टयमिति' ।

TOPIC 10

PĀNI

152B. *samoparyavapūrvastu pāṇistrividha isyate*

153A. *tatra tālam ca pāṇīm ca prāhurekan manīṣīṇah*

B. *samaṁ copariptastu yadvādhah samsthitaṁ bhavet*

154A. *vādyam¹ padāni varṇo vā tadevamabhidhīyate²*

Pāṇi is of three kinds : sama, upari and avapūrva (*i.e.*, avapāṇi)³. In this context tāla and pāṇi are declared to be the same by the wise. [Sama, upari and avapūrva] are so termed [because in them] the beat (pāta) is [successively] simultaneous with, precedes, and follows [the rhythm of music in] the vādyas (instrumental playing), the padas or the varṇas.

NOTE :

Dattila says that pāṇi was stated by the wise to be identical with tāla. Bharata makes no such equation. Abhinava quotes Dattila's definition and says that pāṇi here meant the gestures made in gāndharva with the palm and the fingers when rendering tāla. Tāla was thus the same as pāṇi in gāndharva because tāla was nothing but an aggregate of hand-movements used in rendering it. Abhinava observes : "a properly demarcated tempo is what constitutes tāla and as a supreme adṛṣṭa motive is involved (in gāndharva), this tāla-demarcation is enjoined as taking on a special form. Although any method or action is adequate to indicate tempo whether slow or fast, yet in order to acquire adṛṣṭa certain definite rules have to be maintained (niyamā-dṛṣṭasiddhaye) and specific movements of the hand and fingers are to be made—these are (collectively) called pāṇi."⁴

¹ T.ed. reads “+ वां”... Our reconstruction follows the text as given in A.B. on N.S. 31, 374, where the reading is ‘वाचं पदानि पाणी वा ……’

² Abhinava quotes Datt. 153A twice—once with the words ‘दत्तिलोऽप्याह’ (A.B. on N.S. 31, 26) and again with the words ‘तदाह दत्तिलः’ (A.B. on N.S. 31, 372). Abhinava also quotes Datt. 153B-154A with the words ‘यथाह दत्तिलाचार्यः’ Datt. 153B in his variation reads : ‘समं दोपरि वा तस्य यद्वाधः’; and 154B ‘वाचं पदानि पाणी वा’
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 374.

³ अवपूर्व = having the prefix अव before पाणि.

यत्र तु साक्षाद्दृष्टमपि फलं तत्त्वान्यदपि रूपं वक्तव्यम् । तत्र चित्तशीघ्रतादौ क्रिया तथापि या काचिदप्युपायस्तथा नियमादृष्टफलसिद्धये विशेष्टहस्तांगुलिकिमैवोपयोगिनी सा च पाणिशब्देनोदिता । तदाह दत्तिलः ‘तत्र तालं (च) पाणिं च प्राहुरेकमिति’ ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 372.

Pāṇi in a broad sense thus denoted the entirety of gāndharva-tāla. It also had a more restricted sense as a specific topic in gāndharva-tāla. In this sense pāṇi denoted rhythmic syncopation.

Dattila names three pāṇis: samapāṇi, uparipāṇi and avapāṇi. Bharata gives the same list.¹ Both Dattila and Bharata relate beats (pāṭas) to melody in characterising pāṇi (*gītvādyasamāśrayaḥ*, N.S. 31, 373).

Stresses in tāla (which are indicated by beats) are often simultaneous with the stresses in the accompanying melody. This was in ancient times termed samapāni. There are two other ways of relating melodic stresses to tāla. Firstly, a stress in the melodic form may precede the stress or the beat in tāla. Such syncopation was called avapāni. Alternately, the melodic stress could just follow the beat in tāla. This was termed uparipāni.

Sārṅgadeva and other late authors have likened the notion of pāṇi to what they knew as graha (literally 'hold') in tāla. There were three grahas termed sama, atīta and anāgata. These were parallel to the three pāṇis. In sama the stress was simultaneous with the beat (hence the name samagraha), in atīta the beat came after the melodic stress and in anāgata it preceded the melodic stress.²

However, another meaning of pāṇi is suggested through some of Abhinava's remarks. Abhinava has quoted lines 153B along with 154A from *Dattilam* reading them as :

samaṁ vopari vā tasya yadvādhaḥ saṁsthitaṁ bhavet
vādyam padātī(ni) pāṇau vā tadevamabhidhīyate

This suggests a somewhat different meaning of pāṇi from the reading in the Trivandrum edition. Abhinava's reading is close to Bharata's description of the three pāṇis as:

samapāṇīśca vijñeyo hyavapāṇistathaiva ca
 tathaivopari pāṇīśca gītavādyasamāśrayāḥ
 layena yat samāṁ vādyam samapāṇīḥ prakīrt�ate
 dhruvād yadavakṣṭām syāt so'vapāṇīḥ prakīrtītāḥ
 layasyopari yadvādyam pāṇīḥ sopaririṣyate

(N.S. 31, 373-74)

³ These lines, too, imply a notion of rhythmic synchronisation but this is here concerned with vāgya or instrumental melody as related to the song it accompanies.

¹ समपाणिश्च विजेयो ह्यवपाणिस्त्यैव च । तथेवोपरिपाणिश्च गीतवाद्यसमाश्रयः ॥
—N.S. 31, 373.

२ समोऽत्तीतोऽनागतश्च यहस्ताले त्रिधा मतः ॥ गीतादिसमकालस्तु समपाणिः समग्रहः ।
सोऽवपाणिरतीतः स्यादो गीतादो प्रवतिते ॥ अनागतः प्राक् वृत्तग्रहस्तृपरिपाणिकः ।
— S.R. 5, 50-52

³ cf. Abhinava's remarks :

‘समपाप्त इच्छेति’। ननु साम्यं पश्चाद् माव्यपृष्ठं परिभावितं च। एवं देवालविश्वामित्रीत्याशङ्का याह। ‘गीतवाद्यसामाधया’ इति। पृथक्विशेषलक्षणान्युच्चन्ते। लयेन यत्सम् वाद्यमित्यादिना। काचित्तिथमादृटा रस्त्यतिशया वाऽन्या किंवाऽवच्छेदिका तथा गीतस्य समकालता पृथक्कालताऽन्तुकालता वा

-A.B. on N.S. 31, 373-74.

For the three pāṇis, as Bharata says, are: "gīta-vādyā-samāśrayāḥ—dependent upon song and instruments."

This would make pāṇi a qualifying notion of the concept of vṛtti which denoted the different ways in which instrumental music accompanied song. Explaining the notion of uparipāṇi, Abhinava, indeed, remarks that when the music is set to a fast tempo and instruments are so played that they anticipate and strike a new phrase before it actually begins in the song, then one has uparipāṇi.¹ Elsewhere, speaking of viñā-playing, Abhinava elucidates a certain point of instrumental rendition involving avapāṇi (A.B. on. N.S. 29, 88), with the words: "tatra pūrvam gītam tato vādyamityavapāṇih" Avapāṇi in other words seems to have been a manner of instrumental accompaniment where the sung melody preceded its accompanying instruments.

This meaning of pāṇi seems to have been a secondary meaning. We have noted Abhinava's views that pāṇi was the same as beats and hence the totality of tāla. Dattila clearly equates pāṇi with tāla. This equation would lose all significance if pāṇi stood for modes of instrumental accompaniment. It is also suggestive that both Dattila and Bharata include pāṇi as an element of tāla; it would have been included under svara if it mainly concerned instrumental accompaniment.

¹ द्रुतलयोचितो यस्यातिशीघ्रं गच्छति स प्रथममेव निर्याति स चापरमपि न प्रतीक्षते गीतक्रिया तु यदा न तावत् प्रवर्तते प्रथममेव वाचानि क्रियान्तरं तदोपरिपाणिः।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 375,

TOPIC 11

YATI

154B. *layayātām yatiḥ proktā citrādiṣu yathākramam*

155A. *samā srotogatā caiva gopucchā ca yathākramam*

A flow in tempo (laya) is termed yati. In citra and other [mārgas] it is in due order—samā, srotogatā and gopucchā, respectively.

NOTE:

The term yati is from \sqrt{yam} , means ‘to restrain’, ‘control’ or ‘regulate’. A regulated ‘flow of tempo’—layayātam, as Dattila puts it—was called yati. Bharata has a similar definition of yati but he gives a more detailed exposition. He says: “layapravṛttavarṇānāmakṣarāṇāmathāpi ca niyamo yo yatiḥ sā tu—a regulation of the tempic flow of words and melody is yati” (N.S. 31, 372). Śāṅgadeva paraphrases: “layapravṛttiniyamo yatiḥ” (S.R. 5, 46).

The flow of tempo was regulated in three ways. These were the three yatis called samā, srotogatā and gopucchā.

Samā, as the name implies, consisted of an even tempic flow. In samā the tempo, whether druta madhya or vilambita, remained constant throughout a rendering (yastu prathame tāvadyatinirvāhaparyanta (? taḥ) sa eva layo niyamah, sā samā (A.B. on N.S. 31, 372).

In srotogatā the tempo began as slow (vilambita) and ended as fast—the yati consisting of a gradual acceleration. Abhinava says that the yati was called srotogatā because like a stream it gradually gained in speed as it flowed down an incline: “tatra prathamabhāge vilambitasya yāvadante drutasya niyama iti srotovadgamanāttathā yatirkṛtā” (A.B., *ibid.*).

Gopucchā was the reverse of srotogatā. It began as fast and ended as slow. It was like the bunch of hairs at the end of a cow’s tail (gopucchā): these form a thick cluster at their root and gradually taper to a fine point. Abhinava thus says: “etadviparyayādgopucchā tādrūpyādeva” (A.B., *ibid.*).

Srotogatā, as later authorities like Vemabhūpāla have described, could be rendered in three ways: (1) Vilambita at the beginning, madhya in the middle and druta at the end; (2) vilambita at the beginning, madhya in the middle and remaining madhya till the end; (3) madhya in the beginning, druta in the middle and remaining druta

till the end. Gopucchā was the reverse of srotogatā, and was similarly of three kinds.¹ A parallel description is found in Śārṅgadeva (S.R. 5, 47-50).

Each mārga, we had seen, had a tempo (laya) characteristic to it. Dattila now says that different mārgas also had different yatis peculiar to them. Bharata has not specifically characterised different yatis as belonging to different mārgas. He has connected yati with regulated tempic formation of varṇas and syllables in singing (N.S. 31, 372), suggesting perhaps that different formations of melody and words in a song were governed by different yatis. It is likely that in making this statement Bharata, too, had the different mārgas in mind since his characterisation reminds one of gīti, a notion which depended upon varṇa formations and which varied with the different mārgas.

The citra mārga was characterised by a fast tempo (druta laya); Dattila here adds that it had samā yati. Vārtika mārga, where the tempo was medium, had srotogatā yati. And dakṣīṇa mārga had a slow tempo with gopucchā yati. The relation of mārga and yati poses a problem: how were the gopucchā and srotogatā which could not be formed without a change of tempo, rendered in various mārgas, which were characterised by a single definite tempo?

An answer is perhaps suggested through a remark of Abhinava. Regarding tempo in the three yatis, he says: "the yatis have been characterised as drūta, madhya and vilambita with the purpose of denoting their chief characteristic. Truly speaking (paramārthataḥ) all the three (yatis) can occur in all three (layas)."² This seems to indicate that the movement of yati from vilambita to druta or vice-versa was meant in a general sense of acceleration or deceleration and not as signifying a change from a fixed tempo to another.

An interesting idea in this connection occurs in Śārṅgadeva (inspired perhaps by Abhinava's remarks). Śārṅgadeva does not characterise the mārgas as druta, vilambita and madhya, which we have seen, were fixed in terms of distinct time units. He uses more generic epithets. He calls the mārgas cira, kṣipra and madhya.³ The dakṣīṇa mārga was according to him characterised by a generally 'delayed' mode of laya (dakṣīṇamārgē cirabhāvah, Kalā on S.R. 5, 44-45), citra mārga by 'swiftness' (citramārgē kṣiprabhāvah, Kalā, *ibid.*) and vārttika lay between the two (vārtika-

¹ लयतयस्य नियता गतिस्तियगतिरितः (? गतिस्तु यतिरीतिः) ।

समा स्रोतोवहा चादय गोपुच्छा चेति सा त्रिधा । एकास्तु योज्या मार्गेषु क्रमाञ्ज्ञद्वादिषु त्रिषु ॥

लयैकत्वेनादिमध्यावसानेषु समां स्मृता । तेषां लयानां त्रैविद्यात् सा चापि त्रिविद्या मता ॥

आदिमध्यावसानेषु या क्रमेण विलम्बिता । मध्यद्रुतं च मजेत संका स्रोतोवहा स्मृता ॥

स्थाद् विलम्बितमध्याभ्यामन्या स्रोतोवहा क्रमात् । मध्यद्रुताभ्यामपरा प्रोक्ता स्रोतोवहा वृद्धैः ॥

गोपुच्छा तु क्रमाज्ञेया द्रुतमध्यविलम्बितैः ॥ अन्या च द्रुतमध्याभ्यां गोपुच्छा परिकीर्तिता ।

प्रोक्ता मध्यविलम्बाभ्यां गोपुच्छा चापरा वृद्धैः ॥

—S.C. ch. I in the section on vādyā.

² तत्वासां क्रमेण द्रुतविलम्बितमध्याः प्राधान्याशयेन विषय उच्यते । परमार्थतस्त्रिसूच्यति तिस्त इति ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 372.

³ क्रियानन्तर विशारित्तिर्यः स त्रिविधो मतः । द्रुतो मध्यो विलम्बश्च द्रुतः शीघ्रतया मतः ॥
द्विगुणद्विगुणो ज्ञेयो तस्मान्मध्यविलम्बितौ । मार्गमेदाञ्ज्ञविशिष्टप्रसमध्यमार्गे रनेकधा ॥

—S. R. 5, 44-55.

mārge madhyabhāvah, Kalā, *ibid.*). Each of the three layas, druta, madhya, vilambita, could be formed in all of the three mārgas, though, of course, the stamp of the mārga was imparted to each. Druta formed in the 'delayed' dakṣiṇa mārga, for example, would be a slower druta than when formed in the 'swift' citra mārga. Similarly, vilambita when occurring in citra would have a faster tempo than it could obtain in dakṣiṇa or vārtika. Kallinātha explains the point with an apt simile : the mārgas were like three paths, long, short and medium in length, leading to the same place and in each of them different travellers could move at different speeds—one at a running pace, another going at a slower rate and the third slower still. Each mārga could similarly have three different layas.¹

Even if this interesting explanation be acceptable, it presents us with another problem. We have seen that kalā (equal to two mātrās or ten nimeśas) was the unit of time in all the modes of gāndharva talā. In citra mārga, a single kalā formed the unit of tempo, in vārtika two kalās (or a dvikala pādabhāga) constituted a unit; in other word, two kalās or four mātrās, i.e., twenty nimeśas, acted as if they formed a single kalā, thus reducing the tempo by half in relation to the tempo in citra mārga. In dakṣiṇa mārga four kalās (or a catuṣkala pādabhāga) constituted a similar unit of tempo. The basic time-unit, however, always remained the kalā of ten nimeśas. This being so how was a gradual change of tempo or yati at all conceived of in the different mārgas ? In vārtika mārga, for example, one dvikala pādabhāga or twenty nimeśas formed the unit of tempo. How then could srotogatā yati, which began as slow and ended as fast, have been formed in it, unless the unit of tempo itself underwent a change ? In other words, yati was not possible unless the unit of time, kalā, itself was flexible and not rigidly fixed as equalling ten nimeśas. We can explain the discrepancy only by assuming that the kalā of ten nimeśas was a rough standard of reference rather than a rigidly applied measure. This seems likely. We have seen that svara and śruti were judged by the sense of tone rather than strict mathematical ratios. Time units were, perhaps, judged by a similar sense of time rather than by a metronome-like accuracy. Sāringadeva says that different mārgas were characterised by cira, madhya and kṣipra bhāva. The word bhāva is here significant for it suggests 'sense' or 'feeling' as opposed to strict measure.²

¹ एवमेककलादिव्येकंकस्मिन् मार्गे विश्रान्तिकालप्रमाणभेदात् लयवर्यं दशितम् । यथा लाके एकरिमन्त्रेव मार्गे त्रयोऽपि गन्तुं प्रवृत्ताः । तत्रैको धावति तस्य गतिः शीघ्राभवति । ततो मन्दमन्यो गच्छति तस्य गतिमध्यमा भवति । ततोऽपि मन्दमपरो याति तस्य गतिविलम्बा । एवं पादन्यासक्तिया विश्रान्तिकाल वैषम्यात् गतिभेदः ।

—Kalā on S.R. 5, 44-45.

² We are indebted to Dr (Km) Premalata Sharma for this suggestion.

TOPIC 12

PRAKARANA

155B. atha prakaraṇam nāma madrakādyabhidhīyate

Now, the prakaraṇa. Madraka and other [gītakas] are termed [prakaraṇa].

NOTE :

Prakaraṇa was the generic name for the seven gītakas. Another name for them was saptarūpa (that is, the seven forms). The gītakas, madraka, aparāntaka, ullopyaka, prakarī, oveṇaka, rovindaka and uttara—to name them in the order in which Dattila expounds them—were the major tāla structures of gāndharva. They were to tāla what jātis were to svara. In a well-ordained rendering of gāndharva the jātis were set to the gītakas according to rules of tāla and melody synchronisation such as those given under aṅga.

Dattila does not define prakaraṇa but, as in the case of aṅga, he indicates it through an actually obtaining form. Abhinava, too, (when commenting on Bharata's uddeśa) similarly explains prakaraṇa by remarking : "prakaraṇa śabdena madrakā-dyuktavistaramiti" (A.B. on N.S. 29, 19).

Bharata names the gītakas in a different order.

Modes of Prakaraṇa

- 156A. *kulakam chedyakam caiva dvividham tat pracakṣate*
B. (*ekavākyam*) tu *kulakam* tad *dvyar�hamapi vā punah*
- 157A. *nānārtham chedyakam jñeyamekaikam trividham punah*
B. *niryuktaṁ padaniryuktamaniryuktaṁ tathaiva ca.*
- 158A. *tatra sarvaistu niyamairiyuktam niryuktamisaye*
B. *chandaḥpādādiniryogat padaniryuktasamjñitam*
- 159A. *vastumātramaniryuktaṁ*

The [prakaraṇa] is of two kinds, called kulaka and chedyaka. The kulaka [consists of] a simple sentence. Chedyaka [conveys] two or many meanings. Both of these [*i.e.*, kulaka and chedyaka] have three further modes : niryukta, padaniryukta and aniryukta.

Among these, [a gītaka] in which all rules are observed should be [called] niryukta; [that] termed padaniryukta arises through compliance with [rules of prosody] like metre, foot etc. (The) aniryukta [comprises of] vastu only.

NOTE:

The saptarūpa or the seven gītakas were large tāla-structures built with tāla-components such as vastu. The vastu has been described and its frame seems to have been (according to Dattila) representative of all tāla-components comprising a gītaka. The gītaka was intricately and carefully synchronised with song and was, evidently, conceived of as tāla-cum-svara (and accompanying pada) form.

Dattila has not expounded pada as he thought this to be quite unnecessary in a work on music. And this is certainly true of pada as a linguistic entity. But the structural co-ordination of words with svara and tāla is another matter and lies very much within the scope of music. The notion of varṇa, we have seen, could not be understood without relating it to the sung pada. Vidārī, too, was intimately connected with pada or groups of padas. In Datt. 156-159A, we see that the gītaka too, was classified in terms of the accompanying pada content.¹ Kulaka and chedyaka were, evidently, two different modes in which padas could be arranged within or woven into gītaka tāla-structures.

Dattila, as usual, is extremely brief in his exposition of the matter, Bharata, too, is not much more explicit (N.S. 31, 321-24).² Later theorists, however, offer details that can help us in understanding the ancient injunctions.

In kulaka (literally 'a complete whole') padas or words were so arranged within the gītaka frame that the meaning conveyed by a group of padas contained in an individual vastu or aṅga formed either a single unitary sentence (*i.e.*, they were ekārtha) or a co-ordinated meaning with different parts mutually related (parasparānvitārtha). In chedyaka (literally 'split' or 'divided') the text of the song contained within vastus or aṅgas did not form a unit nor did it form a mutually related whole. It was the contrary of kulaka.³

Sāringadeva defines kulaka in words echoing Dattila (vastūnām ekavākyatve kulakam, S.R. 5, 57). Kallinātha adds that the words forming a kulaka should be governed by a single verb (ekakriyānvaya; Kalā. on S.R. 5, 57). This interpretation, though narrow in comparison to that of Abhinava (who allows for any mutually related word-groups) does on the face of it, appear closer to Dattila; for Dattila, too, says : "kulaka consists of a single sentence."

Kulaka and chedyaka each had further three sub-classes : niryukta, aniryukta, and padaniryukta :

¹ Abhinava remarks that Bharata has dealt with pada in gāndharva in his chapter on tāla. This, he says, has been done in dealing with kulaka and chedyaka :

गान्धर्वेऽपि तथैव च स्वरविधिरध्यायेण दर्शितः । तालविधिरध्यायेन च । तत्र च पदविधिरपि दर्शितः । कुलकच्छे द्यादिना प्रमाणमपि किमपि कथितम् ।

— A.B. on N.S. 32, 27.

² एकार्थपरस्परान्वितार्थवस्त्वज्ज्ञयुक्तं कुलकम् विपरीतं भेद्यकम् ।

— A.B. on N.S. 31, 321.

³ He describes kulaka and bhedyaka (his name for chedyaka) after describing the gītakas and not before as does Dattila.

Niryukta

Dattila has defined a gitaka which complied with all rules as niryukta. Bharata's description is more specific : "bahirgītāṅgaśākhābhiryuktaṁ niryuktamisaye—niryukta ought to be formed with bahirgīta, āṅgas and śākhās" (N.S. 31, 323). Bahirgīta, we have seen, consisted of a song sung to meaningless words. Āṅga evidently refers to formations such as ekaka, vividha etc. Śākhā meant certain specific groups of vastus or other major tāla-components.

Abhinavā says that bahirgīta, in this context, referred to upohana and pratyupohana (bahirgītenopohānaprathyupohanātmānā..... A.B.on N.S. 31, 323). Upohana has been explained by Bharata as denoting a melodic prelude preceding a song: "upohyante svarā yena tena gītam pravartate" (N.S. 31, 138). Conventional sets of syllables without any meaning were employed in upohana (śuṣkākṣarasamanvitam, N.S. 31, 138; cf. Datt. 129).

Upohana, according to Abhinava, could be rendered either vocally or on the dāru vīṇā (gātradāruvīṇāgatam, A.B. on N.S. 31, 138). Giving further details he remarks that upohana did not consist of a meaningful pada like 'rudra' but of mere vocables (vākkaraṇamātram) and was rendered with syllables such as 'jhanṭum' etc. (jhanṭumādibhiryojyāte, A.B. *ibid.*).

Upohana had a complementary form called pratyupohana. Upohana occurred at the beginning of the first vastu. Pratyupohana was formed along with upohana in vastus other than the first.

Abhinava says that upohana was either sung or played on the vīṇā. It is likely that the two processes were sometimes simultaneous. The *Nātyāśāstra*, as well as later texts, give many set formulas consisting of meaningless syllables which formed bahirgītas with which upohana was rendered. These formulas were, evidently, both sung as well as played; when played, a syllabic formation constituting a vocable—a vākkaraṇa—such as 'jhanṭum' 'jagadiya' formed the basis of making strokes.¹ Different strokes on strings were indicated by the different syllables constituting vākkaraṇas.² The process reminds us of sitar playing where syllables like dā, rī, dā, rā, form the basis of different strokes.

Aniryukta

Of aniryukta, Bharata says: "it is devoid of bahirgīta and āṅgās" (bahirgītāṅgabhinām, N.S. 31, 323). Abhinava comments that when a gitaka consisted of vastus

¹ पूर्वं शरीरादुद्भूतास्तो गच्छन्ति दारकीम् । ततः पुष्करं चैव मनुयान्ति धनं (ध्वनिं) पुनः (युताः) ॥
तेषां वाक्करणेण्याः प्रहारा वचनाश्रयाः । शमया चेति (भण्टु ज्ञांज्ञेति) सयुक्ता वीणावादप्रयोगिनः ॥
शारीर्यमिथ वीणायां झण्टु जगदियादि च । भवेद् वाक्करणं तत्र नानाकरणसंयुतम् ॥

—N.S. 34, 31-33.

² नन् वीणायां वागभावादावदक्षरमिति का नामेत्याशङ्कव्याह । 'शारीर्यमिथ' । 'झण्ट' जगतियादि चेति' । 'आदिना' दिग्निगिज्जण्टप्रभूतीनि । नन् तु तुल्येज्जुलिप्रहारे कथमकारादिरतन्त्रयां विशेष इत्यतःँ इक्षां ददाति । 'भवेदावकरणं तत्र नानाकरणसंयुतम्' । इति । नखाज्जुल्यग्रसम्यादिनाऽतीव तीव्रस्पृशनं तत्र तरयां तन्त्र्यादिभावेत्विति । नानारूपक्रिया झण्टमादिवाक्करणेन कार्यभूतेन संयुज्यते श्रुत्या ।

—A.B. on N.S. 34, 33.

and śākhās and the entire structure ordained for it, but was devoid of upohanas and aṅgas, then it was aniryukta.¹

This implies that aniryukta was a gītaka which contained only the bare tāla-structure without the accompanying melody or pada. It is perhaps for this reason that Dattila calls aniryukta as consisting only of vastu, that is, tāla-components alone (vastumātramaniryuktam, Datt. 159).

Padaniryukta is described by Bharata negatively. He calls it “devoid of bahirgīta”. Dattila notes a positive characteristic: “chandaḥpadādiniryogāt padaniryukta saṃjñātām” (Datt. 158). Abhinava remarks that padaniryukta contained all components excepting the upohana (upohanaireva hīnam, A.B. on N.S. 31, 324). As upohana comprised of meaningless syllables, its absence left in the padaniryukta only such components as were set to meaningful words.² It is this fact to which Dattila evidently refers when he states that “padaniryukta complies with the rules of prosody metre, etc.”, for his words imply that padaniryukta gītakas contained a poetic text. The name padaniryukta (literally, ‘consisting of meaningful words’) itself suggests this.

Some general instructions regarding gītaka formations

159A. *idānīm vidhirucyate*

159B. *anādeśe tu sarvatrā kartavyaḥ sa catuṣkalaḥ³*

160A. *vastvante sannipātaśca saptaṛūpavidhau sadā*

The manner of rendering shall now be delineated. In the absence of an injunction [stating to the contrary] a gītaka (saḥ) should be formed as catuṣkala. In applying [pāṭas] in the seven gītakas (saptaṛūpa), a sannipāta is always [rendered] at the end of a vastu.

NOTE :

In delineating the complexities of gītakas, Dattila outlines only the essentials. In doing this, too, he compresses the details of tāla and beats into something like short formulas. The general rules of procedure (vidhi) enjoined here give an important clue for understanding these details.

A gītaka could be rendered in either the ekakala, dvikala or catuṣkala mode: this we can deduce from descriptions given by Bharata and by later authors who follow him.⁴ But Dattila here specifies that the details of beat-formation he des-

1 निःशेषस्वरूपयोगाद्वतुशाखामात्ररूपमुपोहनात्तेरञ्जन्त्वा हीनमनियुक्तम् ।

— A.B. on N.S. 31, 323.

2 उपोहनेरेव हीनं पदनियुक्तम्; अर्थप्रतीतिनिवधनपरिश्लेषतायोगात् ।

— A.B. on N.S. 31, 324.

3 Abhinava quotes line 159B in commenting on N.S. 31, 316. He does not ascribe it to Dattila but introduces it with “anye tvāhuḥ”.

4 N.S. 31, 229-36 describes ekakala and dvikala madīaka in detail; yathāksara apatāntaka is described in N.S. 31, 241-43. Similar details regarding other gītakas are also given. S.R. ch. 5 also describes ekakala, dvikala modes of gītakas; so do S. Raj and other works.

cribes should be taken as referring to the catuṣkala mode, unless otherwise stated. Perhaps he considered the catuṣkala as the chief mode. Dattila also enjoins that the final beat of every vastu (implying other major tāla-components also) should always be rendered as a sannipāta.

A brief reference to ekakala, dvikala gītaka structures

160B. *kecittu madrakādīni vidhiṣvekakalādiṣu*

161A. *āhustālākṣarāṇyeśāṁ kalpayantyaparāṇi tu*

Some, on the other hand, have described madraka and other [gītakas] in ekakala and other modes. But (tu) they construe the tāla letters differently.

NOTE :

Dattila primarily describes the catuṣkala mode of gītakas. But he was aware of ācāryas in whose works the ekakala and dvikala modes had been described in detail. In line 161A Dattila refers to ekakala and dvikala tāla-structures as construed by these ācāryas. The remark is, however, cryptic and Dattila does not elaborate his statement.

The gītaka madraka

161B. *trimātrāṁ vastu saṁsthāpya madrakasya prayogavit*

162A. *eteṣu pādabhāgeṣu pātānetān prakalpayet*

B. *caturthe cāṣṭame caiva pañcāme daśame tathā*

163A. *ekādaśe ca śamyāntyā dvitīyā navame smṛtā*

B. *ṣaṣṭhasaptamayo(rante tālo')tha¹ navamasya ca*

164A. *(ādyā)stu² dvādaśasya syād dvitīyāḥ pūrvayostataḥ*

B. *evam tricaturāni syurvastūnyante'tha śīrṣakam*

165A. *bhaved vastukalāsaṅkhyaṁ³ pañcapāṇisthameva vā*

B. *ādāvaṣṭakalam kāryam (ya)thāmārgamupo(hanam)*

166A. *trikalam tu prayuṣīta madrake dvikale sadā*

B. *pratyupohanampyeva dvyavaram ca catuṣparāṇ*

167A. *syād dvitīyādvastvādau madrake tu catuṣkale*

B. *atraivamśādiramśāntah sāmudgo vividho bhavet*

168A. *(vastuno')⁴nte tr̄tiye' tha sa dvaigeyakasmijitaḥ*

B. *mandrāṁśam prathamam vastu dvitīyam tu yathāgraham*

169A. *tr̄tiyamāhurācāryāḥ parivartasamāptikam*

B. *asyaivā (yāpavikṣepamantyaṁ)⁵ niṣkrāmameva ca*

¹ T. ed. reads: पच्छसप्तमयो+ + +लोऽथ. Our filling-in-the-blanks is based on the beat-structure as described in S.R. and subsequent texts.

² T. ed. reads: + + स्तु. Our suggested reconstruction is again based on S.R. and other texts

³ T. ed. reads: वस्तु कलासंघ्य

⁴ T. ed. reads: + + +न्ते. Our reconstruction is based on the views of Dattila as stated in S. Raj.

⁵ T.ed. reads: अस्येवा + + + + +. Our reconstruction is based on deductive considerations discussed in the note.

- 170A. *prativastu vihāya syācchesam dvikalāmadrake*
 B. *bhavedekakale tasya pañcapānau tu śīrṣakam*
 171A. *vividhaikakasamyuktamubhayātrāṅgakalpanam*
 || *iti mandrakam samāptam* ||¹

Having established the vastu of three mātrās, the following [sounded] beats (pātāḥ) should be rendered in its pādabhāgas by the expert (prayogavit). At the end of fourth, fifth, eighth, tenth and eleventh [pādabhāgas] is formed the śamyā; [it is also] second in the ninth [pādabhāga]. Tāla is at the end of the sixth, seventh and ninth [pādabhāgas]; also [it is] at the second position in the two [pādabhāgas] preceding it (*i.e.*, in the eleventh and tenth pādabhāgas). [Madraka contains] three or four such vastus. At the end comes śīrṣaka, having either as many kalās as in the vastu, or is formed with pañcapāṇi.

In the beginning [of a vastu] should be rendered upohana according to the mārga : it should be of eight kalās [in the catuṣkala] but in the dvikala madraka it should always be formed with three kalās. Partyupohanas are similarly [formed] in the beginning of the second and other following vastus. In the catuṣkala madraka they [contain] at least two and at most four [kalās].

It is here in madraka (atraiva) that at the end of the third [vastu], the vividha sāmudga, which is known as dvaigeyaka, beginning and ending with amśa, is formed. The first vastu has its amśa in the lower octave; in the second [vastu], however, [the formation is] according to graha. Teachers have proclaimed that the third [vastu] should end with a parivarta.

From this [catuṣkala madraka] by dropping āvāpa and vikṣepa and also by dropping niṣkrāma from the last [pādabhāga] of every vastu, the remaining constitutes dvikala madraka. In it [*i.e.*, in dvikala madraka] the śīrṣaka, however, is formed with ekakala pañcapāṇi.

Vividha and ekaka are employed in the formation of aṅga in both [the dvikala and catuṣkala madrakas]. Thus ends the madraka.

NOTE :

Let us try to reconstruct the madraka-structure as Dattila describes it. The basic tāla-unit for the formation of vastu and similar components was, as we have seen, the pāribhāṣic mātrā, consisting of four pādabhāgas. In madraka the chief tāla-component was vastu which was formed with three such pāribhāṣic mātrās : thus there were, in one vastu, twelve pādabhāgas in all. In verse 159, Dattila had clearly stated that, unless otherwise mentioned, a gītaka should be rendered in its catuṣkala mode. Thus, evidently, the mode of tāla here described is the catuṣkala.

The formation of beats, however, is not described in detail. Dattila, evidently, had in mind a general pattern of fixed beats for every pādabhāga, (for the text merely

¹ Abhinava quotes part of Datt. 165A with the words; तथा च दत्तिलाचार्य;

mentions specific beats and their positions in different pādabhāgas) and the beats he describes were meant to replace the given beats at the positions specifically mentioned. Thus by replacing the beats, as he enjoins, we should, apparently, arrive at the final form of the beat-structure of pādabhāgas in the madraka vastu. Dattila is not explicit about the assumed general pattern here. But he had clearly implied a pattern earlier. The assumed general beat-pattern for every catuṣkala pādabhāga was : āvāpa + niṣkrāma + vikṣepa + praveṣa. With this beat-structure as given for every pādabhāga, let us follow Dattila in forming a vastu of three mātrās or twelve pādabhāgas. Let us, firstly, place the sannipāta as the last beat of the vastu (*i.e.*, the last beat of the 12th pādabhāga) as this was a general maxim (Datt. 160A). Now, replacing the beats in the given structure with those specified by Dattila, the resulting vastu emerges as :

The madraka vastu

S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	first
ā ni vi pra	ā ni vi pra	ā ni vi pra	ā ni vi śa	mātrā
S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	second
ā ni vi śa	ā ni vi tā	ā ni vi tā	ā ni vi śa	mātrā
S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	third
ā śa vi tā	ā tā vi śa	ā tā vi śa	tā ni vi sam ¹	mātrā

This structure corresponds with the one given in *Saṅgitaratnākara*² (S.R. 5-87), *Saṅgitarāja* (S. Raj, 2, 4, 1, 98-100) and *Saṅgitacintāmaṇi* (chapter I in the section on vāyāya).

Bharata has not given details of the catuṣkala madraka. After describing ekakala and dvikala (N.S. 31, 229-36) he simply says that catuṣkala is twice dvikala.³

A component called śīrṣaka was formed after the vastus. According to Dattila, śīrṣaka came after three or, alternatively, four vastus. Śīrṣaka contained either the same number of kalās as a vastu, or it was formed with a pañcapāṇi (*i.e.*

¹ Names of a few beats in this structure are missing from the T. ed. of Datt. due to distortions in the manuscript. We have filled in the blank on the basis of the structures found in later texts. As the other beats in Datt. correspond with these later descriptions it is quite reasonable to suppose that those missing are also the same.

² S.R. 5, 59-87 describes madraka in detail. The beat-structure for catuṣkala vastu is given in the form of the following chart :

S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	
आनिव्रि	आनिव्रि	आनिव्रि	आनिव्रि	मात्रा १
S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	
आनिविश	आनिविश	आनिविश	आनिविश	मात्रा २
S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	
आशविता	आसा(ता)विश	आताविश	तानिविस	मात्रा ३

³ द्विभावाद् द्विकलस्यैव विज्ञेयं तु चतुर्षकलम्।

—N.S. 31, 236B.

śaṭpitāputrakah). Elucidating śīrṣakā, Abhinava quotes Dattila and remarks : “(in case four vastus are formed) the fourth one should be incorporated into the śīrṣaka; this is why Dattila states that (the śīrṣaka) is formed with the same number of kalās as the vastu.”¹

Regarding the śīrṣaka when formed with pañcapāṇi, the description found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is quite detailed.² Abhinava remarks that Bharata’s instructions were interpreted in two ways : some said (an opinion shared by Abhinava) that in the ekakala madraka pañcapāṇi was formed with a catuṣkala pañcapāṇi while in dvikala madraka, śīrṣaka too had a dvikala mode. In catuṣkala it was formed with catuṣkala pañcapāṇi. Others, however, interpreted Bharata to mean that in the ekakala, śīrṣaka was formed with ekakala pañcapāṇi, in dvikala with the dvikala pañcapāṇi, and in the catuṣkala with catuṣkala pañcapāṇi.³

Dattila lays down a specific instruction regarding the śīrṣaka in the dvikala madraka. He says that the śīrṣaka here was formed with the pañcapāṇi in the ekakala (Datt. 170B).

The vastu in madraka was preceded by an upohana (Datt. 165B). We have already spoken of upohana. Pratyupohana was formed at the beginning of vastus other than the first (Datt. 166B-167A). Dattila’s injunction regarding pratyupohana reads as though it applied to madraka alone, but in the light of other texts it should be understood as a general rule. Pratyupohana, like the upohana, was formed with meaningless syllables. The distinction between it and the upohana is not clear except that it was never formed in the initial vastu. Abhinava (somewhat echoing Datt. 167A) records this as a general maxim : “pratyupohanam nāma prathamavastuvyatirikte vastvantare prasiddham” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 234). Pratyupohana was perhaps a portion of the upohana itself and was rendered with the latter kalās of the upohana.⁴ Though Dattila is ambiguous as to whether upohana had eight kalās in the dvikala or the catuṣkala madraka, Bharata clearly states that “in the catuṣkala (madraka) upohana is enjoined to be of eight kalās” (catuṣkale’tra vihitāḥ kalāṣṭakamupohanam; N.S. 31, 237). Dattila has enjoined a three-kalā upohana in the dvikala madraka. Bharata also states : “dvikale madrake caiva trikalām syādupahanam” (N.S. 31, 235).

Dattila says that in the catuṣkala madraka pratyupohana should have at least two and at the most four kalās. Bharata agrees as to the maximum number of permissible kalās, but according to him a single kalā pratyupohana could also be

1 चतुर्थमपि हि वस्तु तच्छीर्षकांगसनिन्विष्टम् । तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः । ‘भवेद्वस्तु कलासंबद्धेत्याहुः’ ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 240.

2 यथाक्षरस्य कर्तव्यं मद्रकस्य तु शीर्षकम् । चतुष्कलः पञ्चपाणिद्विकले द्विकलः स्मृतः ॥

चतुष्कलस्तु कर्तव्यो मद्रके तु चतुष्कले ।

—N.S. 31, 238-39.

3 एककले मद्रके चतुष्कलेन पञ्चपाणिना द्विकलमिति विश्लेषणमिति । चकाराच्चतुष्कलेन मिश्रेण वा । अन्ये त्वेककले एककलेन द्विकले द्विकलेन चतुष्कले चतुष्कलेन । एवं संकुलवद् रूपस्फुटीकरणात् सुष्ठुतः शीर्षरूपतां निर्वहतीत्याहुः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 239.

4 Bharata, giving the general rule regarding upohana in the dvikala madraka, says ; द्विकले मद्रके चैव त्रिकलं स्यापोहनम् (N.S. 31, 235). But, when in association with pratyupohana, the upohana is said to be of two kalās only while the third is allotted to the pratyupohana ; तत्रोपोहनं कार्यं प्रथमे तु गुणद्वये । गुणद्वये तृतीये तु तत्रस्यात् प्रथ्यपोहनम् ॥

—N.S. 31, 230.

formed.¹ His words also seem to imply that he did not consider a three-kalā pratyupohana as valid.²

In Datt. 167B-169 Dattila speaks of the aṅgas and their arrangement in madraka. Three letters in the beginning of line 168A are missing. There is clue to the missing word in the *Sangītarāja*, where Kumbha informs us that "in the opinion of Dattila and others, dvaigeyaka should, by an expert, be formed at the end of the third vastu".³ Our suggested reconstruction is based upon Kumbha's testimony. The aṅga named dvaigeyaka was a kind of vividha. Dattila had earlier said that all vividhas end in nyāsa, except the dvaigeyaka. Now in ordaining the use of dvaigeyaka he also defines it. Its use was, apparently, limited to one single place : the end of the third vastu in the madraka. This is, perhaps, why Dattila describes it as occurring 'atraiva' (here alone). Dattila describes dvaigeyaka as a sub-class of sāmudga vividha. Unlike other vividbas, the melodic formation in dvaigeyaka began and ended with the aṁśa (and not the nyāsa).

In the first and the second vastu (also in the fourth when formed) Dattila ordains no specific aṅga. He has, however, a general instruction that vividha and ekaka are to be employed in the madraka (Datt. 171A).

Dattila notes some peculiarities of the melodic formation that obtained in the vastus of madraka. In the first vastu the svara-structure to which the tāla was set was to be so composed that the aṁśa-svara occurred in the lower octave. In the second vastu the melodic arrangement was to be 'yathā-graha'—perhaps meaning that here graha was ordained to occur in the lower octave.

Bharata observes that aṅgas in madraka are vividha and ekaka⁴ but he, too, gives no further details. There is a cryptic line in Abhinava which suggests that vastus in madraka were to be associated with aṁśa and graha: "dvividham madrakamiti" samjñayaiva madrakāṁśagrahavastunā labhyate gitakamiti" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 201). Śāringadeva, Kumbha and Vemabhūpāla have described the aṅga-formation in madraka on Dattila's lines. Dattila was, evidently, used as a major source of information on this point as Bharata gives fewer details. Śāringadeva gives some account of how the vividha and ekaka were to be placed and arranged in the dvikala madraka. He says: "in each of its vastus the first two mātrās (pāribhāṣic) are formed with the vividha and the third with the ekaka."⁵

¹ चतुर्ष्कलेऽत्र विहितः कलाष्टकमुपोहनम् ॥ एका द्वे वा (च) चतस्रो वा (सप्त) तथा स्यात् प्रत्युपोहनम् ।
—N.S. 31, 237-38.

² Bharata does include the number 3 in speaking of the permissible number of kalās in pratyupohana. Neither does Abhinava. He says: प्रत्युपोहने सर्वे पु वस्तुव्येकद्विचतुःसद्यां विकल्पितामातुः (A.B. on N.S. 31, 238). The exclusion of the number 3 seems to imply that the three-kalā pratyupohana was not considered a valid alternative by Bharata.

³ गीते पदावृत्तियतोऽशादिरंशान्त एव च । द्वैगेयकाङ्क्षो विविधस्तार्तीर्यिकस्य वस्तुनः ।
प्रान्ते गीतविदा कार्ये दं(द, तिलादिमतादिह ।

—S.Raj 2,4,1, 96-97,

⁴ विविधैककयोः प्रायोमंद्रके तु प्रयोजनम् ।
—N.S. 31, 193.

⁵ विविधः प्रतिवस्तु स्यान्मात्रयोरेककं पुनः ॥ भवेत्तृतीयमात्रायाम्...
—S.R. 5, 80-81.

Dattila enjoins that the third vastu should end in a parivarta. This perhaps implies that the latter part of the third vastu, in which the dvaigeyaka was formed, was to be repeated. This is also suggested by the very name dvaigeyaka (sung twice). Śāṅgadeva says that this parivarta constituted of a repetition of padas (padāvṛttiyutah, S.R. 5-85).

In lines 169B-170B, Dattila describes the formation of the dvikala madraka, deducing it from the catuṣkala structure. Bharata on the contrary gives details of the ekakala and deduces the catuṣkala and dvikala from it.

In the Trivandrum edition, lines 169B-170A read: "asyaiva++++++ niṣkrāmameva ca prativastu vihāya syāccheṣam dvikalāmadrake." From the text, as it stands, all that can be deduced is that certain elements—of which only niṣkrāma is actually clear—were to be dropped from every vastu (prativastu) of the catuṣkala madraka in order to obtain the dvikala structure. No other text gives clues that can help us in arriving at the missing letters. However, certain simple deductions can, we think, give us the intended text. The catuṣkala has been described. The structure of dvikala is noted in texts like the *Saṅgitaratnākara* (see S.R. 5, 82) where the description is based upon ancient material. The beat-structure of the dvikala vastu was as follows:

S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	first
ni	pra	ni	pra	ni	pra	ni	śa	mātrā
S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	second
ni	śa	ni	tā	ni	tā	ni	śa	mātrā
S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	third
śa	tā	tā	śa	tā	śa	tā	sam	mātrā

We have seen that catuṣkala in general was obtained by addition of āvāpa and vikṣepa to the dvikala structure. Reversing the process and dropping āvāpa and vikṣepa from the catuṣkala should then give us the dvikala form. One can, therefore, deduce that Dattila in lines 169B-170A must have given instructions to the effect that āvāpa and vikṣepa should be dropped.

Yet a puzzle remains. What did Dattila mean here by naming niṣkrāma also? Niṣkrāma was one of the chief beats of dvikala structure and it occurred in catuṣkala, too. From where did Dattila intend niṣkrāma to be dropped so that the vastu in a dvikala madraka could be obtained from the catuṣkala? We notice that by dropping āvāpa and vikṣepa from the catuṣkala, all pādabhāgas of the dvikala vastu (given by Śāṅgadeva) can be obtained except the last pādabhāga; this in the catuṣkala is: tā, ni, vi, sam. Here alone, niṣkrāma should be dropped (along with vikṣepa) in order to obtain the dvikala (which is: tā sam). Thus Dattila's intended maxim in all probability read that, in order to obtain the dvikala madraka, āvāpa and vikṣepa had, as a rule, to be dropped from every pādabhāga of a vastu in the catuṣkala; in addition, the final (antyam) niṣkrāma was also to be omitted from the last pādabhāga. Our conjectural reconstruction is based on the above reasoning.

The gītaka aparāntaka

- 171B *atha vastūni ṣaṭ sapta pañca vāpyaparāntake*
 172A. *syācchākhādyardhamātrāṇi teṣevam pātakalpanā*
 B. *asṭamī vimśikā caiva dve śamyē parikīrtite*
 173A. *dvādaśaṣṭādaśau tālāvekavimśatimastathā*
 B. *upohanāṇi yathāmārgamādāvādyasya vastunāḥ*
 174A *kalā dvādaśa kartavyāscatasra itarādiṣu*
 B. *vṛttimārge prayuñjita dve vā dakṣināmārgake*
 175A. *na vāpyupohanāṇi syurmadhye srotogatā yātiḥ*
 B. *tatropavartanam kāryam gate vas'ucatuṣṭaye*
 176A. *pūrvāñitānivṛttaitstu padaistadupapādayet*
 B. *pūrvatulyam tu gītyā syādutture tad yathāsthite*
 177A. *tasyānte'rthasamāptim ca nyāsam cāha viśākhilah*
 B. *evameva śiro'nte syāt pratiśākhā tataḥ param*
 178A. *śākhāyāt pratiśākhā ca bhavedanyapadā tu sā*
 B. *tālikākhyastayorantyaḥ kalāṣṭko nivṛttimān*
 179A. *asyāṅgesu yathāyogaṁ yoktavye vividhaikake¹*
 || *iti aparāntakam samāptam ||*

Now in aparāntaka [either] five, six or seven vastus, [each] of one-and-a-half [pāribhāsic] mātrās, form the sākhā. In these [vastus] the following is the composition of beats (pātakalpanā): The eighth and the twentieth are acclaimed to be the two śamyās. Twelfth, eighteenth and also twenty-first are tālas.

An upohana of twelve kalās should be formed at the beginning of the first vastu. In other [vastus], depending upon the mārga, [it] should have four [kalās] in vṛtti mārga, and two in dakṣinā mārga. The formation of upohanas is not compulsory (na vā syuḥ); in the middle [of aparāntaka] is the yati srotogatā. After rendering four vastus, upavartana should be formed. Its formation should be with words (padaiḥ) that had preceded and had already been sung (pūrvāñitānivṛttaiḥ). As to the gīti, it should conform to the one in the preceding [vastu]. It is rendered with the yathākṣara form of uttara [tāla]. According to Viśākhila, at its completion comes nyāsa, and the artha is consummated. The sīra is similarly formed [and is rendered] at the end of the sākhā. After that follows pratiśākhā. Pratiśākhā is akin to sākhā

¹ Abhinava quotes Datt. 172B-173A with the words : 'दत्तिलादयस्तु द्वितीयं पादविभागं आनिविशरूपं चतुर्थं आनिविप्ररूपमातृः'. He reads Datt. 173A as : 'तालावेकविशस्तथैव च' Nānyadeva also quotes Datt. 172B-173A in B.B.I. ch. VIII (section on aparāntaka) with the words : तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः. His reading is the same as that given by Abhinava. Nānyadeva also quotes parts of Datt. 174A and Datt. 175A. His remarks in the context are : ततः शाखादो द्विकलम् शूष्काक्षरं प्रत्युपोहनमिति । इतरेषु च वस्तुपु चतुर्ष्कलम् शूष्काक्षरमुपोहनम् । तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः—चतुर्थ इतरादिविति । ऐतेन यदपि दत्तिलाचार्योक्तम्—नवाप्युपोहनं (नो नि) स्युरितं तदप्युपपन्नम् । —B.B. (I) ch. VIII, *ibid.*

except that it is rendered with different words. At the end of both [śākhā and pratiśākhā] is the [aṅga] called tālikā which is repeated (nivṛttimān) and is formed with six kalās. Among aṅgas, vividha and ekaka should be suitably applied.

Thus ends the aparāntaka.

NOTE :

Dattila had (in Datt. 139) described vastus of three different measures. We have come across the vastu formed with three mātrās (pāribhāṣic) in the madraka ; the vastu of six mātrās (pāribhāṣic) was formed in prakārī. In aparāntaka the vastu consisted of one-and-a-half mātrās (pāribhāṣic) and comprised six pādabhāgas. Dattila says that an aparāntaka could have either 5, 6 or 7 vastus. So does Bharata : "pañca ṣaṭ sapta tāni syuḥ śīrṣakam cāparāntake" (N.S. 31, 202). Abhinava repeats : "aparāntake pañcavastūni ṣat sapta vā" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 202). Later authors give the same number.

The term śākhā raises some problems. It would appear from the *Dattilam* that śākhā was a term for a group of vastus containing (in aparāntaka) either five, six or seven vastus. Bharata, it seems, held a different view. According to Abhinava's interpretation the vastu itself was termed śākhā in aparāntaka. Abhinava explains this as a new name given to vastu in anticipation of a counter-component, called pratiśākhā, that followed the vastu (vastuna eva ca bhāvipratiśākhāpekṣayā śākheti vyapadeśah; A.B. on N.S. 31, 252). Śāringadeva states that five, six or seven vastus made a śākhā and that pratiśākhā had the same tāla-structure as śākhā but was sung to different words ; he then gives two further views regarding śākhā and pratiśākhā. One view he ascribes to Viśākhila. who, believed (as further explained by Kallinātha) that in a single group of vastus, the first half constituted śākhā, and the latter half the pratiśākhā. Thus in a group of five vastus, the first two-and-a-half vastus were the śākhā and the latter two-and-a-half the pratiśākhā. The other view was ascribed to Bharata who, according to Śāringadeva, held that each vastu itself was called śākhā and its latter half pratiśākhā.¹ Abhinava has also mentioned Viśākhila's views and he quotes part of a line from Viśākhila. According to Abhinava, it was Viśākhila who held that half of each vastu was śākhā and the other half pratiśākhā. Thus in a vastu of 24 kalās, the first 12 kalās formed śākhā and the later 12 pratiśākhā.²

Śāringadeva has given charts to show the three alternate structures of śākhā. His own view appears to favour the one upheld by Dattila (S.R. 89-90 and the detailed charts).

The beats ordained in aparāntaka by Dattila refer to the catuṣkala structure. The one-and-a-half mātrā (pāribhāṣic) vastu contained six pādabhāgas and thus in the catuṣkala mode it had twenty-four kalās and the same number of beats.

¹ पञ्च षट् सप्त वा वस्तुन्यस्य शाखा निर्गच्छते । शाखेव प्रतिशाखा स्थालिकंत्वन्यपदनिर्मिता ॥
शाखाद्यं पश्चिमं त्वाहूः प्रतिशाखां विशाखिलः ॥ शाखा वस्तुच्यते तस्याः पराद्यं प्रतिशाखिका ॥ इत्याह भरतः ।
—S.R. 5, 89-91.

² विशाखिलाचार्याः प्राहुः । 'पश्चिमं वस्तु सप्तकादिरूपत्वमिति' तस्मैव यत् पश्चिमाद्यं तत् पृथक् प्रतिशाखात्वेन
चतुर्विंशतिकलं वस्तुगत्या तदगतान्त्यद्वादशकलात्मा प्रतिशाखेति वस्तुनि मन्तव्यम् ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 252.

Let us now try to construct the beat-structure of the aparāntaka vastu as given by Dattila. Having formed six pādabhāgas, each with prototype beat-structure: ā ni vi pra and then having rendered the last beat of every vastu as a sannipāta (see verse 160A), we replace single individual beats in this structure, by those ordained in Dattila's verses. Dattila has given the numerical position of kalās where specific beats should occur: 8th and 20th are śamyās; 12th, 18th and 21st are tālas. The beat-structure thus emerges as :

S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S
ā ni vi pra	ā ni vi śā	ā ni vi tā	ā ni vi pra	
S S S S	S S S S			
ā tā vi śā	tā ni vi sam			

The beat-arrangement accepted by Śāṅgadeva seems to be based upon Bharata who, as in the case of madraka, does not describe the catuṣkala in detail but says that catuṣkala should be formed as twice the dvikala (N.S. 31, 245).

Śāṅgadeva has :

S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S
ā ni vi pra	ā ni vi pra	ā ni vi śā	ā ni vi tā	
S S S S	S S S S			
ā tā vi śā	tā ni vi sam			

The two beat-arrangements are markedly different. Abhinava has noted the fact. Quoting relevant lines from the *Dattilam* (172B-173A), he points out that there is a disagreement with Bharata : the second pādabhāga is formed with ā ni vi śā and the fourth with ā ni vi pra (dattilādayastu dvitīyam pādavibhāgam ā ni vi śā rūpam caturtham ā ni vi pra rūpamāhuh ; A.B. on N.S. 31, 251).

Abhinava's words lend support to our reconstruction of Dallila's beat-structure. Śāṅgadeva, too, has noted the beat-structure ordained by Dattila, though without attributing it to Dattila. He states that according to some authorities the eighth beat was a śamyā, the twelfth a tāla and the sixteenth a praveśa.¹ This agrees with Dattila.

In aparāntaka, too, the upohana formed a prelude to the vastu as in madraka. It formed part of the vastu itself. Bharata says : "upohanam ca vastvardham" (N.S. 31, 251). This Abhinava explains as "ādye ca vastuni dvādaśasu kalāsu..." (A.B. on N.S. 31, 251). The meaning is that in the initial 24-kalā vastu the first 12 kalās formed the upohana. Dattila also ordains an upohana of 12 kalās in the beginning of the first vastu, but he does not say that it formed part of the vastu itself. Bharata

¹ आनिविप्रा आनिविप्रा आवापनिविशास्ततः । आवापनिविता आताविशास्तानिविसं कला: ॥
शतालप्रान्प्राहुरन्येऽष्टमद्वादशोदशान्

—S.R. 5, 103-104,

has mentioned pratyupohana of two kalās but Dattila has not. Bharata says : “dvikalām pratyupohanam” (N.S. 31, 251). Yet, although Dattila has not explicitly spoken of pratyupohana, he does ordain upohanas in vastus other than the first (itarādiṣu). These upohanas were nothing but pratyupohanas, for a pratyupohana was by definition an upohana formed in vastus other than the first.

As to the ‘upohana’ in the 2nd and other vastus, Dattila says that it was formed with two kalās in dakṣiṇā mārga and with four in the vṛtti mārga. Nānyadeva has quoted and discussed parts of lines 174B and 175A from *Dattilam*. His observations are, however, not very clear.

Dattila has connected the number of kalās in ‘upohanas’ (formed in vastus other than the initial one) with mārgas; Bharata, too, connects pratyupohana with the mārgas. He says : “in the dakṣiṇā mārga pratyupohana should have two kalās and in vṛtti (or vāritika mārga), it should have four kalās.”¹ This in effect is the same injunction as that of Dattila.

Dattila further says that upohana is optional. No other authority makes this allowance.

In the middle (of aparāntaka), says Dattila, was formed the srotogatā yati (the yati in which the tempo gradually accelerated). Bharata does not speak of it. It is not clear which component was to be rendered with the srotogatā. On the face of it, Dattila’s meaning seems to be that srotogatā was rendered when half of aparāntaka was over, for Dattila says ‘madhya’. In aparāntaka, groups of vastus forming śākhā were the main tāla-components. Bharata says that aparāntaka had four śākhās (catuhśākhmyetad gaditam cāparāntike, N.S. 31, 252).² Dattila does not give the total number of śākhās; but taking Bharata’s view as acceptable to Dattila we can reasonably conclude that srotogatā was rendered after the completion of two śākhās. But it is more likely, as we shall see, that this yati was formed in the upavartana.

Abhinava has characterised sudden changes of yati as a unique aspect of gāndharva. In giving an example to illustrate his observation, he twice quotes the phrase “madhye srotogatā yati”. Abhinava does not name his source but evidently it was the *Dattilam*. He quotes the phrase in his lengthy analysis of the difference between gāna and gāndharva (A.B. on N.S. 33, 1), where he says that injunctions such as ‘srotogatā yati in the middle’ were obligatory in gāndharva and their observance resulted in adṛṣṭa.³ Earlier, he quotes the phrase in commenting on N.S. 4, 248-259 where he reads the word ‘yati’ as ‘laya’ and says that in a gitaka having such an injunction, it was obligatory.⁴

¹द्विकलं प्रत्युपोहनम् । दक्षिणे तु तथा वृत्ती चतुर्बज्जलमपीष्यते ॥
—N.S. 31, 251.

² This occurs within a passage not accepted by Abhinava and is given within brackets in the G.O.S. edition. This line indeed involves a contradiction with another part of the text where vastu itself is termed śākhā and 5, 6 or 7 vastus are ordained. Abhinava is right in not accepting it. But the line is certainly not contradictory to Dattila’s definition of śākhā.

³मध्ये स्तोतोगता यतिरित्यादावदृष्टोपयोगप्रधानत्वे
—A.B. on N.S. 33, 1.

⁴ गीतकादावपि मध्ये स्तोतोगतालयादिरित्यादिकं नान्यथा क्रियते ।
—ibid., 4, 248-49.

Dattila decrees an upavartana in aparāntaka after four vastus. Bharata does not speak of upavartana but he enjoins 'nivṛttayoga' after the completion of four vastus : "nivṛttayogaśca gate vastu catuṣṭaye" (N.S. 31, 248). Abhinava explains this as an āvartana : "nivṛttirāvartanam kāryam". He describes it thus : "teachers proclaim that the words at the end of the fourth vastu, sung to twelve kalās, should be repeated in a fast tempo and they should be sung to six kalās at the beginning of the fifth vastu. This ends on the nyāsa, and also marks the completion of the half (ardhasamāpti)."¹ (A.B. on N.S. 31, 248). The phrase "completion of the half" seems to have referred to the completion of the phrase of doubled tempo, which was effected by singing in six kalās the words previously stretched over twelve kalās. But why refer to this doubled tempo as 'half'? This is puzzling, for the tempo in such a case would become doubled and not halved. A simple explanation, however, may be offered. The ancients, as testified by Śāringadeva, had defined laya (tempo) as pauses between beats (kriyānantaravīśrāntirlayah, S.R. 5, 44). Thus, according to this notion, when laya was doubled, i.e., when pauses between beats were doubled, tempo (or speed) was reduced by half. (S.R. 5, 45). Conversely, when laya was reduced by half, the tempo was doubled. Hence, when Abhinava says "the completion of the half", he perhaps means the completion of the halved or the speeded laya.

Śāringadeva and Kumbha like Dattila speak of an upavartana in the aparāntaka. Their description of this component resembles that of Dattila in all essentials. It is likely that Dattila was their source on this point. Like Dattila, Śāringadeva says that in upavartana the pada-formation obtaining at the end of the fourth vastu is repeated at the beginning of the fifth. This repetition, he adds, was to be made in 'half' the original laya and rendered in six kalās. It contained the same gīti as the initial formation. It was to be rendered in yathākṣara ṣaṭpitāputrakah.²

Kumbha has given a similar description of upavartana (S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 122). He adds an explanation of the term upavartana : the formation is called upavartana because the padas occurring immediately before (upāntike) are repeated (āvartante).³

¹ एतदुक्तं भवति । चतुर्थवस्त्वन्ते यान्येव हृदशकलासु गीयन्ते पा(प)दानि तान्येव शीघ्रोच्चारणेन पञ्चमवस्त्वादिभूत-कलाषट्के गेयानीतिं तत्र च न्यासोऽर्धवस्त्वाप्तिरचेत्याचार्यः ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 248.

Abhinava evidently believed that upavartana was not rendered as a separate component, but was included within the fifth vastu and was formed with its first six kalās. This view was also known to Kumbha:

कैश्चित् पञ्चमवस्त्वादिकलाषट्के तदिष्यते ।

—S.Raj 2, 4, 1, 122. Also S.R. 5, 98-99.

² अत्रोपवर्तनं तुर्यवस्तुनि गीते तत्पदगीतिभ्यां तल्लयाधींलयं भवेत् । यथाक्षरणोत्तरेण वृत्तिदक्षिणमार्गयोः । समाप्तार्थ-न्यासयुक्तः कैचित्पञ्चमवस्तुनः । एतदाद्ये कलाषट्के गात्रव्यमिति मन्वते ।
—S.R. 5, 97-99.

also न वा तत्सर्वभागेषु विशेषस्तूपवर्तनम् ॥ तुर्यवस्तुत राधीस्थैः पदैनिर्माणमिष्यते ।
—S.R. 5, 102-103.

³ उपानिके प्रयुक्ततानि पदान्यत्र पुनर्यतः । आवर्त्यन्ते ततः प्रोक्तमुपवर्तनकं वृधैः ।
—S.Raj 2, 4, 1, 122-23.

Dattila has quoted (apparently with approval) a certain point from Viśākhila's description of upavartana. Viśākhila held that upavartana ended on a nyāsa and with it came the 'arthasamāpti'. Śāringadeva mentions this view but does not ascribe it to any particular authority (kecit...manvate", S.R. 5, 99). Completion of artha is in this context explained by Kallinātha as the completion of the sentence being sung.¹

Dattila states that upavartana was rendered in yathākṣara uttara tāla (which contained twelve mātrās or six kalās). He does not specify the number of kalās to which the repeated padas were initially sung. From Abhinava and others, we know that twelve kalās were repeated. These twelve kalās were, in repetition, rendered into six kalās. Obviously the tempo had to be increased. Perhaps this was what Dattila refers to in stating that "in the middle is the yati srotogatā". For in this yati the tempo increased from slow to fast.

Upavartana was formed at the end of the fourth vastu. Another tāla component called śira was formed at the end of the complete sākhā. Dattila says that śira was like the preceding upavartana. He does not make the nature of this likeness clear, but we can gather this from Bharata. Śira, says Bharata, is formed with ekakala uttara tāla (N.S. 31, 248); so was upavartana.

According to Dattila, after śira followed the pratiśākhā. The pratiśākhā, he says, is identical with the sākhā, except that the words employed are different.

Then is described the tālikā. It is not clear from Dattila's description whether tālikā was formed after pratiśākhā or separately at the end of both sākhā and pratiśākhā. Śāringadeva mentions two views: (1) according to some, tālikā was formed at the end of sākhā alone, (2) others held that it was also formed at the end of pratiśākhā. (S.R. 5, 92-93). Dattila seems to have held the latter view, for he says 'taylorantyāḥ' (Datt. 178). Bharata is unambiguous. He clearly says that there were two tālikās, one at the end of sākhā and another at the end of pratiśākhā.² Tālikā was, apparently, not a separate component; it was, as Abhinava says, rendered with the last six kalās of the final vastu of both the sākhā and pratiśākhā. Regarding its beat-structure, Abhinava notes two views: some (including Abhinava) held that it was to be formed with the beats of the pañcapāṇi; others held that it was rendered with the usual beat-structure of the last six kalās of the vastu itself, but the metric formation imitated pañcapāṇi.³

Śāringadeva says that the words in tālikā were of the nature of a repetition (padāvṛttiyuktah). This might have been what Dattila too intended in qualifying

¹ 'समाप्तार्थन्यासायुक्तमिति'। समाप्तश्चासावर्थश्च। तत्र न्यासेन युक्तमिति तथोक्तम्। अस्मिन्नुपवर्त्तने वाक्यार्थं समाप्ती गीतिसमाप्तिं च कुर्यादित्यर्थः।

—Kalā on S.R. 5, 98-99.

² शाखायां प्रतिशाखायां विशेषः पश्चिमे त्वयम्। षट्कलापातसंयुक्ते तालिके तु ततः स्मृते ॥
—N.S. 31, 249.

³ शाखायां यत् पश्चिममन्त्यं वस्तु प्रतिशाखायां च द्वयोर्वर्तुनोर्या अन्त्या; षट्कला विशतानिविसमितये वस्त्रस्पास्तासु संताशताशता इति पंचपाणिपाताः। अन्ये तु पाणिपातारत एव पंचपाणिगतरतु लुतलघुगुह्यद्वयलघुप्लुतरूपतात्र केवलपरिवर्त पंचपाणिगतः पातविधिरिति मन्यन्ते।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 249.

tālikā with the epithet 'nivṛttimān'. Bharata, also, prescribes a repetition in the tālikā. Curiously, he uses the term upavartana to describe this phenomenon.¹

As to aṅga, Dattila enjoins vividhas and ekakas. Bharata is silent on this point. Śārṅgadeva notes that in aparāntaka the application of vivīdha or ekaka was enjoined by Dattila though Bharata had formulated no rules.² Kumbha also notes Dattila's injunction and Bharata's silence. He interprets this silence as signifying that according to Bharata any aṅga whatever could be formed (aṅgakalpanamicchayā).³

The gitaka ullopyaka

- 179B. ādāvullopyakasyātha mātraibhirpātairyutā⁴
- 180A. caturthadaśame śamye tālau tu dvādaśāśtamau
 - B. sannipāto'vasāne ca prastāro yaścatuṣkale
- 181A. mātreyāñ dvikale'pi syād yuktā pātairyathāsthitaiḥ
 - B. kalādvādaśakam cātra vaihāyasikasmjñitam
- 182A. dvikalaikakalonmīśro yutāḥ pātaistu⁵ saptabhiḥ
 - B. kṛtvā praveśaniṣkramau śamyātālastriṇīyakam
- 183A. kuryāduttamaniṣkrāmaḥ sannipātaśca⁶ pūrvavat
 - B. śamyādiḥ sannipātāntaḥ prāguktaikakalodbhave
- 184A. śakheyāñ pratiśākhā ca bhavedanyapadā tu sā⁷
 - B. asya samharaṇam ca syāduttare tadyathāsthite
- 185A. antāharāṇasamjñastu tryaṅgo'ntastrividhaḥ smṛtaḥ
 - B. trividho yugayuṇmīśrastryamśo'ṅgairebhiriṣyate
- 186A. sthitamaṅgam pravṛttam ca mahājanikameva ca
 - B. tatra syād dvikale cāṅge sthitam tryasrasya saṅkalam
- 187A. nihśabdā tu kalā tatra caturthyanyadyathocitam
 - B. yuktamekakalenātra pravṛttam pañcapāṇinā
- 188A. sthitavattu nivṛttyantam mahājanikamiṣyate
 - B. tatra syād dvikale yoge sthitam caccatpuṭāśrayam
- 189A. nihśabdā pañcamī tatra kalā śeṣam yathoditam
 - B. niṣkrāma ekaḥ śamye dve tālādiryugma eva ca

¹ तर्यककलयुक्तोऽस्ति विविधत् पञ्चपाणिना । यथाक्षरेणैव भवेदनयोरूपवत्तनम् ॥
—N.S. 31, 250.

² एकैकं विविधं वात्र गीतांगं दत्तिलोऽवदत् । गीतांगनियमं कचिन्नाब्रूत भगवान्मूनिः ॥
—S.R. 5, 100.

³ आत्मार्थमते तावदंगकल्पनमिच्छया । अंगद्वयीमभाषिष्ठ दत्तिलो विविधैकके ॥
—S.Raj 2, 4, 1, 124.

⁴ T.ed. reads : मात्राभिपरितौ (?) युता. This reading makes no sense. We have restored the phrase on the basis of the context. Changes made in other lines that follow are discussed in the note.

⁵ T.ed. reads : युम्पातैस्तु

⁶ T.ed. reads : निष्क्रामसन्निपातश्च

⁷ T.ed. reads : भवेदन्यपदानु (सा ? गा)

- 190A. āhāryaḥ sannipātaśca pravṛttamīha kīrtitam
 B. ida(m caiva)¹ nivṛttyantam param ca sthitavattu tat
- 191A. iti yugmaujamisratvādubhayormiśratocyate
 B. āhuryugmapravṛttākhyamudghatākhyam kalātrayam
- 192A. upavartanasamjñam tat pravṛttam kaiścidisyate
 B. athāṅgavidhirasyādau vividho mukhasamjñitah
- 193A. vividhaḥ vā pravṛttam vā na vā pratimukham² bhavet
 B. vaihāyasikamaṅgaiḥ syādekaḍyaiḥ saṭpadairyutam
- 194A. vividhāḥ syurato'nyāni samastānyekakāni vā
 B. evamaṅgairupāṅgaiśca vimśatyaṅgamidam param
- 195A. ṣadāṅgamavaram jñeyam tacca tālasamāptikam
 || ullopyakam samāptam ||

Now, in the beginning of ullopyaka is the mātrā with the beats (pātas) as follows: two śamyās in the fourth and the tenth [place] two tālas in the eighth and the twelfth [place] and sannipāta at the end; this is the catuṣkala prastāra. Mātrā is the same in dvikala with the beats occupying the appropriate places [of that mode].

Here [is applied a component] of twelve kalās termed vaihāyasika, which is a mixture of ekakala and dvikala and contains seven beats (pāta). Having rendered [the unit] praveśa-niṣkrāma twice, make śamyā and tāla the third [pāta in them respectively]. Render niṣkrāma at the end (kuryāduttamaniṣkrāmāḥ) and sannipāta as before. [Then] in the aforementioned ekakala [mode, form the tāla] beginning with śamyā, ending [it] with sānnipāta.

This comprises the sākhā, and [is followed by] pratiśākhā which, however, is formed with different words.

In ullopyaka (asya) the [component] samharaṇa [which is also] termed antāharaṇa, is formed with yathāksara uttara [tāla]. [Then follows the component called] anta, containing three aṅgas and known to be of three kinds.

[In it] the three forms [of tāla] are yugma, ayugma and miśra. It is rendered in three parts [which] comprise the following limbs: the limb [called] sthita, pravṛtta and also mahājanika.

There the aṅga sthita of six kalās is formed in the dvikala tryasra (*i.e.*, dvikala ayugma tāla). Here the fourth kalā should be rendered with a silent beat (nīḥabdā), the rest occur as in the normal form. The pravṛtta is, here, rendered with ekakala pañcapāṇi. Mahājanika is like sthita [except] that the end-portion is repeated in it (nivṛttyanta).

In [the rendering] based upon caccatpuṭaḥ, sthita is [applied] in its dvikala form. Here, the fifth kalā forms a silent [beat], the rest being as already stated. Here, pravṛtta is said to [be formed with] a niṣkrāma, two śamyās [followed by] a caccatpuṭaḥ

¹ T.ed. reads : इद++

² T.ed. reads : नवप्रतिमूर्खः

beginning with a tāla (tālādiryugmāḥ); [to this] a sannipāta should be added (āhāryāḥ). Pravṛtta, too, (idam caiva) ends in a repetition (nivṛtti).

The aṅga that follows [param] is [formed] like the sthita. The nature of miśra, here, is said to result from the combination of [both] yugma and ayugma. The [aṅga] called yugma-pravṛtta is said to have three kalās conforming to the [tāla] termed udghaṭṭa. Some prefer to [render] pravṛtta [in accordance with the component] termed upavartana.

Now, the manner of applying [varṇa]-aṅgas (aṅgavidhiḥ): in the beginning [of ullopyaka] is the vividha called mukha. Pratimukha is not indispensable (na vā bhavet); [it should be] either a vividha or a pravṛtta. As to [the number of] aṅgas, vaibhāyasika contains at least one (ekādyaiḥ) and at the most six. Vividhas must be rendered, the [remaining] others may also be ekakas. Thus, including aṅgas and sub-aṅgas, [the ullopyaka] has a maximum of twenty aṅgas and a minimum of six aṅgas—in the latter case the final [beat] is a tāla.

Thus ends ullopyaka.

NOTE:

In this gītaka, ullopyaka, the tāla-component formed at the beginning was the mātrā (evidently the pāribhāṣic mātrā) itself.

Dattila indicates the beat-structure of this mātrā in his usual formula-like manner. Mātrā consisted of four pādabhāgas and had sixteen kalās in the catuṣkala form. Replacing the 'ā ni vi pra' beats of the prototype with those noted by Dattila, the following structure emerges :

S S S S	S S S S	S S S S	S S S S
ā ni vi śa	ā ni vi tā	ā śa vi tā	tā ni vi sam̄

This structure agrees with the description in *Saṅgitaratnākara* (S.R. 5, 129-130 and also chart at the end of 5, 133). Śāṅgadeva had evidently based his description on authorities like Dattila and Bharata. Bharata (as in the case of foregoing gītakas) notes only the basic yathākṣara form. Concerning dvikala and catuṣkala he simply says that "these can be formed through the process described earlier (pūrvoktena vidhānenā dvicatuṣkalamīṣyate, N.S. 31, 254).

The dvikala form of the mātrā in ullopyaka has been described by Dattila with the words that 'it was like the catuṣkala but with beats appropriately arranged'. He was evidently referring to the general rule that a dvikala could be arrived at by taking away āvāpa and vikṣepa from the pādabhāgas of a catuṣkala. The resulting beat-structure in dvikala ullopyaka thus was :

S S	S S	S S	S S
ni śa	ni tā	śa tā	ni s̄

This structure again agrees with that given by Śāṅgadeva, Kumbha and others (S.R. 5, 129 and chart at end of 133).

Bharata, too, has described the beat-structure of the tāla-component with which ullopyaka began, but he does not call it mātrā.¹ Śāṅgadeva, who otherwise closely follows Bharata, does call it mātrā.²

Mātrā was followed by a component called vaihāyasika. This, as Dattila states, contained twelve kalās. Its form and beat-structure, as outlined by Dattila, are not very clear. Yet we may venture at a reconstruction.

Descriptions found in the *Sangītaratnākara*, *Sangītarāja* and *Sangītacintāmaṇi* clearly suggest that the structure of vaihāyasika was unique, in as much as its pādabhāgas did not conform to any of the described modes—dvikala or catuskala. The vaihāyasika pādabhāga was made up of a 3 kalā unit. Perhaps this is what Dattila implies in saying: "vaihāyasika is a combination of dvikala and ekakala" (Datt. 182A).

Characteristically, Dattila has confined himself to the barest indications of the vaihāyasika beat-structure. He leaves a great deal unsaid. Hence his instructions are not easy to decipher; especially since the general rules we had earlier deduced regarding the beat-structures of dvikala and catuskala pādabhāgas do not apply in this case, because the pādabhāga here was a trikala unit. However, in the light of descriptions found elsewhere, an analysis of some elements in Dattila's description may be possible. The attempt will at least help to impart some semblance of coherence to Dattila's laconic remarks.

Kumbha has noted four different views regarding the beat-structure in vaihāyasika. (S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 185-88). Three of them do not at all contain the soundless beat praveśa, which Dattila has ordained here. The one that does contain this beat is attributed to Kambala and is as follows:

ni pra śa ni pra tā ni śa tā śa tā sam

Abhinava, Śāṅgadeva and others have accepted a structure quite similar but containing vikṣepa instead of praveśa.

ni vi śa ni vi tā ni śa tā śa tā sam

(A.B. on N.S. 31, 256-57; S.R. 5, 130-31)

¹ उल्लोप्यकं तु द्विगुरु द्विलघवन्तेऽथ गुर्वंश । शम्यातालो द्विरस्यस्तो सन्निपातोऽन्त्य एव च ॥
प्रत्यक्षरकृते: पातैः पञ्चभिः समलंकृतम् । चतुरश्रं सुविच्छेदमेतज्जेयं यथाक्षरम् ॥
पूर्वोक्तेन विद्यनेन द्विचतुष्कलमिष्यते

—N.S. 31, 252-54.

² भेदैरेककलादयैः स्यादुल्लोप्यकमणि द्विघा । भवेदेककले तस्मिन् गुरुद्वन्द्वं लघुद्वयम् ॥
गुर्वन्ते चेति मात्रैका तच्च मात्रासमान्तिकम् । द्विकलेऽष्टकला मात्रा द्विगुणा तु चतुष्कला ॥
—S.R. 5, 105-106.

also

शताशता समित्येककल उल्लोप्यके कलाः । द्विकले स्युनिशानिता शतानिसमिति क्रमात् ॥
चतुष्कले त्वानिविशास्तवः आनिविताः क्रमात् । भवन्त्याशविता आनिविसं मात्रा मताः कलाः ॥
—S.R. 5, 128-30.

The description in the *Nātyaśāstra*, which is evidently the basis for this latter structure, is as exasperatingly cryptic as that of the *Dattilam*. It contains names of only the sounded beats and does not speak of either praveśa, niṣkrāma or vikṣepa. Abhinava, however, gives the full beat-structure perhaps on the basis other texts and the living tradition of gāndharva. The last beat 'sam' or sannipāta is missing from his prastāra, but this is certainly a scribal lapse.¹ Śāringadeva gives the structure in full.

The beat-structure ordained by Dattila (which includes praveśa) though evidently akin to that of Kambala appears to have contained praveśa and niṣkrāma in a reversed position. For Dattila's description reads "kṛtvā praveśaniṣkrāmā" where praveśa comes before niṣkrāma. It is, however, likely that praveśa in this pair (of praveśa and niṣkrāma) is put at the first beat merely in order to meet the exigencies of the anuṣṭup metre and not as implying a precedence in the beat-structure.

Regarding the nature and number of pātas in vaihāyasika, Dattila (in the T. ed. reading) states that it was to be rendered with seven "yugma pātas". The expression "yugma pāta" makes no sense and nothing similar is found in any other text. We suggest that it should be amended to read : "yutah pātaiḥ". The Asiatic Society edition of the *Nātyaśāstra* lends support to our reading. The vaihāyasika is there qualified by the epithet "saptapātam—that which contains seven pātas".² Our reading of the *Dattilam* similarly has : "yutah pātaistu saptabhiḥ". In fact, on scrutinizing the structure, we find that it did contain seven pātas (sounded beats) in all.

Let us take up the beat-structure as Dattila ordains it. He enjoins a pair of praveśa + niṣkrāma with śamyā and tāla as the third beat. This, taking Kambala as the guide, probably means that having formed two pairs of the unit 'praveśa + niṣkrāma', śamyā was to be the third beat in the first unit and tāla was to be the third in the second unit. The resulting structure would conform to the first six beats given by Kambala : ni pra śa, ni pra tā (we here take niṣkrāma and not praveśa to be the first intended unsounded beat but possibly Dattila's own idea of the structure may have been : pra ni śa, pra ni tā).

In the beat-arrangement of vaihāyasika as given in different texts, niṣkrāma is invariably seen to follow the first six beats and forms the seventh. Perhaps this position of niṣkrāma is ordained by Dattila in stating "niṣkrāma should be rendered 'uttama' after having formed praveśa—niṣkrāma twice with śamyā and tāla as the third (respectively)" (Datt. 182B-183A). The word "uttama", besides having other meanings, also denotes 'that which follows after' (see *Vācaspatyam*).

¹ (प्रस्तारः) निविशनिवितानिशताशता (सं) वैहायसम् । शाखेयमिति वैहायसम्
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 254-57.

² We note that without the final sam, the number of beats do not make the required total of 12.
अस्य चांगत्रये गीते वैहायसकमिष्टते । तदेकांगं (व) रं ज्ञे यं द्वादशांगपरं तथा
प्रमाणं द्वादशकलं सप्तपातमयापि वा

—N.S. (Asiatic Society ed.) 31, 294-95.

The remaining five beats are common to all the differing vāihāyasika structures as given by different authorities. They are : *śa tā śa tā sam̄*. After the allocation of *niṣkrāma* in Dattila's description, we find the statement : 'render *sannipāta* as before'. Leaving this for the present, let us now take up a part of the description which is comparatively easier to unravel. We are told to form "the forementioned *ekakala* (mode of *tāla*) beginning with *śamyā*". The beats in the *ekakala* mode have already been described. Of the three alternatives structures for both the *caccatpūṭah* and *cācāputah* there was only one which began with *śamyā*, namely *śa tā śa tā*. If this structure is made to end with *sannipāta*—as Dattila enjoins in qualifying '*śamyādih*' with '*sannipātāntah*'—then it could either be *śa tā śa sam̄* or *śa tā śa tā sam̄*. The first alternative does not agree with other texts, nor does it give the twelve beats necessary for a twelve-*kalā* vāihāyasika. The second alternative, therefore, seems to have been the intended one. It was this addition of *sannipāta* that Dattila probably implied, when he said 'render *sannipāta* as before'.

Our reconstruction, however, is a somewhat forced attempt to make Dattila's intention conform to the pattern available from other sources and does not follow as logically and naturally from the text, as in other cases.

After vāihāyasika Dattila decrees the *śākhā*, but its form is not borne out clearly from Dattila's words. Having described vāihāyasika, he cryptically states : 'this is the *śākhā*'. This statement could mean either that the *tāla*-component vāihāyasika itself formed the *śākhā* in *ullopyaka* or that the *mātrā* together with vāihāyasika formed the *śākhā*. The *Nātyāśāstra* here has lines almost parallel to the *Dattilam* (N. S. 31, 257). And Abhinava's comment supports the first alternative. He says that *śākhā* here meant the vāihāyasika : "*śākheyamiti vāihāyasam*" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 256-57).

Śākhā was followed by *pratiśākhā* (Datt. 184A). *Pratiśākhā*, (as we have seen in *aparāntaka*) was a counterpart of *śākhā* : it was formed with the same *tāla* structure as *śākhā* but was rendered with different padas. It appears, therefore, that the vāihāyasika in *ullopyaka* was formed twice in succession : first as *śākhā* and then as *pratiśākhā*; in its second formation, it was sung with different words (Datt. 184A).¹ And perhaps it was because of this second formation as *pratiśākhā* that vāihāyasika was given the other name of *śākhā*; otherwise a second name seems quite superfluous.

According to Bharata (as interpreted by Abhinava and Śāringadeva) *ullopyaka* could either end with the *mātrā* or with the vāihāyasika. But in case it was prolonged, two further components called *antāharāṇa* and *anta* had to be formed (Bharata says : "yadā tvasya bhavedantastadāntāharāṇam budhaiḥ" N.S. 31, 258). *Anta*, literally means the finale; and *antāharāṇa*, as explained by Abhinava, was the component which anticipated the finale (*antasyāharāṇam sūcakamiti yāvat*, A.B. on N.S. 31, 258). Another term used for *antāharāṇa* was *samharaṇa*, a term used by

¹ Bharta, too, like Dattila says :

प्रतिशाखा तु नित्यमन्यपदा स्मृता

—N.S. 31, 257.

Bharata (N. S. 31, 273) and following him by Śāringadeva (etadantāharanameva sampharaṇamiti samjñāntareṇapi proktam, Kalā on S.R. 5, 117).

The antāharana was rendered in the yathāksara uttara tāla (Datt. 184B). Bharata says : "yathāksareṇa niyamāt samhāryam pañcapāṇina" (N.S. 31, 258). After antāharana followed the finale, the anta, which according Dattila was of three kinds and contained three aṅgas. Bharata gives a similar description.¹

It seems that anta had an extremely complex structure. It is said to contain three aṅgas. The term aṅga here denoted something quite distinct from aṅga as varṇāṅga. Abhinava thus says : "atra yat pravṛttamuktaṁ na tu varṇāṅgarūpam", (A.B. on N.S. 31, 265).

The three aṅgas of this gītaka followed each other in a certain order : sthita was followed by pravṛtta (which was, as details will show, quite distinct from the sub-class of this name in 'aṅga' as a topic), after which was rendered the mahājanika. Each of the three aṅgas has been called trividha (Datt. 185A); Bharata uses the term "triprakāranivṛtta" (N.S. 31, 259). They were, evidently, rendered thrice, each time with a different form of tāla; the whole resulting pattern constituted the anta. The three forms of tāla to be rendered here are named by Dattila yugma, ayugma and miśra. Miśra was a combination of the first two. Regarding the order of rendering yugma, ayugma and miśra the opinions of Bharata and Dattila differ—a fact noted by Śāringadeva and Kumbha.² According to Bharata, anta was first formed in the ayugma form of tāla. Dattila has yugma in the beginning. Ayugma (in Bharata's account) was followed by yugma and then came miśra.³ Thus according to Bharata's pattern, sthita, the first limb, was initially rendered as ayugma and then as yugma and finally as miśra. The same order was maintained in rendering the two subsequent aṅgas : pravṛtta and mahājanika (N.S. 31, 270, see especially A.B.). According to Dattila, however, the yugma preceded others.

The sthita when in the tryasra or ayugma was to be formed in the dvikala mode, with six kalās (Datt. 186B). The basis of ayugma, as we have seen, was cācapuṭah. The dvikala cācapuṭah had six kalās divided into three pādabhāgas. The beat structure was: ni śa, tā, śa, ni, sam. Dattila states that the fourth beat in ayugma sthita should be unsounded. But he has not named the beat. We have seen that the prototype of a dvikala pādabhāga had two silent beats: niṣkrāma and praveśa. Niṣkrāma

¹ वि(द्वि)प्रकार निवृत्तस्तु(रच) त्यङ्गोऽन्तस्त्रिविधः स्मृतः
—N.S. 31, 259.

² त्रिधान्तोऽय युग्युऽमिश्रमेदतः । युग्मोऽन्तः प्रथमस्तेषां त्यश्च इत्याह दत्तिलः ॥
—S.R. 5, 118.

तेषां प्रथमतः शुद्धश्वतुरस्त्रिविनिमितः । त्यस्त्रोऽन्तः प्रथमस्तेषां दत्तिलोवते: प्रतीयते ॥
—S.Raj. 2, 4, 1, 161.

³ Note Abhinava's comments :

एवं प्राधान्यादादौ युग्मस्ततस्त्व्यश्रोऽन्तः कर्तव्यः
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 270.

Also note Abhinava's introduction to N.S. 31, 261 : त्रिविधस्य प्रयोगपौर्वपर्यमाह—
स्थात् पञ्चपाणितालेन तदन्ताहरणं यदा । तदा द्वितीयं भवेदयुग्मम्
—N.S. 31 261.

formed the first kalā and praveśa the second (see note on Datt. 131-34). In dvikala cācatpūṭah the fourth beat was a śamyā. Here in sthita, it has to be an unsounded beat. Evidently, Dattila means it to be a praveśa which was the beat in the prototype when not replaced by another. Bharata, too, describes the ayugma sthita (N.S. 31, 268). Abhinava in his interpretation indeed gives preveśa as the fourth beat (tryasre sthitamāha. ‘śamyātvī’ niśatāpranisam sthitam; A.B. on 31, 268). This also tallies with the beat-arrangement given by Śāringadeva and Kumbha (S.R. 5, 132; S. Raja 2, 4, 1, 193 and chart at the end of verse 197).

Mahājanika (as Dattila states) was formed with the same tāla and beat-structure as sthita, except that here the last part was said to be repeated (nivṛttiyantam). Bharata also describes both yugma and ayugma mahājanika as corresponding with their sthita counterpart but having a ‘nivṛtta tāla’, that is, a tāla with a repetition. Abhinava comments : mahājanika has the same tāla as sthita but in it a nivṛtti (or repetition) is made at the end—“sthitasya tālah sa eva mahājanikasya kintu nivṛttirante kartavyā” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 264; also cf. sthitatālenaiva nivṛttiyuṁmahājanikam; A.B. on N.S. 31, 270).

Regarding the nature of the repetition in yugma mahājanika, Abhinava remarks : “the beats in the last four kalās are formed as a repetition and have the same pāṭas as those in the first four.”¹ He further says (repeating Bharata) that the same process applied in the ayugma mahājanika.² This perhaps meant that the first three kalās in the ayugma were repeated to form the last three. The structure then would have been : ni śa tā ni śa tā. Śāringadeva and others have, however, understood it differently. According to them, the beat-arrangement here was the same as that of sthita, only the words forming the first half were repeated in the second half.³

Dattila’s description of the ayugma pravṛtta is simple. It was, he says, formed with the ekakala pañcapāṇi. Thus like the other two aṅgas, ayugma pravṛtta, too, contained six kalās but was rendered in the faster ekakala mode.

The three aṅgas, in terms of their modes of tāla, emerge to have been thus arranged : dvikala (sthita) → ekakala (pravṛtta) → dvikala (mahājanika).

Bharata has also described the yugma pravṛtta as being formed with yathā-ksara pañcapāṇi; but he associates a parivartana with this pravṛtta which Dattila does not (nivṛttatālah kartavyaḥ pravṛttasyāpi tattvataḥ, N.S. 31, 264).

After the ayugma, Dattila deals with the yugma or, as he has termed it, the caccatpūṭah application of the three aṅgas forming anta. Sthita, as before, was the

¹ निवृत्तस्ताल इति तालान्तो भागः कलाचतुष्टयात्मा स पुनरावृत्तः कर्तव्यः । आद्यासु चतस्रू यानि निष्पन्नानि ताम्येव पातानि यावत् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 264.

² ‘अत्रापीत्यादि निवृत्तस्तालः कर्तव्यस्तथे’त्यन्तम्

—Ibid. 31, 270.

³ पूर्वधींस्वपदावव्या युक्तं महाजनिकं विदुः स्थिततालयुतं.....

—S.R. 5, 122,

महाजनिकमिष्यते । पूर्वधींस्य पदावव्या युक्तं द्विकलयुग्मतः ॥

—S.C. chapter I in the section on vādyā,

first aṅga in this three-aṅga pattern and was rendered with dvikala caccatpuṭah instead of cācapuṭah. Its beat-structure according to Dattila was the same as that of dvikala caccatpuṭah except that the fifth beat was a silent one. The beats in dvikala caccatpuṭah were : ni śa ni tā, śa pra, ni, sam (see Datt. 131, 132). The fifth beat here is śamyā and it is the first in the third pādabhāga. To render this as a silent beat in a dvikala pādabhāga implied that it had to be formed with a niṣkrāma, the beat which occurred as the first in the prototype dvikala pādabhāga. The beat-structure for the yugma sthita given in the *Saṅgitaratnākara* indeed is :

S S S S S S S S
ni śa, ni tā, ni pra, ni sam

(S.R. chart at the end of 5, 133)

Sthita was, as before, followed by pravṛtta of which Dattila has described the beat-structure in Datt. 189B-190A. The instruction regarding tāla-structure is here enigmatic. From Abhinava and Śārṅgadeva we discover that the number of kalās was eight. Thus Dattila's instruction was apparently conceived with eight beats in mind. Dattila begins by saying that one niṣkrāma and two śamyās should be formed. Thus the first three kalās appear to be ni śa śa. Ni śa śa was the beat-structure of the yathākṣara form of the tāla called udghaṭṭah — a basic tāla like the pañcapāṇi. Dattila does not describe udghaṭṭah in expounding the yathākṣaras but Bharata, as we have seen, does.

Abhinava in describing udghaṭṭah remarks that this tāla was used in the gītaka ullopyaka where it formed the first three kalās of the eight-kalā aṅga, the caturasra (or yugma) form of pravṛtta.¹ Though Dattila has not described the udghaṭṭah, yet he certainly assumed a knowledge of it on the part of his readers, for in line 191B he further qualifies the beat-structure in the yugma pravṛtta by saying that three of its kalās corresponded to the udghaṭṭah. He does not say where these three kalās were to be formed but Bharata is clear on this point and says that they were to be the initial kalās in the yugma pravṛtta : “ādāvudghaṭtakah kāryah” (N.S. 31, 265).

Dattila further ordains that a yugma (or caccatpuṭah) ‘beginning with tāla’ has then to be formed. This, obviously, refers to the yathākṣara caccatpuṭah formed as : tā śa tā śa (Datt. 126-127). Thus the beat structure so far stands as ni, śa, śa, tā, śa, tā, śa. To this, Dattila states, the sannipāta has to be added (āhāryah sanni-pāśca, Datt. 190), making the final structure as : ni śa, śa tā, śa tā, śā sam. This tā, śa ta śa sam (niśatātā-śatāśasam (pra) vṛttam, A.B. on N.S. 31, 263). In the light of Bharata, who has specifically laid down that the beginning of yugma pravṛtta had to

¹ इहेल्लोप्यको नाम यो गलाद (गीतविशेषस्त)स्य त्यश्रचतुरश्रमिशभेदेन वित्वम् । त्रिष्वपि च प्रकारेण प्रवृत्कम् । तीर्ण्यज्ञानि स्थितं प्रवृत्तं महाजनिकमिति : तत्र चतुरश्रके प्रवृत्तं नाम यदष्टकलं तस्योद्घट्टारव्यक्लान्तयमादौ वक्ष्यते । ‘आदावुद्घट्टकः कार्यः परिवर्तकं एव च’ ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 23-24.

be formed with *udghaṭṭah*, the third beat, *tāla*, in Abhinava is obviously an erroneous reading and should be a *śamyā*.

The end of *pravṛtta*, enjoins Dattila, had to be rendered with *nivṛtti*. Later he adds that the *pravṛtta*, according to some, had an *upavartana*. Both of these terms—*nivṛtti* and *upavartana*—referred to some kind of repetition. Dattila ostensibly implies a difference between the meaning of these two terms in this context. But the nature of the difference is obscure. Bharata also speaks of a *nivṛtti* and in addition lays down an *upavartana* while describing the *yugma pravṛtta* : “the *tāla* in *pravṛtta* should truly be formed as *nivṛtta*; here the application of *tāla* is mostly rendered with *upavartana*” (N.S. 31, 264-65).

The next *aṅga* in the *anta* was, as before, the *mahājanika*. Dattila has not mentioned *mahājanika* by name in this context, but by implication through the word “param” which means ‘next’. *Mahājanika* is said to be like *sthita*. Bharata gives a similar description and adds a repetition (N.S. 31, 264).

After *yugma* Dattila deals with the third mode of *anta*, namely, *miśra*. He does not furnish details but simply states that *miśra* was a combination of both *yugma* and *ayugma*. In later texts it is stated that *miśra* could have been of various different kinds formed by differently combining and permutating the three *aṅgas* of the *anta* in their two possible forms, *yugma* and *ayugma*. Thus a *yugma sthita* could have been combined with an *ayugma mahājanika* or a *yugma* or *ayugma pravṛtta* and so on.¹

It should be clear that *sthita*, *pravṛtta* and *mahājanika* have been described as *tāla*-components. Dattila next describes the *aṅgas* proper such *vividha* etc. and speaks of their arrangement in *ullopyaka* (thus, again indicating a difference between the two senses of *aṅgas*). At the commencement of the *gītaka*, he says, occurs the *vividha* termed *mukha*. *Mukha* was evidently a sub-class of one of the three *vividhas*, but of which we are not told.

Śāringadeva gives details regarding the position of *mukha* : “the *vividha* called *mukha*”, he says, “is to be formed in the first part of the *mātrā*” (S.R. 5, 107). *Mātrā* was the first component in *ullopyaka*. The *pratimukha*, according to Śāringadeva, was formed in the second half of the *mātrā* (S.R. 5, 107).

Regarding *pratimukha* there seems to be a difference of opinion between Bharata and Dattila. Dattila firstly appears to state that *pratimukha* itself was optional: the reading ‘*navapratimukham bhavet*’ does not fit in the context and besides contains a metric error; the original reading surely was: ‘*na vā pratimukham bhavet*’. Secondly, he prescribes two optional *aṅgas* as forming the *pratimukha*: either *vividha* or *pravṛtta*. Bharata is silent regarding the optional nature of *pratimukha*. He says that both *mukha* and *pratimukha* were *vividhas* but adds that *pratimukha* contains also *vṛtta*—meaning perhaps that *pratimukha* partook of the nature of both *vividha* and

¹ Abhinava commenting on N.S. 31, 271, says :

युग्मोजस्त्रितालत्वादियुग्मीजस्त्रियाणां स्थितादीनां वैचित्र्याद्वप्रकारमिति इत्यर्थः ।

—See also S.R. 5, 124,

vṛttā¹ (vṛtta, we have seen, was a generic term meaning the two aṅgas pravṛtta and avagāḍha). Abhinava following Bharata says: "mukhe vivadhaḥ pratimukhe sa ca vṛttam ca" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 225). Śārṅgadeva complies with this view.²

Regarding the number of aṅgas to be formed in vaihāyasika, Bharata has made two different statements. In an earlier passage vaihāyasika is said to have at least one aṅga and at the most six aṅgas (ekādyam ṣatparam jñeyam vaihāyasikameva ca, N.S. 31, 223). This agrees with Dattila's view (for the reading "ṣaṭpadairyutam" in T.ed. seems corrupt and may have read 'ṣaṭaparairyutam'). In a later passage, however, Bharata gives the maximum possible number of aṅgas in vaihāyasika as twelve (vaihāyasikamīṣyate tadekāṅgāvaraṇaṁ jñeyam dvādaśāṅgparam smṛtam, N.S. 31, 255). Abhinava explains this discrepancy by stating that these two ways of application were optional like the ordination of either rice or barley (in certain yajña ceremonies).³

Śārṅgadeva and others state that the first aṅga in vaihāyasika was a vividha and all others ekakas.⁴ Dattila, apparently, had a somewhat different view, though it is expressed in his characteristically laconic manner. It is clear that he, too, enjoins vividha in the beginning though the number is not restricted to one. After vividhas, he states, all the other aṅgas may be ekakas. This appears to mean that either the entire vaihāyasika could be formed with vividhas or, alternatively, after some vividhas the rest could be ekakas.

The aṅgas in mātrā and in the vaihāyasika, as enumerated by Dattila, amount to a maximum of nine. He has not noted the aṅgas and their number in antāharāṇa and anta. Bharata states that the anta had ekaka and vividha as its aṅgas (vivadhai-kaka-saṃyuktaḥ sarvaśāntavidhiḥ smṛtaḥ, N.S. 31, 271). He also recounts the number of aṅgas to be formed in each of its limbs, sthita, pravṛtta and mahājanika. Sthita could have either one or two aṅgas: the yugma had two, the ayugma one. Pravṛtta could also have either one or two aṅgas. Mahājanika had one aṅga. Antāharāṇa had three aṅgas (N.S. 31, 272-73).

According to both Bharata and Dattila the total number of possible aṅgas in ullopyaka, as a whole, was a maximum of twenty and a minimum of six. Dattila, however, adds that the ullopyaka of six aṅgas should end in a tāla. This description is not found elsewhere and remains a puzzle.

The gītaka prakarī

195B. *atha vastu prakaryāḥ syāt ṣaṇmātram vā tu śobhitam*

196A. *śamyāntāstatra mātrāḥ syurdvitīyāntyavivarjitāḥ*

B. *dvitīyāyāścaturthyāśca pañcamyāśca yathākramam*

¹ मुखप्रतिमुखे चैव ज्ञेये विवधसंज्ञके । वृत्तं प्रतिमुखे च स्यादनयोस्तु समाप्तः ॥
—N.S. 31, 225.

² मात्रापूर्वदले कायौं विवधो मुखसंज्ञकः । पश्चिमार्धे प्रतिमुखं विवधो वृत्तसंयुतः ॥
—S.R. 5, 107.

³ तदिति वैहायसकमेकाङ्गावरं द्वादशपरं प्रोक्तम् । पटङ्गरमित्युक्तं (प्ताक्) । तेन विकल्पोऽन्नं श्रीहियवत्
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 255.

⁴ विवधोऽस्याद्यमञ्जः स्यादेककानि ततः परम्
—S.R. 5, 114.

- 197A. *tālā gurubhirākhyātāḥ ṣoḍāśadvādaśāṣṭamāḥ*
 B. *tato dvaikalamadrakyah kalābhyaṁ tāstu ṣoḍāśa*
- 198A. *iti vastūni catvāri trīṇi sārdhānyathāpi vā*
 B. *trīṇi cārdhāni cedardhamādau dakṣinamārgake*
- 199A. *yadā tadāpi vrittai syāt pūrṇameva bhavet tadā*
 B. *upohanam ca tatrādyam smṛtam cārthavivarjitam*
- 200A. *ubhayoh pakaṣayostatra kartavye vividhaikake*
 B. *vastunyanta upāntyāyā mātrāyā gamanāntaram*
- 201A. *āśāritam kaniyāḥ syāditi saṅgrahaṇam smṛtam¹*
 // prakarī samāptā //

Now, the vastu in prakarī is adorned with six mātrās.

With the exception of the second and the last [mātrā] all [the other] mātrās end with a śamyā.

Teachers have proclaimed that a tāla [ought to] occur on the sixteenth, twelfth and eighth [kalā] of the second, fourth and fifth mātrās respectively. Then is [formed] the dvikala madrakī containing sixteen kalās.

In this way four or, alternatively, three-and-a-half vastus are formed in the dakṣiṇa mārga, if three and a half [vastus be formed] then half [the vastu is rendered] at the beginning. When it (*i.e.*, the prakarī) is in the vṛtti mārga, it should be [formed] in its entirety. The upohana, which is devoid of meaning [-ful words], is known to occur at the beginning.

Vividha and ekaka should be [formed] in both the cases; having rendered the last but one mātrā of the concluding vastu, one should form kaniṣṭha āśārita. In this way is saṅgrahaṇa known [to be formed here].

Thus ends prakarī.

NOTE :

We have already seen vastus of two different measures: in madraka it was of three mātrās, and in aparāntaka it consisted of one-and-a-half mātrās. In prakarī, too, the main component was called vastu. Here it contained six mātrās.

¹ Abhinava quotes part of Datt. 197B without explicitly naming Dattila. His words are :

एतदुक्तमन्येरतो द्वैकलमद्रक्ष्य इति — A.B. on N.S. 31, 280.

He reads 'tato' as 'ato'. Abhinava also quotes Datt. 199B with the words : दत्तिलादिभिरेव हि... इत्युक्तम्. He reads the end phrase as चार्धविवर्जितम्. Elsewhere on N.S. 31, 38 Abhinava quotes 199B with दत्तिलाचार्येणापि. The line is read as उपोहनत्वाद्वैतस्याः स्मृतं तालविवर्जितम्.

Nānyadeva in describing prakarī (B.B.(I) ch. VIII) gives a certain beat-arrangement and quotes Datt. 197B differently. His words are : अयमेव षष्ठकलापातकमी दत्तिलाचार्येण्यापि सम्मतः यदुक्तम्

'मताद्वैकलमद्रक्ष्यः कला अस्यास्तु पोडश' इति. Nānyadeva in the same context also quotes Datt. 199 making the following observations : अत च पक्षे दक्षिणमाने (गे) न गानम् । यदा तु पूर्वार्धमाताचतुष्टयं पूर्णमेव तदा वृत्तो मानम् । तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः— यदा तदान्यवृत्तो (तदपिवृत्तो) स्यात् पूर्णमेव भवेत्तदा । इति ।

उभयोरपि पूर्वार्धपञ्चिमार्धविपर्यासपक्षयोर्द्वय (वि)विधीकके उपोहनम् तदाद्यम् स्मृतं न(म?)प्यविवर्जितमिति. The B.B. (I) reading is full of scribal errors. Nānyadeva's own comments intervene between the two lines of Datt. 199.

To obtain the beat-structure of the vastu, we follow the general rule as before in madraka and aparāntaka and construct six mātrās with a catuskala prototype, having the beats 'ā ni vi pra' for each of its pādabhāgas and, in addition, we render sannipāta as the last beat of the vastu. Placing now the beats in each mātrā enjoined here by Dattila, we may chart the first five mātrās as:

ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi śa
ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi tā
ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi śa
ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi ta,	ā ni vi śa
ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi ta,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi śa

The instruction regarding the sixth mātrā is cryptic. All that we are told is that after five mātrās follow sixteen kalās of dvikala madrakīs (Datt. 19^{7B}). This evidently refers to the sixth mātrā which, obviously, was to be formed with dvikala madraka. In its dvikala beat-structure the madraka vastu was:

ni pra,	ni pra,	ni pra,	ni śa	first mātrā.
ni śa,	ni tā,	ni tā,	ni śa	second mātrā.
śa tā,	tā śa,	tā śa,	tā sam	third mātrā.

Here we have have 24 kalās and the same number of beats. The problem is whether the first or the last two mātrās of this structure constituted the beats of the sixteen kalās in the sixth mātrā of the prakarī. Since sannipāta should form the last kalā of the vastu, it seems logical to assume that the last two mātrās of the dvikala vastu formed the sixth mātrā of the prakarī. This gives the following beat-arrangement:

ni śa ni tā, ni tā ni śa, śa tā tā śa, tā śa tā sam

This structure agrees with Bharata, who has described the sixth mātrā more clearly (N.S. 31, 276-79).¹ Śāringadeva's description and chart show an identical structure. But according to him the eighth beat in the fifth mātrā was formed with a śamyā instead of tāla (S.R. 5, 139-41 and chart at the end of 5, 142).

Prakarī was formed with either three and a half or four vastus. In the former case, the half vastu (of three mātras) was rendered in the beginning. The order of

¹ It is interesting to note that Nānyadeva, in giving the beats of the sixth mātra on the basis of Bharata, says (in a reading which is full of scribal errors): षष्ठ्याश्चापेयं पातय प्रस्तारः निस(श)नितारि (नि)तानिस (श) शताताशतास् and then comment: अयमेव षष्ठ्याश्चापातकमो दत्तिलाचार्यस्यापि सम्मतः यदुक्तम् (quotes Datt. 197). Though two beats are missing from the structure noted by Nānyadeva, he obviously had the same structure in mind that we have given.

formation thus was : half a vastu + vastu + vastu + vastu.¹ The first part of the whole group of vastus formed the upohana. In a four-vastu prakarī it was formed with the first vastu; in a three-and-a-half vastu prakarī it was formed with half the vastu occurring in the beginning (adhikaṁ yadv astvardham tasya sthāne tālavidhīḥ (upohane) no-cyate, A.B. on N.S. 31, 280).

Sāṅgadeva notes that according to Dattila and others, upohana here was rendered without beats. (upohane kalāpātānnyasēdhan dattilādayah, S.R. 5, 141). No such overt injunction, however, is found in *Dattilam*. We find only a short definition of upohana which Dattila calls arthavivarjitam—an epithet which literally means “devoid of meaning”. This is an observation which, on the face of it, seems no different from a definition of upohana in general. However, there seems to have been a variant reading of the *Dattilam* on this point. Abhinava on N.S. 31, 38 quotes Datt. 199B as “upohanatvādvai tasyāḥ smṛtam tāla vivarjitam” (and ascribes the line to Dattilacārya). In this reading upohana is clearly said to be rendered tāla-less, or in other words, without beats. But elsewhere (commenting on N.S. 31, 280), Abhinava again quotes this line and the reading conforms with the present *Dattilam* text (except that the last word reads ‘cārdhavivarjitam’).

According to Bharata prakarī was formed only in catuṣkala (na yathāksarayogena na cāpi dvikalām smṛtam, N.S. 31, 276). Dattila apparently differs, for he describes prakarī in dakṣiṇa and vṛttī mārgas also : the former was characterised by a catuṣkala and the latter by a dvikala form of tāla. Nānyadeva perhaps refers to these two different opinions when he says that according to one view prakarī was to be rendered only in the dakṣiṇa mārga (atra ca pakṣe dakṣiṇa mārgena gānam, B.B. (1) ch. VIII). Nānyadeva also mentions the vṛttī mārga in connection with prakarī. He observes: “in dakṣiṇa mārga it (the prakarī) has three and a half vastus, whereas in vṛttī mārga it has four”; he then quotes Datt. 199A.

Whether the prakarī had three-and-a-half vastus or four vastus, the aṅgas used in both the cases were vividha and ekaka. Dattila gives no further details. Bharata like Dattila says: “vivadhaikakayoh prāyor madrake tu prayojanam/prakaryāścāpi vastvardhe” (N.S. 31, 193). Abhinava comments that of the six mātrās in a vastu the first three are rendered with vividha and the latter three with ekaka: “vividhaikake tisṛṣu mātrāsu vibhajyete” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 193). Sāṅgadeva is in accord with this description.²

¹ यदा त्वर्धंचतुर्थानि वस्तुनि प्रकरी भवेत् । पश्चमाधंपदस्यैव तदधं प्राढ् निवेशयेत् ॥
—N.S. 31, 280.

Note A.B. :

एतदुक्तमन्येरतो द्वैकलमद्रव्य इति यदा त्वर्धंचतुर्थानीति साधंवस्तुतयपक्षे प्रागित्याधं यदर्थं (धं) वस्तु नो तत् पश्चमाधंतद्वितीयेनाऽधेनान्येन मात्रात्ययेण तुल्यं निवेशयेत् । यदांधंचतुर्थं(र्थ)नि वस्तुनि प्रकरी तदर्थमिति तेनाधं चतुर्थं(र्थ) नि यदा तदादो कुर्यात्

² वस्त्वर्धंचिह्नं गीतामूर्तिधिमद्रव्यकवद्भवेत्
—S.R. 5, 138. :

Note Kalā : पूर्वधीर्षु चिविधः, उत्तराधीर्ष्वेककं च कर्त्तव्यमित्यतिदेशतोऽवगत्वम्

The final tāla component in prakarī has been called saṃharaṇa by Bharata and others (it is ‘saṅgrahaṇa’ according to the *Dattilam*). Its beat-structure was the same as that of kaniṣṭha āśārita, a tāta component in vardhamānaka described later (Datt. 224-25). The beats were :

śa tā śa tā sam̄ tā śa tā sam̄ tā sā tā śa tā sam̄

The above, we see, contains seventeen beats, i.e., one more than in a catuśkala mātrā. pāribhāśic. Śārṅgadeva, therefore, states : “here all beats of kaniṣṭhāśārita are said to be formed except the last” (kaniṣṭāśāritakalā vināntyāṁ parikirtitāḥ, S.R. 5, 142). With the omission of the final sannipāta only sixteen kalās remained and they formed the saṃharaṇa.

Dattila has enjoined that saṅgraṇaha (i.e. saṃharana) was to be formed after having rendered the last but one mātrā in the concluding vastu. Abhinava says that saṃharaṇa was formed in place of the last mātrā of the final vastu, the mātrā which contained the beat-structure of a dvikala madraka : “eṣā ca mātrā dvaikala madrakatālah ṣaṣṭhamātrāsthāne kāryā” (A.B, on N.S. 31, 281). Abhinava, however, mentions another view which held that saṃharaṇa was rendered after all the mātrās of the vastu were completed, and thus formed a seventh mātrā outside the vastu : “anyetvavastuni saptemyaiveyam mātreti manyante” (A.B. *ibid.*). Śārṅgadeva also records this alternate view.¹

The gitaka oveṇaka

- 201B. atha nānāpadau pādau tulyagityādilakṣaṇau
- 202A. pṛthagovēṇakasya syādaparāntakavastuvat
 - B. dvikalō māśaghātākhyāḥ pañcapāṇiratoḥ param
- 203A. asamānatvanityatve tasya prādhānyakāraṇe
 - B. dvitiyā cāṣṭamī caiva dve śamye parikīrtite
- 204A. eaturthaṣṭhanavmastālah śeṣam yathoditam
 - B. aparāntakavaccātra vijñeyam upavartanam
- 205A. ūrdhvam sampiṣṭakādvā² syādubhayatrāpi vā punah
 - B. upavartanavat sandhistatsthāḥ syāccaturasraskah
- 206A. yugmapravṛttavat kāryam sandhivad vajrasamjñitam
 - B. sampiṣṭakākhyamatra syād vaihāyasikasammitam
- 207A. niṣkrāma ekāstriṣṣamyaśtritālo'nyadyathoditam
 - B. pravēṇyāvupapātaśca³ dvikale syurihottare
- 208A. upapāte dvitiyastu tālah kaiścidudahṛtah
 - B. antāharanam apyatra bhavedantasamanvitam

¹ अन्त्यस्य त्वन्तिमा मात्रा कैश्चित्संहरणं भता ॥ अन्ते वा सप्तमी मात्रा परेः संहरणं स्मृता ।
—S.R. 5, 137-38.

² T.ed. ऊर्ध्व सम्पष्टकं. The reasons for introducing the saptami are given in the note.

³ T. ed. reads : प्रवेण्यामूप (दद?पात)श्च. Our reasons for introducing a change are discussed in the note.

- 209A. evam tu dvādaśāṅgāni sapta vāsyopapādayet
 B. sampiṣṭakapravenyau ca tathā caivopavartanam
- 210A. upapātam ca saptāṅge na prayuñjīta gītavit
 B. pravṛttam cāvagāḍham ca praveṇyoriha¹ tu kramāt
- 211A. prāyah śeṣeu vividhai ekaikam copavartake²
 // oveṇakam samāptam //

Now, in oveṇaka, there are two distinct pādas (rendered) in the same way as the vastu in aparāntaka. [The two pādas have] similar characteristics of gīti, etc. [but are composed] with different words (pada).

Then follows a [tāla component] called māṣaghāta [formed with] dvikala pañcapāṇi. The two reasons for its predominance are [its] invariability (nityatva) and [its] uniqueness (asamānatva). [In it] the second and the eighth kalās are said to be the two śamyās. The fourth, the sixth and the ninth are tālas, [and] the rest are as described before.

Upavartana, here [occurs] and should be known to be [formed] as in aparāntaka. Alternatively, it might be formed at the end of sampiṣṭaka, or again [it might be formed at the end of] both [the māṣaghāta and sampiṣṭaka].

[The tāla component called] sandhi, which follows, is [formed] like upavartana. After this, caturasraka is formed like yugma pravṛtta. [Then comes] vajra which should be rendered like sandhi.

Here now, should be formed the [tāla component] called sampiṣṭaka [which] corresponds to vaihāyasika, [except that] it has one niṣkrāma, [then] three śamyās [followed by] three tālas. The other [beats] are the same as those already described [in vaihāyasika].

Here [in oveṇaka] the two praveṇis and upapāta are [formed] in dvikala uttara tāla. Some have, however, described the tāla in upapāta as being the second [half of the component pāda].

[Then] the [tāla component] antāharāṇa, together with the [component] anta is [formed] here as well. In this way, twelve or [alternatively] seven components should be rendered in oveṇaka. In [an oveṇaka] consisting of seven components, an expert in music should not render [the following aṅgas]: sampiṣṭaka, the two praveṇis, upavartana and upapāta.

1 T. ed. reads : प्रवेणोर्हि

Abhinava quotes Datt. 201B-202A with विशेषवचनं तुल्यगीतित्वे अन्यपदत्वाभावः । यथा ह दत्तिलः (A.B. on N.S. 31, 281-82) Abhinava reads श्य नात्यपदो. Abhinava also quotes Datt. 203A with : तत्र माषधात एवात्र प्रधानम् । तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः (A.B. on N.S. 31, 207). Abhinava quotes Datt. 207B but does not mention Dattila. The description, he says, occurs in तन्त्रान्तरेषु. In the same context Abhinava quotes Datt. 208A with the words : तदुक्तं दत्तिलाचार्यैण (A.B. on N.S. 31, 294).

Nānyadeva, B.B. (I) ch. VIII section on aparāntaka, quotes Datt. 208A with तथा च दत्तिलाचार्यः S.R. 5, 150A is almost a reflection of Datt. 205A : may be due to unconscious borrowing.

The two praveṇīs [comprise] the [varṇāṅgas] pravṛtta and avagāḍha respectively. The rest of the [tāla components] are usually [rendered with] vividha; the upavartana with ekaka.

Thus ends oveṇaka.

NOTE:

The first two tāla components in oveṇaka were a pair of pādas, each formed like the vastu in aparāntaka with twenty-four kalās or six catuṣkala pādabhāgas (caturvimsatikalamatra vastu kartavyamityabhihitam; B.B.) (I) ch. VIII).¹ Dattila has not enjoined a beat-structure, presumably because these pādas must have had the same beat-structure as the vastu in aparāntaka. Moreover, the two pādas also had the same gīti as the aparāntaka vastu²: this, evidently, consisted of rendering padas according to a fixed pattern of repetition (see the topic gīti). The only difference between the aparāntaka vastu and the pair of oveṇaka pādas, says Dattila, was that they were formed with different words. Bharata has expressed this very idea by stating that the second pāda was a pratiśākhā of the first (N.S. 31, 282): pratiśākhā, we have seen, was a counterpart of certain tāla components and was rendered alike, but with different words.

In *Saṅgitaratnākara*, the second pāda has been termed prati-pāda (S.R. 5, 147). Śāringadeva mentions a variant view of forming the two pādas according to which the pāda was identical with an aparāntaka vastu, but the prati-pāda equalled only the last twelve kalās formed in pāda (samāṇ pādaparārdhena pratipādāṇ pare jaguh; S.R. 4, 148).

A component termed māṣaghāta was rendered after the pair of pādas. Before the māṣaghāta, Bharata has mentioned another component called śīrṣaka but has described it as 'anitya' (N.S. 31, 282), which Abhinava explains as 'optional': "anityamiti" śīrṣakamasya bhavati vā na vā" (A.B. on above). Dattila does not mention śīrṣaka.

Abhinava states that māṣaghāta was the chief component in oveṇaka (māṣaghāta evātra pradhānam, A.B. on N.S. 31, 207). To support his contention he quotes line 203A from the *Dattilam*. Here Dattila speaks of the predominant position of māṣaghāta and gives two reasons for this. One reason was that the māṣaghāta was 'nitya' (unlike śīrṣaka which Bharata calls 'anitya'). Obviously, Dattila means that māṣaghāta was a compulsory component and hence its importance.

Oveṇaka, when fully formed, contained twelve aṅgas. An oveṇaka of seven aṅgas was also formed by omitting five specified components. Māṣaghāta was among those which were not omitted and in this sense it was compulsory or invariable. But so were six others, and it remains a mystery why māṣaghāta alone should have been called invariable. The other reason Dattila has given for its predominance is its 'asamānatva'. The significance of this term here is not clear.

¹ Nānyadeva quotes Datt. 201B after this statement.

² Abhinava in quoting Datt. 201B-202A notes : विशेषवचनं तुल्यगीतित्वे

The structure of māṣaghāṭa was like that of dvikala pañcapāṇi, though with some different beats. Let us try to chart the beats as noted by Dattila. Having formed six dvikala pāḍabhāgas (the number comprising dvikala pañcapāṇi) with the beats 'ni pra', let us render sannipāṭa as the last beat in sixth pāḍabhāga. Let us then replace the beats in the basic prototype pattern with those enjoined here by Dattila. The resulting beat-structure comes out to be:

ni ū, ni tā, ni tā, ni ū, tā pra, ni sam.

The beat-arrangement given in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* is the same.¹ It appears to have been based on the detailed description given by Bharata (N.S. 31, 283-84).

The māṣaghāṭa had an upavartana or repetition, but this, Bharata says, was optional (kadācītupavartanam, N.S. 31, 285; comments Abhinava: pākṣikamupavartanam).

Dattila here describes the optional nature of upavartana differently. He says that the upavartana could occur elsewhere in another component called sampiṣṭaka; or, alternatively, it could occur at both places.²

The reading in the original T.e.d. of Dattilam "ürdhvam sampistakam va syād..." does not seem to render a happy coherent meaning. We have, therefore, suggested the alternative "sampiṣṭakādvā... syād" on the basis of the description in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. This reading not only provides a coherent meaning, but is also consistent with the logic of Dattila himself, for, as we shall see later, the tāla component sampiṣṭaka did not follow māṣaghāṭa as the former reading suggests. Moreover, statements on this point in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (as well as the *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*) are expressed in lines almost parallel to *Dattilam* 205A³—which, indeed, may have been their source.

The upavartana here is said to be like that in aparāntaka. In aparāntaka, we have seen, an upavartana containing six kalās occurred after the fourth vastu where the words forming the latter twelve kalās of the fourth vastu were repeated in a fast tempo (Datt. 175B-176). A similar upavartana is ordained after māṣaghāṭa. Dattila implies that words forming the twelve kalās of māṣaghāṭa were to be repeated and rendered in six kalās. Abhinava says that as in aparāntaka, the beats of the

¹ शनिता माषधाते स्युद्वितीयाद्यास्त्वयः क्रमात्

—S.R. 5, 161.

Note Kalā : वचनित्यातकलाविशेषयोगं दर्शयति—शनिता माषधाते स्युरित्यादिना । माषधाते तावत् द्विकलोत्तरताल उक्तः । तस्य निप्रताशनितानिनिशतानिसं तथोत्तर इति पातकलायोगोऽपि पूर्वमेवोक्तः तदेकदेशापदवादत्त्वेन शनिता इत्येतद्वचनं द्रष्टव्यम् । द्वितीयाद्यास्त्वय इति द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थः पूर्वं प्रताशा उक्ताः । इह शनिता कर्तव्या इति ।

² Sāṅgadeva echoes Dattila :

अपरान्तकवदस्मात्परं स्यादुपवर्तनम् ॥ ऊर्ध्वं संपिण्ठकाद्वा स्यादुभास्यामथवा परम् ।

—S.R. 5, 149-150.

³ Sāṅgadeva we have quoted. Vemabhūpāla says :

ऊर्ध्वं शीर्षकान्माषधातो द्विकलेनोत्तरेण तु । यथापरान्तके तस्मादूर्ध्वं स्यादुपवर्तनम् यद्वासंपिण्ठकादूर्ध्वंमुभास्यां वा परं भवेत्

—S.C. ch. I, Section on vādyā.

upavartana in this gītaka, too, were rendered in yathākṣāra pañcapanī (tatra caikakalaḥ pañcapānitālāḥ ; A.B. on N.S. 31, 286).

Bharata states that upavartana (when it occurred) occurred at the second half of māṣaghāta—‘paścārdhe’ (N.S. 31, 285). This, Abhinava comments, was differently interpreted by different theorists. Some opined that the upavartana—which was rendered with the same words as māṣaghāta but in twice the tempo, i.e., in a six-kalā time—could occur either before the māṣaghāta or it could come after. Others thought that the last six kalās of the māṣaghāta itself had been enjoined as being formed with the pañcapanī, in case upavartana occurred.¹

The upavartana according to Dattila was followed by a tāla-component called sandhi which, too, was formed with the beats of the yathākṣāra or ekakala pañcapanī. Bharata gives a corresponding description of sandhi (sandhīyathākṣareṇaiva kartavyāḥ pañcapanīnā ; N.S. 31, 286).

After sandhi came a component called caturasraka. Unlike preceding components, which were in ayugma, caturasraka was rendered in a yugma tāla (which might have been the reason for its name). Its structure and beats were the same as that of the yugma pravṛtti (see ‘ullopyaka’, Datt. 188-91). Bharata’s description again accords with that of Dattila.²

Caturasraka was followed by vajra which had the same structure as that of sandhi (sandhīvad vajratālaśca ; N.S. 31, 288). With vajra the tāla reverted back to ayugma. Abhinava explaining the name vajra therefore says : like a cementing factor (vajra-lepa) this component reestablishes the predominating experience here of the ayugma mode of tāla which was disturbed by the (yugma) caturasraka (caturasra-vyavahita tryasradhīḥ punarvajralepenaivānena vṛddhikṛte’pi(ti) vajram; A.B. on N.S. 31, 288).

After vajra came sampiṭaka. Dattila says it corresponded to the vaihāyasika, but indicates some differences in beats. Bharata describes the twelve kalās of sampiṭaka in detail : “having formed a niṣkrāma in the beginning, one should render three śamyās followed by three tālas; after these should be formed a śamyā and a tāla and then again a śamyā and a tāla, the last beat being sannipāta³”.

This beat-structure agrees with that given by Śāṅgadeva :

ni śa śa, śa tā tā, tā śa tā, śa tā sam (S.R. 4, 162)

The first seven beats enjoined in sampiṭaka by Dattila agree with those given by Bharata—the rest are, as he says, same as before. We, indeed, observe that the last five beats here are the same as the last five in vaihāyasika.

¹ माषधातस्य पश्चिमेऽप्यकिमुपवर्तनम् तत्र चैककलः पञ्चपाणिस्तालः । अत्र केचिदाहुः । कदाचित् पूर्वाधैँ कदाचित् पश्चिमाधैँ । तेन माषधाते यात्यक्षराणि द्वादशकलासु तायेव लयशीघ्रतया पटकलासु प्रयोज्यानि । तच्चादौ पश्चाद्वा माषधातस्येति । अन्ये तु माषधातस्य पटकलासु नैरेवान्तरैरन्याः पटकलाः पञ्चपाणिगतप्लुतादिविभागेन गेयाः । तालस्तु माषधातीय एव क्रमायात इति । —A.B. on N.S. 31, 284-286.

² अन्तस्य चतुरश्रस्य प्रवृत्ते यो विधिः स्मृतः । विविधाङ्गेन तेनैव चतुरश्रकमिष्यते ॥ —N.S. 31, 287.

Note A.B. : चतुरथं तस्य यत् प्रवृत्तमङ्गः द्विकलचच्चतुर्षुटमवतं तदेव विविधाङ्गः चतुरथं ।

³ निस्कामादितः कृत्वा शम्यास्तिस्तः प्रयोजयेत् । तालव्यं तत्पर्वते शम्यातालौ ततः परम् ॥ शम्यातालौ ततः कार्यो सन्निपातोऽन्त्य एव च । शोषणेके तु सप्ताङ्गे सम्पष्टकमिदं मतम् ॥

—N.S. 31, 289-90.

Bharata has noted that it was only when oveṇaka was formed as a seven-limb gitaka did the sampiṣṭaka have twelve kalās. In the oveṇaka of twelve limbs, the sampiṣṭaka was rendered with ten kalās : "saptāṅge dvādaśakalam dvādaśāṅge daśaiva tu" (N.S. 31, 288). Abhinava, however, remarks that in the seven-limb oveṇaka sampiṣṭaka could have either ten or twelve kalās : "saptāṅge oveṇake sampiṣṭakam daśakalam dvādaśakalam vā" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 288). When it had ten kalās it contained nine instead of the eleven sounded beats (pāta) of the twelve-kalā structure. In the twelve-kalā form three śamyās and three tālas occurred in the beginning; but the ten-kalā structure had only two of each.¹

There is, in this connection, an inconsistency in Bharata. For he names sampiṣṭaka also as a component which had to be omitted in order to form the seven-limb oveṇaka (N.S. 31, 210). Śāringadeva, too, speaks of this omission evidently on the basis of Bharata (S.R. 5, 145-46). There is no clue that can help explain this inconsistency.

The sampiṣṭaka was followed by the components called praveṇī and upapāta. Two praveṇīs were formed after which came upapāta (Bharata calls it avapāta on occasion); see N.S. 31, 295).

In the Trivandrum edition Datt. 207B reads : "praveṇyāmupapātaśca dvikale syurihottare." This entails discrepancies. Praveṇī and upapāta being only two in number, could not have the verb "syuh"; and in any case the saptami in 'praveṇyām' is quite misplaced. Moreover, Dattila himself, in listing the number of components in oveṇaka, has counted two praveṇīs (sampiṣṭakapraveneṇau ca: verse 209B) and Bharata agrees with him (upapātaḥ praveṇyau ca, N.S. 31, 209-210). Our suggested reading, thererefore, is "praveṇyāvupapātaśca dvikale syurihottare".²

Both Bharata and Dattila seem to have regarded the two praveṇīs as two distinct components. They were, in this respect, quite different from the two pādas which, we have seen, were formed by repeating the same component twice. In order to distinguish the two praveṇīs better, Śāringadeva calls them veṇī and praveṇī (S.R. 5, 144).

Regarding the talā in praveṇī Bharata states : "one should render praveṇī with either the yathākṣara (*i.e.* the ekakala) or the dvikala pañcapāṇi or with a combination (of both)".³ According to Abhinava this could mean that the first praveṇī was in the yathākṣara and the second in dvikala uttara tāla. But in case the tāla was identical, the two praveṇīs could be distinguished from the fact that the aṅga in the first was the vividha while in the second it was vṛttā.⁴

¹ द्वि शम्यातालयोगेन दादशांगेऽपि चेष्यते । पाता नवैकादश वा सम्पिष्टकमुदाहृतम् ॥
—N.S. 31, 291.

Note A.B. : द्वादशांगे दशकलमाह । द्वि:शम्यातालयोगेनेति । शम्यायास्तालस्य च यत् नित्वमुक्तं तदपसार्य द्वित्वं कार्यम् । अत एव नव पाता भवति । निकामश्चाद्यः प्रागेकादशपाताः ।

² Abhinava reads this line (as from a 'tantrāntara') as : प्रवेण्या अवपातश्च द्विकले स्युरहीत्तरे. He reads avapāta for upapāta as does Bharata in N.S. 31, 295.

³ पञ्चपाणिस्तु कर्तव्यं (व्य?) प्रवेण्याश्च यथाक्षरः । द्विकलो वापि मिश्रो वा प्रयोगो द्वादशानुगः ॥
—N.S. 31, 293.

⁴ तदाद्यायास्तालः पञ्चपाणिर्यथाक्षरः अपरस्याः स एव द्विकलः यदि वा मिश्र इति एककलद्विकलच्चत्पुटसमुदायरूप इति लक्ष्यते ननु यदि द्वियोरपि तालस्तुल्यस्तर्हि को विशेष इत्याह प्रयोगोऽगवशानुग इति आद्यायां विवधोऽप्यस्यां च वृत्तमित्यगमेदाद्यभेद इति यावत्

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 293.

Dattila decrees the dvikala pañcapāṇi for both praveṇīs. According to him, then, only the aṅga-formation distinguished the praveṇīs. The first praveṇī, he says, was formed with pravṛtta and the second with avagādha (Datt. 210B).

Śāringadeva gives four possible ways of tāla-formation in veṇī and praveṇī. Abhinava, too, hints at them in commenting on Bharata's injunction 'miśro vā'; this Abhinava interprets as "yadi vā miśra iti. ekakaladvikalacaccatpuṭasamudāyarūpa" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 293). The four alternatives noted by Śāringadeva are : (1) both veṇī and praveṇī could be rendered in yathākṣara uttara; (2) both could be rendered in dvikala uttara; (3) the first (*i.e.* veṇī) could be in yathākṣara caccatpuṭah and the second (*i.e.* praveṇī) in the dvikala mode of the same tāla; (4) veṇī could be rendered in the yathākṣara and praveṇī in dvikala uttra tāla (S.R. 5, 153-55).

After the two praveṇīs came the upapāṭa. In Dattila's view this too was rendered with dvikala uttara tāla. Bharata gives a different beat-structure with the words : "avapāṭa (*i.e.* upapāṭa) was formed with the beats contained in the second pāda—dvitīyapāda tālena hyavapāṭaśca kīrtyate" (N.S. 31, 295A). Abhinava in interpreting this line deduces two alternate beat-structures. To begin with, he argues that Bharata's injunction regarding avapāṭa (*i.e.* upapāṭa) here refers to a twelve-kalā structure and not to a twenty-four kalā structure like the oveṇaka pāda. In support of his view Abhinava quotes line 207B from the *Dattilam* (naming the source as a 'tantrāntara' : 'another text'). He then argues that the enjoined tāla is the same as that in the second half of the pāda. Here he interprets Bharata's phrase 'dvitīyapāda' as 'dvitiyam pādasya'. Then interpreting Bharata's statement on a different basis (and taking dvitīya to mean the second mode of tāla, *i.e.*, dvikala), he concludes that an alternate beat-structure can be inferred—that of the dvikala pañcapāṇi.¹

Śāringadeva also notes both these alternatives : "pādottarārdha tālena dvikalenottareṇa vā upapāṭah" (S.R. 5, 156). Dattila, too, (in Datt. 208A) refers enigmatically to a second view regarding the upapāṭa. Abhinava quotes this line and his comments on it are quite informative. "Others", he says, "do not believe that upapāṭa is rendered with pañcapāṇi; they hold that the tāla here forms the second half of the first pāda. Upapāṭa (thus is rendered as) ā ni vi tā, ā tā vi śa, tā ni vi sam̄. Dattilācārya has stated : 'upapāṭa dvitīyastu tālah kaiścidudāhṛtah'. The term 'dvitīya' here means the second half of the first pāda. The honourable author (authors?) of the vivaraṇa on Dattila could not grasp this point and, being confused, he explained the line as referring merely to another specific tāla."²

¹ प्रकरणं द्वादशकलतां निश्चन्द्रवत् द्वितीयपादताले नेत्यस्यैव विशिष्टे विग्रहे स्थापकम् । यतो द्वितीयं पादस्य द्वितीयपादः । अपरमयं द्वादशकलपादस्य । द्वितीयद्वृत्तीयेति (अष्टा. २, २, ३) समाप्तः । तत्र पञ्चपाणिना द्वितीयपादतालेन द्वादशकलेनेति सम्बन्धे द्विकलपञ्चपाणिताल एव लभ्यत इति

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 295.

² अन्ये तु पञ्चपाणिश्वर्हणं नानुवर्तयन्ति । तत्राद्यपादद्वितीयार्धतालमुपातं प्राहुः । आनिविता आताविशतानिविस(सं) उपपातः तदुक्तं दत्तिलाचार्येण—उपपातद्वितीयस्तु तालः केशिंचुदाहृतः इति । द्वितीय इहाद्यपादद्वितीयार्धनिविष्ट इत्यर्थः । एतत्वबुद्ध्वा दत्तिले विवरणकृतो आतास्तालं विशेषं व्याख्यातवन्तः । —A.B. on N.S. 31, 295

The printed text of the A.B. reads इहान्यपातद्वितीयार्धनिविष्ट which does not make sense. We have altered the reading on the basis of a similar expression occurring earlier in the passage—
तत्राद्यपादद्वितीयार्धतालमुपपातं

Śārṅgadeva records that the beat-structure of upapāṭa when formed with the second half of pāḍa was : ā ni vi tā, ā ni vi śa, tā ni vi sam (S.R. chart following 5, 163A). This agrees with Abhinava.

Bharata enjoins an upavartana after the praveṇī pair. This was to be rendered with ekakala pañcapāṇi (N.S. 31, 294). Abhinava says that the upavartana here was optional (pākṣikam bhedāntaram; A.B. on N.S. 31, 294).

Antāharaṇa followed upapāṭa. This was a tāla-component preceding the final component, the anta, as in ullopyaka. The structure of these two components has not been specified by Dattila, but it is evident from his words that their formation was the same as in ullopyaka (we notice that he says 'apyatra'). Śārṅgadeva explicitly states : "the form of antāharaṇa and so forth should be known from ullopyaka" (lakṣa-māntaharaṇādīnāṁ jñeyamullopyakādiha; S.R. 5, 157). Bharata states that antāharaṇa here was to be formed like vajra (vajratālenakartavyamantāharaṇamasya tu; N.S. 31, 295). Now, vajra was formed with ekakala pañcapāṇi, and thus the tāla in antāharaṇa here was in effect the same as in the ullopyaka antāharaṇa.

On the basis of Bharata, Abhinava and Śārṅgadeva have added a qualifying remark about the anta here. They say that when oveṇaka was formed with seven limbs, the anta was rendered in only two of its three forms of tāla : these, according to Kallinātha, were the yugma and the ayugma. But in a oveṇaka of twelve limbs, the anta was rendered in all its three forms : yugma, ayugma and miśra (S.R. 5, 157-58).¹

Ovenaka, when fully formed, thus had the following twelve tāla components : pāḍa, māṣaghāṭa, upavartana, sampiṣṭaka, sandhi, caturasraka, vajra, two praveṇīs, upapāṭa, antāharaṇa and anta. When formed with seven limbs this gītaka omitted the five components recounted in Datt. 209B-210A. Bharata makes a similar injunction (N.S. 31, 210).

Dattila next comes to the varṇāṅgas in oveṇaka. He ordains the pravṛttā in the first praveṇī, avagāḍha in the second and ekaka in upavarta. As to the other tāla-components he gives a general instruction saying that vividhas should be employed. Kumbha reports that Viśākhila had also ordained pravṛttā and avagāḍha in the first and the second praveṇī respectively (like Śārṅgadeva, Kumbha calls them veṇī and praveṇī).² According to Bharata, the two praveṇīs were to be rendered with vividha and vṛttā respectively (N.S. 31, 292).

Śārṅgadeva has recounted two views regarding the formation of varṇāṅgas in veṇī and praveṇī. According to one view, veṇī had vividha and according to the second it had pravṛttā; praveṇī, according to the first view, had the pravṛttā and,

¹ सप्तांग द्वादशांग वा प्रोक्तमेवेणकं बृधैः । तद द्वयन्तं तु सप्तांगं व्यन्तं द्वादशकं स्मृतम् ॥

—N.S. 31, 207.

Note A.B. : तद यदा सप्त तस्य या एककादीनि तदा द्विविधोऽन्तः तद यदा द्वादश तदा व्यश्रचतुरथमिश्रात्मना त्रिविधः ।

² विविधांगं भवेद्वेष्यां प्रवेण्यां च प्रवृत्तकम् । भरताचार्यसम्मत्या विशाखिलमते पुनः ॥

वेष्यां प्रवृत्तं विज्ञेयं प्रवेण्यामवगाढकम्

—S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 248-49.

according to second, the avagādha (S.R. 5, 158). Evidently, the first view was that of Bharata and the second that of Dattila.

Kumbha says that other tāla-components in this gītaka could be rendered either with the vividha or the ekaka but the upavartana was rendered with ekaka alone (S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 250-51).

The gītaka rovindaka

- 211B. *athārdhe'nte ca mātrāṇām tālaśamyē¹ yathākramam*
 212A. *caturdaśyām ca pañcamyām mātrāyām tāla iṣyate*
 B *śaṣṭhī tu mandrakāntyāvanmātrā rovindakasya tu*
 213A. *tatraśakalamādyāyā mātrāyāḥ syādupohanam*
 B *pūrvavat trikalam kāryamanyāsām pratyupohanam*
 214A. *pādah pūrvo'yamaparastadvadanyapadaḥ smṛtah*
 B *kalāsvaṣṭāsu yo'ntyāsu varṇāḥ pūrvasya gīyate*
 215A. *sa ca dvitīya pādādau sa ca prastāra iṣyate*
 B *dvitīyapāde prastārah śārīradvikalottare*
 216A. *tatropavartanām kaiścidiṣyate pūrvavattu tat*
 B *tatrādau vividham kāryam pravṛttamapi vā bhavet*
 217A. *nivṛttayastathā kāryā madhye tricaturāḥ smṛtāḥ*
 B *avamarše nivṛtte syāduttarānte ca śīrṣakam*
 218A. *asyādāvekakam nityam pravṛttam cāpyataḥ param*
 B *pādādiṣu yathesṭām ca yoktavye vividhaikake²*
 ॥ *rovindakam samāptam* ॥

Now in rovindaka [all] the mātrās have tāla and śamyā in the middle and at the end respectively. The fourteenth [kalā] in the fifth mātrā ought to be [rendered as] a tāla. The sixth mātrā of rovindaka, however, is formed like the last mātrā of madraka. In the first mātrā, an upohana of eight kalās should be formed [while] in other mātrās (anyāsām) pratyupohana of three kalās is [formed] as before.

Such is the first pāda. The other corresponds to it [but] is said to be [rendered with] different words (anyapadaḥ).

The varṇa sung in the last eight kalās of the first pāda [is repeated] at the beginning of the second pāda. Prastāra occurs in [the component called] śārīra [formed with] dvikala uttara [tāla]. Some hold that upavartana should be formed as before. [And] in the beginning of śārīra (tatrādau) should be rendered either a vividha or a pravṛtta. In the middle [of śārīra], nivṛttis, known as three or four in number, should also be employed.

¹ T. ed reads. अथार्थान्ते च मात्राणां तालशम्ये च

² Abhinava quotes Datt. 211B with तथा हि दत्तिलाचार्यः. He reads the line as तथार्थान्ते च मात्राणां तालः . शम्ये यथाक्रमम् ! We have followed him in amending the T. ed.

When [all the components] have been duly dwelt upon [avamarše nivṛtte] [then] at the end is formed the [component] śīrṣaka with uttara [tāla]. At its beginning is ekaka after which pravṛta invariably follows. In pāda and other [components] ekaka and vividha should be employed according to one's discretion [yatheṣṭam].

Thus ends rovindaka.

NOTE :

The major tāla component in rovindaka was the pāda, formed with six pāribhāsic mātrās. The beat-structure enjoined by Dattila in these six mātrās corresponds to the slightly more detailed description given by Bharata who has further added that the “number of sounded beats (pātas) here are nineteen in all” (pātaścainavimśatih).¹

Regarding the first five mātrās, Dattila has stated that at the middle of each occurs a tāla and at the end a śamyā. This is ambiguous but Sārṅgadeva gives the exact positions of these beats: according to him, tāla formed the eighth and śamyā the sixteenth beat in each mātrā (tālo’ṣṭamo’ntimā śamyā tatra mātrāsu pañcasu; S.R. 5, 173). The fifth mātra had not only these two, but an additional third sounded beat since the fourteenth kalā in it was rendered as a tāla. (N.S. 31, 298; S.R. 5, 174). The beat-structure in the first five mātrās thus emerges as :

ā ni vi pra,	a ni vi tā,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi śa	first mātrā
ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi tā,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi śa	second mātrā
ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi tā,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi śa	third mātrā
ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi tā,	ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi śa	fourth mātrā
ā ni vi pra,	ā ni vi tā,	ā ni vi pra,	ā tā vi śa	fifth mātrā.

These five mātrās have a total of eleven sound beats counting both tālas and śamyās. Abhinava thus says : “pañcamyāṁ caturdaśo’pi tāla ityekādaśa pātāḥ pañcasu” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 296-98).

The structure of the sixth mātrā was identical with that of the last mātrā in the catuṣkala madraka vastu and hence contained eight sounded beats : “ṣaṣṭhī tvaṣṭapātā mātrā” (A.B. *ibid*) : ā śa vi tā, ā tā vi śa, ā tā vi śa, tā ni vi sam (sixth mātrā).

¹ रोविन्दके तु षणमात्रा: पाताश्चेकान्न(कोन)विश्वितः । अथाधैऽस्ते च मात्राणां पञ्चानां पात उच्यते ॥
तालः शम्या च तालस्तच शम्या तालस्तर्थं च । पञ्चानामपि मात्राणां विघ्रेष यथाक्रमम् ॥
चतुर्दशोऽपि पञ्चम्या मात्रायास्ताल उच्यते । चतुष्कलाऽन्त्यया तुल्या षष्ठी मद्रकमात्रया ॥
इति पादस्तथा चाष्टी कला ह् याद्या ह्युपोहनम्

—N.S. 31, 296-99,

The total number of sounded beats in the oveṇaka pāda was thus nineteen in all as Bharata has described. Rovindaka contained two such pādas. The second was identical with the first in all respects except that it was sung to different words. Śārṅgadeva, therefore, calls it the pratipāda (S.R. 5, 165).

Dattila says that the first eight kalās of the commencing mātrā in the pāda were rendered as an upohana. Bharata gives the same instruction : "iti pādastathā cāṣṭau kalā hyādyā hyupohanam" (N.S. 31, 299). In the other mātrās the last three of these eight kalās were formed as pratyupohana. Dattila, in describing pratyupohana, adds that it should be rendered as before. He evidently refers to madraka, the only preceding gītaka where he had mentioned pratyupohana. In madraka, too, the first mātrā in a vastu (the major tāla component in that gitaka) had an upohana of eight kalās; subsequently, pratyupohana was formed with two to four kalās. Bharata ordains a two-kalā pratyupohana in rovindaka, too : "tataściva prayoktavyam dvikalām pratyupahanam" (N.S., *ibid*).

The T.ed. reading of line 211B is "athārdhānte ca . . ." We have adopted the reading given by Abhinava who quotes the line in commenting on N.S. 31, 296-298. His reading "athārdhe'nte" gives a clearer and more appropriate meaning. It also corresponds with the description in Bharata (N.S. 31, 296).

Abhinava has quoted Datt. 211B in order to justify his own interpretation of Bharata's injunction concerning the beats in oveṇaka. A commentator on Bharata, whom Abhinava calls 'tīkākāra', had interpreted Bharata differently. He considered that Bharata had ordained tāla as the middle and end beat in the first three mātrās but in the fourth and fifth mātrās, śamyā was the middle and end beat. Abhinava thought this interpretation as 'not even worthy of attention' (tadupekṣyameva) and then quoted Datt. 211B in support of his own interpretation.¹

After the two pādas Dattila describes the prastāra; this was based upon varṇa.

Varṇa, we have seen, was of four kinds : sthāyī, sañcārī, ārohī and avarohī. Prastāra, evidently, was a peculiar varṇa-pattern formed within a certain part of the rovindaka tāla-structure. Bharata calls it prasvāra (N.S. 31, 300). Abhinava analyses the term prasvāra as "prakarṣeṇa svaraṇam śabdasyeti—singing or inflecting words in a dragging manner" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 300) Prastāra says Abhinava was an aṅga unique to oveṇaka. It was, according to Bharata, formed when the varṇa in the last eight kalās of the first pāda was repeated in the first eight kalās forming the upohana of the second pāda, and again in the śārīra.² This śārīra was evidently not a separate

¹ तथैव चेति यथाक्रममिति वचनात् सर्वासु मात्रास्वधे तालाते शम्पेति । आचार्यान्तरमतानुसारेण व्याख्या चेति यत् टीकाकारेण कल्पितं तालोऽधैर्जन्ते चान्यासां शम्याद्येऽन्ते न तुर्यस्यां तालोऽधैर्जन्ते पंचम्यामिति तदुपेक्ष्यमेव । तथा हि दत्तिलाचार्यः । 'तथाऽधैर्जन्ते च मात्राणां तालः शम्ये यथाक्रमम्' ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 296-298.

² वण्किनुर्पौष्टकलस्त्वत्यः प्रस्वार उच्यते । तुल्यवर्णोपवहनो द्वितीयः पाद इत्यते ॥
शरीरतालः कर्तव्यः प्रस्वारोऽस्य विशेषतः ।
—N.S. 31, 300-301.

A.B. on N.S. 31, 300 : वर्णस्य गीतिवर्णस्य गीतिलक्षणस्यानकवर्ति प्रत्यनयनप्रत्यासत्या प्राप्य पादान्त्यमात्रापर्यन्तं कलाष्टकनिविष्टस्य द्वितीयपादप्रथममात्रादयकलात्मकोपोहनात्मनि पुनर्योजनं सोऽन्य इतर गीतकासाधारणः प्रस्तारो नामांगम् ; again on verse 301 : शरीरताल इति विशेषः प्राच्यवर्णात्मुकर्षत् प्रस्तारकिया क्रियत इत्याह ।

component, but as Dattila suggests, was formed within the second pāda (dvitiyapāde). Śāringadeva's description is more definite; he says that the śarīra constituted the last twelve kalās of the pratipāda (śarīram pratipādāntyakalādvādaśakasthayā; S.R. 5, 166). Although śarīra formed a part of the second pāda, yet it was virtually treated as an independent component. It not only had a separate name but also a distinct tāla and varna structure; Bharata adds that it was rendered with a six-kalā upohana in the beginning (rovindakaśarīram tu ṣaṭkalopohanam; N.S. 31, 303; also A.B.). This is significant, for upohana was usually an element occurring in components independent in themselves. Dattila does not mention any upohana in the śarīra. All he states is that either the pravṛtta or the vividha was formed at the beginning of the component. We learn from Bharata that vividha or vṛtta was formed in the upohana which came at the beginning of śarīra (N.S. 31, 303).

After śarīra, Dattila mentions upavartana which, he says, was formed in this gītaka according to some. Bharata does not ordain an upavartana here. Dattila describing this upavartana instructs that it should be formed as before. But this does not reveal much, for upavartana was formed in more than one preceding gītakas and in different ways. Śāringadeva who, like Dattila, also mentions the upavartana here, is more exact and states that the upavartana here was formed as in aparāntaka (S.R. 5, 169). We do not know on what authority he asserts this. It seems, however, that the upavartana in aparāntaka was the standard upavartana. We observe that Dattila, ordaining upavartana in oveṇaka, says that it should be formed as in aparāntaka (Datt. 204; for upavartana in aparāntaka see Datt. 175-176).

Dattila also ordains a nivṛtti in śarīra. Nivṛtti, we have seen, was a term used by Dattila to denote repetition (verse 188). Thus, evidently, a repetition of certain elements has here been enjoined within the body of śarīra. Dattila, however, has not specified the element to be repeated. Bharata's description is more specific. Within the śarīra according to him 'ākāravṛtta should be effected three or four times'. Abhinava, explaining this, comments: "the varṇa-component formed here should be a vṛtta and in it a meaningless syllable (stobha) 'ā' should be repeated at least three or four times."¹ Bharata, in another passage, apparently enjoins the 'ā' syllable at the end of śarīra also (N.S. 31, 205-06). Śāringadeva's description is similar to Abhinava's; he adds that the syllable 'ā' should be in pluta form (S.R. 5, 167), we do not know on whose authority.

Śīrṣaka was the final component in rovindaka and was rendered after śarīra. It, too, was in uttara tāla but was rendered in the yathāksara mode (N.S. 31, 305, also S.R. 5, 170). Dattila ordains the aṅga ekaka followed by pravṛtta in śīrṣaka. Bharata's description of aṅgas in śīrṣaka is the same as that of Dattila, but he adds that the ekaka here was to be formed with the syllable 'ā' (ākāraikakam). Abhinava's comments suggest that only a single 'ā' was formed (N.S. 31, 305-306 and A.B.).

¹ आकावृत्तमस्य स्याच्चतुर्थं त्रिकमेव वा । त(अ)स्योपरि यथेष्टं स्यादधस्तादंगयोजनम् ॥
—N.S. 31, 304.

Note A.B. : वृत्ताख्यं वर्णं आ इत्येवंभूतेः स्तोभैस्त्रिश्चतुर्वा प्रयुक्तैः कार्यम् यदाह चतुर्थं त्रिकमेवेति नातो न्यूनमिति यावत् ।

According to Śāṅgadeva, there were many alternative ways of rendering the śīrṣaka. It could either be formed with or without repetitions. In the former case, the element repeated could either be the gīta (melody) or pada (words) or again both could be repeated. The repetitions could be two or three in number. The first repetition was invariably effected with the aṅga ekaka and utilised the syllable ‘ā’. In the second repetition, words (pada) were repeated and the aṅga employed was pravṛtta. If a third repetition was also made, then both the melody and the words were repeated; aṅgas could be employed as desired (S.R. 5, 107-72). We do not know Śāṅgadeva's source for these assertions.

The gitaka uttara

Now, in the beginning of *uttara* is *mukha*, after which the *pratimukha*, as in *ullopyaka*. [Similarly, here], too, is the [component] *anta*, there is, however, no fixed rule as to its use.

The completion of śākhā (śākhākṛpti) is conceived as before with the dvikalpa pañcapāṇi [tāla]. Between the two (*viz.* the śākbā and the pratiśākhā) should be applied the [component] śirsaka, formed with the pañcapāṇi. [In śākhā] should be rendered a maximum of twelve and a minimum of six [varṇa] aṅgas. All elements here are as in rovindaka, omitting pāda and the syllable ‘ā’.

NOTE:

Dattila ordains that mukha and pratimukha should be formed at the commencement of uttara. Mukha was basically a varṇāṅga—of the class of vividha, ekaka etc. (see the topic ‘āṅga’). Dattila is silent about the tāla-component forming the commencing limb of uttara. But it can without difficulty be inferred from his description. Mukha and pratimukha were the two āṅgas formed in the first and the second half of the mātrā which formed the commencing component of ullopyaka. Thus, evidently, Dattila implied that the mātrā was here the first tāla-component. Bharata has left no ambiguity about this; he says: “in the beginning of uttara should be formed a catuṣkala mātrā as in ullopyaka” (ullopyakavadasyādau mātrā caikā catuṣkalā; N.S. 31, 308). He has also mentioned the formation of mukha and pratimukha: “asyedamuttarasyātha mukham pratimukham bhavet” (N.S. 31,

¹ T. ed. reads पाद + +. We give reasons for inserting the two syllables 'kāra' in the note.

308). Abhinava comments : "uttara ādau mukhapratimukhavibhaktā śoḍāśakalā mātrā" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 308).

As in ullopyaka, anta here formed the last component. Dattila does not say so explicitly, but Bharata has described anta as the last tālāṅga. Regarding anta, Dattila states that "there is no rule as to its use". This statement can be interpreted in two ways: firstly, it could signify that the formation of anta was not enjoined as a strict rule or, in other words, its formation was optional. Secondly, it could imply that no rule existed as to the form of tāla.

Abhinava has remarked that the second alternative was the one applicable according to Dattila. He remarks that many theorists had interpreted Bharata's entirely contrary injunction concerning anta in the light of Dattila and had explained his injunction as meaning that anta here should be 'aniyata' ('not fixed') whereas, in truth, Bharata had enjoined a 'niyata' or 'fixed' anta. Abhinava understood Bharata's injunction as ordaining an anta which commenced with sthita: "antaśca sthita ādibhūto yadi bhavet tanniyatam" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 312). Abhinava gives no further details. Regarding Dattila's ordination as to the form of anta Abhinava says that he had left it to one's choice. Consequently, the tāla in it could be applied in any of its three permitted modes: yugma, ayugma and miśra : "aniyato'ntastryasrādinām-anyatamo yathāruci kartavyah" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 312).¹ Sārṅgadeva also says that the anta could be rendered in any one of its three permitted modes. Alternatively, he adds, anta could be omitted (tatonantarameko'nto yadvānto nātra vidyate; S.R. 5, 177).

After the anta, Dattila speaks of the śākhā. This was evidently formed before the anta but Dattila mentions it later. He has perhaps mentioned anta along with mukha and pratimukha to bracket together all similarities with the ullopyaka that obtained in uttara.

Dattila's description of śākhā is cryptic. To follow his intention and to form any cogent idea of the structure he had in mind we have to turn to other texts. From Bharata we learn that the mātrā in uttara was followed by a śākhā of twelve kalās, followed in turn by a pratiśākhā which, as usual, had the same structure but was rendered with different words. The śākhā was rendered with at least six and at the most twelve varṇāṅgas (N.S. 307-311). Dattila, we see, has not mentioned the pratiśākhā, but obviously has implied it in stating that "the śākhā should be completed as before" (śākhākṛptistu pūrvavat); this entails the pratiśākhā which, we have noted, formed a counterpart of śākhā and was always rendered along with it.

Dattila next describes a śīrṣaka which he says was to be formed between the two. We gather from Sārṅgadeva that the śīrṣaka was formed between the śākhā and the pratiśākhā.² Dattila apparently takes the pratiśākhā for granted in describing the

¹ स च नियतः । अन्ये तु दत्तिलाद्यनुसारिणो व्याचक्षते शाखाप्रतिशाखान्तः पृथग्भूतः सन्नियतः चकारेणावृत्याऽन्तश्च स्थित आदिभूतो यदि भवेत् तन्नियतम् अनियतोऽन्तस्त्रश्यादीनामन्यतमो यथारूपं कर्तव्य इति ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 312.

² शाखावरा षड्गास्याद् द्वादशांगा परा ततः । द्विक्ले पञ्चपाणी सा प्रतिशाखा च तत्समा ॥
कि तु बद्धा पदैरन्यैः शोष्य मध्ये तयोर्भवेत् ।
—S.R. 5, 175-176.

śīrṣaka as formed between the two: his expression ‘dvayormadhye’ is otherwise inexplicable.

The tāla-structure of the śākhā as described by Dattila presents a problem, since his injunction that “it should be formed as before with dvikala pañcapāṇi”, confuses rather than clarifies. Dattila has not mentioned any śākhā earlier which was formed with dvikala uttara tāla. Bharata, however, describes śākhā in detail and recounts its beats. He states that “śākhā should be formed as in rovindaka but without employing the syllable ‘ā’” (rovindakavadākāragaṇavarjam prayojayet śākhā; N.S. 31, 309). Rovindaka, as we have seen, contained no śākhā, but the syllable ‘ā’ formed a characteristic factor of the component called śarīra, which was formed with the dvikala uttara tāla. It appears, therefore, that the śākhā in this gītaka was, according to Bharata (and perhaps also Dattila), to be formed like the śarīra in rovindaka. Both Abhinava and Śāringadeva, in fact, note the correspondence between the śākhā in uttara and the śarīra in rovindaka. Śāringadeva observes that “the formation of varṇāṅga in the śākhā is the same as in śarīra but the syllable ā is omitted” (S.R. 5, 178). Abhinava describes the pratiśākhā (which was structurally the same as śakha) as being based upon the śarīra in rovindaka: “evambhūtaiva pratiśākhānyapadā. atra ca rovindakānantaryāccharīratvamupajīvyata iti” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 310-311).

In the light of these descriptions, let us examine Dattilia’s concluding statement regarding uttara. He observes that “all elements are formed here as in rovindaka, omitting the pāda”. In the reading from the Trivandrum edition, two letters are missing after the word pāda: pādā++ vivarjitam. This appears to indicate that another factor along with the pāda was to be omitted from rovindaka when applying its components to uttara. From Bharata as well as Śāringadeva, this additional factor appears, evidently, to have been the syllable ‘ā’. Our suggested reading is, therefore, ‘pādākāra vivarjitam’. Bharata pointedly says: “śākhā should be rendered as in rovindaka except that should it not contain ‘ā’ syllables—rovindakavadākāragaṇavarjam prayojayet śākhā” (N.S. 31, 309). Śāringadeva notes: “ākāravarjam śākhāyām gītāṅgam śarīravat” (S.R. 5, 178A).

We can see that besides the pāda, which was replaced by mātrā, and the syllable ‘ā’ which was omitted, many elements in uttara correspond with those in rovindaka. Abhinava even describes a prasvāra here (formed in rovindaka by the repetition of the same varṇa) and observes that it was rendered within pratiśākhā (varṇānukarṣātmā prasvārah pratiśākhāyāḥ kāryaḥ; A.B. on N.S. 31, 310-311). Bharata enjoins śīrṣaka in uttara (as in rovindaka); but here he speaks of two śīrṣakas, one between the śākhā and the pratiśākhā, and the other at the end of the pratiśākhā: “ante cāsyā višeṣena madhye caiva tu śīrṣakam”. Abhinava comments: “madhya iti śākhāpratiśākhe antarā śīrṣakamiti śīrṣakadvayam”. Śāringadeva gives the same instruction (S.R. 5, 177). Dattila has mentioned only one śīrṣaka explicitly, but his concluding statement appears to imply another at the end of this gītaka, since the final component in rovindaka, too, was a śīrṣaka.

Concluding remarks on prakarana

222A. *ityevam r̄shibhirgītām sāmavedasamudbhavam*
 B. *saptarūpamato jātām gītajātām purā kila*

Thus have the sages sung the saptarūpa, which in ancient times, originated from *Sāmaveda*. Out of this [saptarūpa] has arisen the whole aggregate of gitas.

NOTE:

Saptarūpa (literally 'the seven forms') was a generic name denoting all the seven gītakas from madraka to uttara. Bharata, too, has used this term to signify the seven gītakas (N.S. 31, 25; 313; 320; 322, etc.).

The seven gītakas were clearly very rigidly structured forms. They were also very complex and quite unlike any tāla forms known today.

The saptarūpa, says Dattila, had arisen out of *Sāmaveda*. This was said of the whole of gāndharva by Bharata. We have earlier discussed the implication of this statement.

Dattila observes that all gītas have arisen out of saptarūpa. Earlier (Datt. 97) he had said that all geya forms or songs had arisen out of the jātis. By gīta here Dattila evidently means tāla-structures akin to the seven gītakas. The term 'gīta' here is thus a shortened form of 'gītaka'. Though Dattila has not used the word gīta as meaning gītaka elsewhere, Bharata often uses the term as denoting the gītakas (N.S. 31, 189; 190; 191; 199; 229 etc.).

The use of the term gītaka or gīta to denote the saptarūpa was not without significance. Though basically tāla-structures, these forms were inherently and innately interwoven with characteristic 'gīta' patterns—both as to their melodic and verbal contents. The structure of a gītaka, as the foregoing exposition reveals, could not be properly described without its 'song' characteristics embodied in elements like aṅga, vidārī, gīti and similar other factors.

After saptarūpa Dattila describes the *vardhamānaka* and the *pāṇikā*. He considered these to be forms derived from saptarūpa. Bharata describes the *vardhamānaka* in great detail. He also gives some details of *pāṇikā* and names other similar tālas which were akin to saptarūpa and were considered gāndharva forms but accorded a somewhat secondary status (see ch. VII).

Besides forms included in gāndharva, non-gāndharva dhruvā talā-structures were also traced to saptarūpa. Bharata says that the model for dhruvās was the saptarūpa and dhruvās were composed with aṅgas or limbs taken from saptarūpa but transformed in accordance with poetic metres. He names many of these aṅgas. The list includes : mukha, pratimukha, vaihāyasika, sthita, pravṛtta, vajra, prasvāra, māṣaghāṭa, upavartana, upapāṭa, praveṇī, caturasra, śiraṣaka, sampiṣṭaka, antāharāṇa and mahājanika (N.S. 32, 1-6 ; see also ch. V).

Other non-sacred tāla-forms besides the theoretic dhruvās must have been traced to the saptarūpa, just as subsequent melodic forms like rāga, bhāṣā etc. were traced to jātis.

TOPIC 13

AVAYAVA (?)

Short and long gitakas

- 223A. *tatra saṅkṣepapakṣo yaḥ śamamārgaḥ sa ucyate*
 B. *vistaram cātra (chatram tu bhūrya)vayavalakṣaṇam*¹

In saptarūpa (tatra) the mode or aspect of application with comparatively fewer [components] (saṅkṣepapakṣah) is called the śama-mārga. Chatra mārga, on the other hand, is spread out and is characterised by a greater number of components.

NOTE :

The topic that presumably follows prakaraṇa in Dattila's tāloddeśa is avayava. This is evidently expounded in Datt. 223. The end portion of this verse almost clearly outlines the word 'avayava' in spite of a big lacuna. Bharata includes avayava in his list of tāla topics (N.S. 28, 19) but he has not expounded it.

Datt. 223A defines śama-mārga. Śāma-mārga is said to be the 'saṅkṣepapakṣa', the shorter alternative. The next line, where five letters are missing, must have contained a definition of the larger alternative. Dattila indicates as much in saying 'vistaram cātra + + + + +'.

Later authors including Śāringadeva, Vemabhūpāla and Kumbha have described two mārgas which are clearly akin to what Dattila has in mind here ; but these authors have not associated the term 'avayava' with the matter.

The śama-mārga is called śāṅkha-mārga by Śāringadeva. Vemabhūpāla and Kumbha call it śāṭha-mārga. The other mārga is termed chatra or chatraka by the three of them (S.R. 5, 178-179; S.C. chapter I in the section on vādyā and S. Raj, 2, 4, 1, 278). Our suggested reconstruction of the missing words in the Trivandrum edition of the *Dattilam* is based on the texts of these three authors.²

According to Vemabhūpāla, these mārgas—śāṭha and chatra—were named after the two teachers who propagated them. This explanation is not found in any other text. Dattila's term for the first mārga is śama ; it is self-explanatory, for it means to 'render short' (among other things). The other term chatra (literally a 'parasol') is suggestive of spreading out (see Kalā on S.R. 5, 178-179).

1 T. ed. चात्र + + + + वयवलक्षणम्. Our reconstruction is based on parallel passages in other texts.

2 द्वौ मार्गो गीतकेषु वृत्तौ शंखच्छत्रकसंज्ञकौ । शंखमार्गेजासंक्षेपश्छत्रकस्त्वंगविस्तरः ॥
 विकल्पो बहुधा तेषु लयमार्गनुसारतः ।
 —S.R. 5, 178-179.

आचार्ययोः शठत्रसंज्ञयोरूपदेशतः । गीतेष्वेतेषु मार्गो द्वौ शठत्रामिधो मतो ॥

गीतांगानां तु संक्षेपाच्छत्रमार्गं उदाहृतः ।

—S.C. ch. I in the section on vādyā.

The two mārgas—śama and chatra—were two alternate measures for a gītaka: in śama fewer components were formed; in chatra their number was greater. Kulaka and chedyaka, we have seen, were also different ways of rendering gītakas but the focus in them was pada and its associated melodic patterns. In śama or chatra a gītaka was shortened or lengthened by forming fewer or greater number of tāla-components. We have seen that in many gitakas a minimum and a maximum possible number of components have been given. Here, evidently, we have a clue to the nature of śama and chatra mārga. For example an oveṇaka when composed with seven aṅgas would be śama, but when rendered with twelve aṅgas it would be chatra.

Later authors, especially Kumbha, suggest that śama and chatra had further sub-classes on the basis of the three layamārgas—citra, dakṣiṇa and vṛtta.¹

On the basis of kulaka and chedyaka as well as śama and chatra, a single gītaka could have many alternative forms. Abhinava calculates 405 forms. He remarks that greater the number of aṅgas, greater was the resulting adṛṣṭa.²

A prakṣipta line

224A. tatra vādyādiko bheda uttare khañjanatkuṭe

There the instrumental and other varieties in khañja and natkuṭa are [rendered] in uttara [tāla ?].

NOTE :

Line 224A stands out as the only line in the *Dattilam* which, evidently, bears no relation with the rest. Dattila avows to confine himself to gāndharva; and we have so far observed that he keeps himself strictly within the scope of his subject, limiting his exposition to gāndharva alone. He treats his subject with the grasp of a Master. Naming the two main aspects of gāndharva, svara and the tāla, he follows the time-honoured procedure of enumerating the main topics in their logical sequence and then elaborating each in turn. Nowhere in the text do we find him straying from this self-set path. Datt. 224A is the only exception. It bears no relation with the context where it occurs and, besides, conveys no meaning in itself.

1 मार्गदृशं मन्त्रकादेः शठलतकभेदतः । शठः स्यादंगसंज्ञेषात् छत्रकस्त्वं गविस्तरात् ॥
एतेषां भिकुता भेदास्त्रव्यमार्गानुसारतः । भवन्ति बहुधा ते च स्वयमूह् या विपणिता ॥

—S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 278-279.

2 उपोहनैरेव हीनं पदनियुक्तम् । अर्थप्रतीतिनिवन्धनपरिश्लेषतायोगात् । एतदुपसंहरति । इत्येतदिति । प्रकृतं प्रकारो भेद इत्यर्थः । ते सप्तानां भेदाः । तद्यथा मद्रकादिति(दीनि) चत्वारि त्रिवैककलादि भेदात् । प्रत्येकं पुत्रविकारभेदात् त्रिधा । पुर्मागभेदात् त्रिधा । पुनर्नियुक्तादिभेदादिति लोणि शतानि चतुर्विंशत्यधिकानि वस्तुसंख्यया । अङ्गपरावर-वैचित्रयसङ्घायायाश्च भेदाद् भयांसो भेदाः । ते त्वनपयोगानन् प्रतिपदं लिखिताः । अन्येषु तिषु मार्गभेदाद्विकारभेदाः । सनियुक्तादिभेदास्तथायो(दास्त्रयो) भेदा इत्येकाशीतिः । तत्राप्युक्तवद् भूयांसः प्रकाराः । पञ्चाधिकानि चत्वारिंशतानि प्रधानभेदाः । ते च सर्वं एवोपभेदा अप्यदृष्टोपयोगिनः । अङ्गभूयस्त्वं तु फलभूयस्त्वायेति त्यायः ।

—A.B. on N.S. 31, 324.

Bharata has used the terms *khañja* and *narkuṭa* in connection with *dhruvā* to denote two kinds of metres (*vṛtte khañjanarkuṭe*; N.S. 31, 347) as well as poems composed in these metres (A.B. on N.S 31, 358). Bharata lists many varieties of both *khañja* and *narkuṭa* along with short verses illustrating each.

Line 224A has strayed into the present text from another work perhaps by Dattila himself. Dattila had written on drama, too. Sarvānanda, the famous commentator on *Amarakośa*, has quoted verses ascribed to Dattila, dealing with the subject (see ch. II).

The vardhamānakā

- 242B. *tatrāśāritakeśvādau śamyādiyugathottarau*
 225A. *muktakah sannipāto'nte¹ kaniṣṭhe'tha layāntare*
 B. *madhyame dvikalāḥ kāryo (jyeṣṭhe tālāḥ)² catuṣkalāḥ*
 226A. *kāryāḥ pañcakalo'nyeṣāmekavṛddhamupohanam*
 B. *uttare yāḥ kalā antyā nava sapta daśaiva tu*
 227A. *krameṇāsvantyayoh kalpyastālāḥ prathamavastunāḥ*
 B. *āśāritasamūhena vardhamānam yathāvidhi*
 228A. *āvṛtyā pūrvagītānām khaṇḍikānām taducyate*
 B. *navāṣṭau dviguṇāṣṭāśca kalāstaddviguṇāḥ kramāt*
 229A. *catasraḥ khaṇḍikā jñeyā vidvabhirvardhamānake*
 B. *tāsāmetāni nāmāni vijñeyāni yathākramam*
 230A. *viśālā saṅgatā caiva simandā sumukhī tathā*
 B. *pañcaprabhṛtyekavṛddhāḥ kalāstāmupohanam*
 231A. *pṛthak prayoge tālaśca kathyate'yaṁ yathākramam*
 B. *madhyamāśāritādyasya vastuno yadudāhṛtam*
 232A. *dvicatuṣkalayugmaśca yugmordhvaśca³ catuṣkale*
 ॥ iti vardhamānākām samāptam ॥

There [in *vardhamānakā*] among the [four] *āśāritas*, *kaniṣṭha* and *layāntara* begin with the *yugma* [tāla] commencing with *śamyā*. [This is] followed by two *uttara* [tālas]. A separate (*muktakah*) *sannipāta* [is rendered] at the end. The [*āśārita*] *madhyama* should be rendered in the *dvikalā* [mode]. In *jyeṣṭha* the *tāla* is in the *catuṣkala* mode.

[In the first *āśārita*, an upohana] of five *kalās* should be formed. In others the upohnas increase successively by one *kalā*. The first *vastu* of the last two *āśāritās* (viz., *madhyama* and *jyeṣṭha*) should be formed with the last nine and seventeen *kalās* respectively of *uttara* [tāla].

Vardhamānakā is [formed] with a group of *āśāritas* [arranged] according to precepts. This is said to be [effected through] the repetition of already sung *khaṇḍikās*. The wise should know four *khaṇḍikās* in *vardhamānakā*; the number of *kalās* in them

¹ T.ed. reads : सन्निपाता (त्वके ? न्ते क) निष्ठे

² T. ed. : कार्यो + + + + चतुष्कलः

³ T. ed. : युग्मीजश्च

are in due order: nine, eight, double of it (*i.e.*, sixteen) and [again] the double of this (*i.e.*, thirty-two).

The names of these khaṇḍikās, in proper order, should be known as : viśālā, saṅgatā, sunandā and sumukhī.

The upohana in the first [khaṇḍikā] contains five kalās (pañcaprabhṛti); the number successively increases by one [in subsequent khaṇḍikās].

Applied separately, their tāla [formation] in due order is said to be as follows :
 (1) [the same as] mentioned in the first vastu of madhyama āśārita ; (2) dvikala [yugma]; (3) catuṣkala yugma and (4) [an added] catuskala yugma.

Thus ends *vardhamānaka*.

NOTE:

Āsārita was the name of a certain group of components forming the tāla-structure of vardhamānaka. Vardhamānaka has not been recounted as a part of saptarūpa or 'the seven gītakas'. It is said to be derived from saptarūpa but still it was a major tāla-form of gāndharva. The structure of vardhamānaka was based in form and spirit upon saptarūpa, which is why Dattila describes vardhamānaka after the gītakas — a plan which Abhinava has approved of (see ch. I).

Vardhamānaka has been associated by Bharata with tāṇḍava. It seems to have been the tāla-form which accompanied the tāṇḍava dance rendered in the pūrvvaraṅga. Bharata has, consequently, described its formation in great detail.

The āśāritas were part of vardhamānaka but, evidently, they could be rendered independently as well. Bharata enumerates the gītas (gītakas), the vardhamānaka and the āśāritas as separate entities :

āśārīteṣु gīteṣu vardhamāneṣu caiva hi
dviguṇastālayogena kāryastvaksarajo vidhīḥ (N.S. 31, 157)

In Abhinava, too, we come across lists like: "gītak-āśārita-vardhamāna-pāṇikā-kāṇḍikādergeyasya...." (A.B. on N.S. 31, 158), where āśārita is apparently accorded a status independent of vardhamānaka. Abhinava quotes from an unnamed Purāṇa where Śiva and Devī with their retinue of minor deities, the pramathas, are said to dance both to āśārita and vardhamāna :

“uktam ca purāṇe:

āśāritam vardhamānam saptapañcāśadātmanā sandhyāsu pramathairdevyā saha nṛtyati śāṅkarah” (A.B. on N.S. 31, 188)

Vardhamānaka contained four different āśāritas : kaniṣṭha, layāntara, madhyama and jyeṣṭha. Dattila begins with a description of the tāla formation in the first two āśāritas. The tāla-structure commenced with a yugma, i.e., caccatpuṭaḥ. Of the three alternative tālas decreed for the ekakala caccatpuṭaḥ, the one rendered here was that which began with a śamyā : viz., śa tā śa tā. Then came two uttaras each followed by an added sannipāta. The total structure thus was :

śa tā śa tā, sam tā śa tā śā tā, sam tā śa tā śa tā sam.

This structure accords with the one given by Śāringadeva (S.R, following 5, 183).

The final sannipāta has been called a separate or independent (muktaka) sannipāta by Dattila. Each āsārita contained three vastus; in the āsāritas kaniṣṭha and layāntara, the yathākṣara caccatpuṭah formed the first vastu and the remaining two vastus were formed by two uttara tālas (S.R. 5, 187 and Kalā). The āsārita on this description ended with the final beat tā of uttara. We indeed observe in prakarī, where kaniṣṭha āsārita was the final tāla component, that it contained no sannipāta at the end (see note on verse 160). But when rendered as part of vardhamānaka, a sannipāta was added at the end of kaniṣṭha and layāntara āsāritas. Abhinava explicitly states: "the actual form of āsārita contains sixteen kalās, the seventeenth is an extra beat" (yā tu saptadaśakalā sā adhikā vā pātah: A.B. on N.S. 31, 59).

In gītakas, a vastu by definition always ended with a sannipāta, which among the three sounded beats was the most accentuated or stressed beat, for it was formed with both the hands. Rendered at the end of a vastu, it helped in creating an effect of finality. In vardhamānaka, however, none of the vastus in the first two āsāritas ended with sannipāta. For this reason it was thought necessary to superimpose one at the end in order to impart finality to the third vastu and hence to the āsārita as a whole.

Bharata's exposition of the kaniṣṭha and layāntara āsāritas corresponds with that of Dattila but is more detailed (N.S. 31, 55-59, also 31, 95).

Kaniṣṭha (the first āsārita) had an upohana of five kalās. The number of kalās in upohnas of latter āsāritas increased by one in due order: the upohana in layāntara had six, in madhyama seven, and in jyeṣṭha eight kalās. Bharata says that the meaningless syllables in the upohnas of these āsāritas were composed by Brahmā. They are recorded in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.¹

The first two āsāritas were rendered in the ekakala or yathākṣara form of tāla, the madhyama in dvikala and jyeṣṭha in catuṣkala. Verse 225B in the Trivandrum edition has four letters missing: "madhyame dvikalāḥ kāryo + + + catuṣkalāḥ". The reconstruction of the missing words, however, does not present a difficult problem, since we know from other texts that jyeṣṭha was the fourth or the final āsārita.

The latter two āsāritas also contained three vastus each. The first vastu of these āsāritas was not formed with the caccatpuṭah but, as Dattila says, with the uttara tāla. Dvikala uttara contained twelve kalās; the beat formation was as follows:

ni pra, tā śa, ni tā, ni śa, tā pra, ni sam (S.R. 5, 51; Datt. 132-133)

The first vastu in madhyama-āsārita did not contain all these kalās but only the last nine beginning with śamyā. The other two vastus in this āsārita were also formed with dvikala uttara but with all twelve kalās.

¹ तान्यकराणि वक्ष्ये यानि पुरा ब्रह्मगीतानि । ज्ञान्दुः जगतिय दिग्नितिग्नि ज्ञान्दुः प्रथमे लयान्तरे चापि तितिक्षल कुचक्षल मध्ये तितिकुचवृद्धं सवेज्ज्येष्ठे

-N.S. 31, 104.

Dattila does not specify that the formation of these latter two vastus was to be made with all twelve kalās. He takes this for granted; it perhaps follows from his description of the first two āśāritas where two uttaras or pañcapāṇis have been implicitly enjoined as the last two vastus in all āśāritas (yugathottarau). Bharata's description is more explicit. He says: "uttara tālas should be formed and in the beginning three kalās should be dropped—such is the beat arrangement in the madhyama āśārita."¹ Abhinava clarifies: "three dvikala pañcapāṇis (i.e., uttara tālas) should be formed and dropping the first 3 kalās the whole should be arranged into three parts—the first part containing 9 kalās and the second and third parts containing 12 kalās each."²

Jyeṣṭha āśārita was formed with catuṣkala uttara. The beat formation was as follows:

ā ni vi pra, ā tā vi śa, ā ni vi tā, ā ni vi śa, ā tā vi pra, ā ni vi sam
(cf. S.R. 5-31)

Three vastus were formed. In the first vastu, the catuṣkala uttara was not employed in its entirety, but contained only the last seventeen kalās beginning with śamyā in the second pādabhāga. The other two vastus were formed with the full catuṣkala uttara (S.R. 5, 186). The total number of kalās in madhyama was thirty-three and in jyeṣṭha sixty-five.

Besides the Brahmā-ordained meaningless syllables for the upohanas, Bharata also gives the hymns to be sung in the āśāritas. The words for the kaniṣṭha āśārita were:

devam devaiḥ samstutanamitam
daityairyakṣairnāgaiḥ pitṛbhiḥ prañamitacaraṇam
trailokyahetuṁśam rudram śaraṇamahamupagataḥ³ (N.S. 31, 107)

Abhinava gives some details regarding how these three lines were sung. The first pause or vidārī, he says, came after the first line rendered with caccatputṭah. The second line was rendered with pañcapāṇi, the third had the aṅga sāmudgaka.⁴

The vardhamāna was formed with a specific set of āśāritas formed according to precepts ('yathāvidhi', as Dattila says; Datt. 227). Bharata remarks: "āśāritānām samyogo vardhamānakamucyate—āśāritas associated are called vardhamānaka" (N.S.

¹ उत्तरतालान् कृत्वा दो तिस्रः कलाः परित्यज्य । एतत्पातविधानं मध्यमकासारिते प्रीत्कम् ॥
—N.S. 31, 97.

² द्विकलपञ्चपाणिग्रन्थाद्यकलात्मयमपास्य त्रयः खण्डाः करणीयाः । ते(न) नवकलो आद्यखण्डो द्वितीयो द्वादश तृतीयोऽपि द्वादश ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 97.

³ I seek shelter with Rudra, the God worshipped and praised by all gods; the great Lord who causes the three worlds. At his feet bow demons, yakṣas, nāgas and the pitṛs.

⁴ देवैः संस्तुतन्मितभित्येको विजडेदश्च चच्चत्पुटे । देव्यर्थं क्षेनार्थः पितृभिः प्रणितचरणभिति पञ्चपाणी ।
दैलोक्यहेतुमीशं रद्दं शरणमहृपगत इति समुद्गके ।
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 95.

31, 69). No mention is made here of any vidhi; but Abhinava comments that neither the āsāritas by themselves, nor a mere juxtaposition of them could form the vardhamānaka (iha na pratyekamāsārite vardhamānarūpatā na samuditeṣu ; A.B. on N.S. 31, 69) Clearly, then, vardhamānaka was formed when a group of āsāritas was arranged in a certain ordained pattern. We learn from Dattila that this arrangement was connected with what were known as the khaṇḍikās ('kāṇḍikā' in Bharata ; N.S. 31, 131) which were sung in a certain order or manner of repetition.

Dattila says little about the khaṇḍikās and the way they were repeated. But significant details emerge from Bharata and Abhinava (N.S. 31, 141-155 and A.B.).

Dattila notes the order of the khaṇḍikās as: viśālā, saṅgatā and sumukhī. Each had an upohana : Viśālā had an upohana of five kalās, the other two of six and seven kalās respectively (cf. N.S. 31, 132-133). The tāla-structure of the vardhamānaka underwent a slight modification to suit the khaṇḍikā formation, as we shall see.

The first khaṇḍikā sung was viśālā. It was rendered in the first nine kalās of kaniṣṭha āsārita which had a total of seventeen kalās. The latter eight kalās were omitted (bālam¹ navakalam jñeyam, N.S. 31, 155). The upohana of viśālā coincided with that of kaniṣṭha āsārita, which also contained five kalās. Kaniṣṭha āsārita was followed by layāntara, in the seventeen kalās of which were formed two khaṇḍikās : saṅgatā with eight kalās succeeded by viśālā, formed in the remaining nine kalās. The six-kalā upohana of saṅgatā coincided with the upohana of layāntara āsārita. After layāntara was formed the madhyama āsārita in the thirty-three kalā of which were rendered three khaṇḍikās, sunandā, saṅgatā and viśālā arranged in the named order. Sunandā had sixteen kalās. The three khaṇḍikās together had: $16 + 8 + 9 = 33$ kalās. The seven-kalā upohana of sunandā coincided with that of madhyama āsārita. Lastly, the jyeṣṭha āsārita was rendered with all the four khaṇḍikās, sumukhī, sunandā, saṅgatā and viśālā. Sumukhī had thirty-two kalās; the total number of kalās thus was: $32 + 16 + 8 + 9 = 65$ kalās. Here the eight-kalās upohana of sumukhī coincided with that of jyeṣṭhasāsārita. Abhinava says that khaṇḍikās were repeated in this order for the reason that the upohana in the initial khaṇḍikā thus had the same number of kalās as the upohana of the corresponding āsārita (ucitopavahanasiddhaya eva cettham krama uktaḥ ; A.B. on N.S. 31, 152).

Vardhamānaka was rendered through ten khaṇḍikā formations covering all four āsāritas; the whole tāla cycle of patterned repetitions contained a total of 124 kalās : "sarvata āsamantād yojanayā daśarūpi-parivartarūpāyā vardhamānam caturviṁśatytuttarakalāśatātmakamityarthah" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 154). Here in counting the kalās, Abhinava omits upohana.

We see that in rendering khaṇḍikā repetitions, the number of kalās for each unit underwent a gradual increase $9 \rightarrow 17 \rightarrow 33 \rightarrow 65$; the laya too underwent an 'increase' in the sense that it changed into dvikala from ekakala and then into catuṣkala (though the tempo in effect became slower). Sung words, too, increased at every repetition. It

¹ बालं कनिष्ठम्; see A.B. on N.S. here,

was for this reason, says Bharata, that the gitaka was called 'vardhamānaka' : that which continuously increases.¹

The relation of khaṇḍikās to āśāritas can thus be gleaned to some extent from Bharata, but the nature of a khaṇḍikā as such remains largely a mystery. Perhaps a khaṇḍikā was a short verse and four such verses made a song, for we are told of four repetitions.

Besides being sung as a composite or saṃhata group (as Bharata has expressed it : N.S. 31, 147), khaṇḍikās could also be sung independently and separately, in which case, each had a tāla-structure of its own (N.S. *ibid.*). Dattila in such cases (pr̥thak prayoge) gives the following structures (these accord with those given by Bharata in N.S. 31, 43-147). Viśālā was composed of nine kalās and had the same beat-structure as the first vastu in madhyama āśārita : śa ni tā, ni śa, tā pra, ni saṃ. Saṅgatā had eight kalās which were formed with dvikala caccatpuṭah : ni śa, ni tā, śa pra, ni saṃ. Sunandā had sixteen kalās and was rendered with catuṣkala caccatpuṭah : ā ni vi śa, ā ni vi tā, ā śa vi pra, ā ni vi saṃ. Sumukhī was also formed with catuṣkala caccatpuṭah but as this khaṇḍikā contained thirty-two kalās, the caccatpuṭah was here formed twice, that is, with two pāribhāṣic mātrās (śodasakale tāvad dve mātre sampadyete ; A.B. on N.S. 31, 145-146).²

In the Trivandrum edition of the *Dattilam*, the description of tāla in the last khaṇḍikā mentions a yugma together with an ayugma in catuṣkala form : 'yugmauśca catuṣkale'. This seems to be faulty. Firstly, it involves an evident error in arithmetic since a catuṣkala yugma and ayugma together add up to only twenty-eight kalās. Secondly, Bharata, Abhinava and later authorities unanimously describe the tāla here as a catuṣkala caccatpuṭah formed twice. Our suggested reading is, therefore, 'yugmordhvaśca catuṣkale'.

Before ending our note we record the legend given by Bharata regarding the origin and spiritual value of vardhamānaka.

After Rudra, the Resplendent One, had killed a ferocious dānava, he created a new dance on the model of tāṇḍava. This was the vardhamānaka. This dance was witnessed by all the followers of Śiva including Śiva himself and his Consort. Śiva was so pleased with the vardhamānaka that he made a pronouncement : "he who will render vardhamānaka according to prescribed rules will attain the presence of Śiva" (N.S. 31, 69-73).

This legend shows that the vardhamānaka was a dance. This dance form has been delineated by Bharata in the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. But vardhamānaka was a musical form as well (as its inclusion in gāndharva evinces) and could be

कलानां वृद्धिमासाद्य त्वक्षराणां च वर्धनात् । लयस्य वर्धनाच्चापि वर्धमानकमुच्यते ॥

—N.S. 31, 156.

See also S.R. 5, 204-205 ; S.Raj 2,4, 1, 333-334. Vemabhūpāla says:
तत्र तालस्तु विज्ञेयो मध्यमासार्चितादिवत् । विशालायां संगतायां युग्मस्तु द्विकलो भवेत् ॥
चच्चत्पुटः प्रयोक्तव्यः सुनन्दायां चतुष्कलः । स एव द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः सुमुखां(स्यां) गीतकोविदं ॥

—S.C. ch. I in the section on vādyā.

rendered independent of dance. Abhinava, commenting on Śiva's boon, remarks : "singers, dancers and players of *vardhamānaka* deserve equal spiritual fruit—bahuvacanaprayogeṇa gātṛvādakanartakānāṁ tulyaphalatvamāha" (A.B. on N.S. 31, 73).

The pāṇikā

- 232B. athādau pāṇikāyāḥ syādmukhaṁ pratimukhaṁ tathā
 233A. mātrā rovindakasya + + + + laḥ pṛthak pṛthak
 B. ākāreṇa vidāryāḥ syuḥ kevalenāntarāntarā
 234A. api vā nāntarāḥ kāryā ākārapadapūrvikāḥ
 B. atāḥ param śarīram tu pañcapāṇicatusṭaye
 235A. yathāsthite prayoktavyam śirassampiṣṭakaikam

Now, in the beginning of pāṇikā are formed mukha and pratimukha separately. Mātrā is like that of rovindaka.....separately. Vidāris should be rendered either with the syllable 'ā' occurring at intervals, or, they should be formed uninterruptedly, commencing with the syllable 'ā' or with [stuti] padas.

Then follows śarīra [rendered] with four pañcapāṇis in the yathākṣara form (yathāsthite). Śira is [formed like] sa mpiṣṭaka [and has the varṇāṅga] ekaka.

NOTE :

Following were some of the minor gītakas, pāṇikā, ṛk, gātha, sāmā, chandaka, āśārīta and *vardhamānaka* (see ch. VII). *Vardhamānaka* seems to have been a class apart. With the exception of chandaka, the others are mentioned by Bharata. Dattila names and outlines only pāṇikā (besides *vardhamānaka*).

The first two components of pāṇikā were formed with a pāribhbāṣic mātrā. The beat-structure was the same as that of the first mātrā in rovindaka. Mukha was formed in the first mātrā and pratimukha in the second. Pratimukha was identical with mukha in all respects except that it was sung to different words (S.R. 5, 221). Śāṅgadeva speaks of an upohana of eight mātrās in mukha as in the rovindaka mātrā. (S.R. 5, 223).

The Trivandrum edition has many crucial letters missing in the second line of the passage describing the tāla in pāṇikā. This line (233A) reads : "mātrā rovindakasya + + + laḥ pṛthak pṛthak." We are unable to suggest a reconstruction of the missing letters. But the intended sense seems to be somewhat as follows : "mātrā is the same as in rovindaka, but two such are formed with different aṅgas." We say this on the strength of the description found in *Saṅgitaratnākara*, *Saṅgitacintāmaṇi* and *Saṅgitarājā*. These three texts are unanimous in describing pāṇikā as having two mātrās, the first containing the aṅga mukha and the second pratimukha. They also report unanimously that

the mātrā in pāṇikā was like the first mātrā in rovindaka.¹ These later authorities have evidently drawn upon early ācāryas such as Dattila, for Bharata does not describe pāṇikā.

The vidārī formations described by Dattila pertain to the aṅgas mukha and prativimukha. Śāringadeva has described three alternative ways of forming vidārīs here. (1) They could be formed with stuti-padas interspersed at intervals with the syllable ‘ā’. (2) They could be formed with stuti-padas alone. (3) They could be formed with the syllable ‘ā’ alone.² The word stuti-pada here seems to indicate laudatory epithets in praise of gods; these were apparently inserted at appropriate places in the song.

Dattila mentions only ākāras which, he suggests, could either be formed with intervening gaps or without them.

Āśārita followed the mātrā rendered with prativimukha and was formed with four uttara tālas put together in their yathākṣara form. Śāringadeva describes it similarly (S.R. 5, 222). Āśārita was followed by śira (or śīrṣaka a synonym, as Śāringadeva calls it, S.R. 5, 222). Śira was formed with the same tāla-structure as the sampiṣṭaka in ullopyaka. Kallinātha adds that the sampiṣṭaka here was the one with ten kalās (Kalā on S.R. 5, 222). The aṅga ekaka was rendered in śira. Śāringadeva notes an alternative tāla formation for śira. He says that according to some, śirā was formed with anta along with antāharāṇa (S.R. 5, 223).

The Aṅgas in Vardhamānaka

235B. *vidyādupohanādīni mukhādīni yathākramam*

236A. *āśāritānām tadvacca vardhamānasya khaṇḍikāḥ*

The upohana and other [parts] of the āśāritas and similarly of the khaṇḍikās in vardhamānaka should be known as [rendered with] mukha and other [aṅgas].

NOTE:

In describing vardhamānaka, Dattila had not spoken of the aṅgas. He takes them up now. The reason for taking them up so late is not clear.

Dattila is very sketchy. For details we should refer to Bharata. According to him, all āśāritas contained four aṅgas : mukha, prativimukha, deha and saṃpharaṇa. Mukha was formed in the upohana of each āśārita. The rest of the first vastu had prativimukha. In the first ayugma tāla (the uttara) forming the second vastu, the aāṅg

¹ S.R. 5, 221; S. Raj 2, 4, 1, 260-63 and chart. Vemabhūpāla says:

रोविन्दकस्य मात्राद्या पाणिकाद्या मुखं भवेत् ।

मात्रोत्कृष्टं च षोडशांगं निकृष्टांगका मता । तद्वल्लोप्यकवदंगनां निवेशं परिकीर्तिः ॥

स्तुतिपदाक्षये (:) शिवाकारान्तरितैः स्युविदारिकाः ।

आकारैश्च स्तुतिपदैरयवा स्युनिरन्तरैः । मुखात् परं स्यात्मुखवदन्यैः प्रतिमुखं पदैः ॥

—S.C. ch. I in the section on vādyā.

² विदार्यः स्युः स्तुतिपदैराकारान्तरितैरहि । निरन्तरैः स्तुतिपदैराकारैश्चावरा क्रमात् ।

—S.R. 5, 220-221.

applied was deha (also called śarīra). The second ayugma, forming the third or the final vastu, was rendered with the saṃhāra, also called saṃharaṇa (N.S. 31, 88-90).

We had seen in ullopyaka that the aṅgas mukha and pratimukha were two sub-classes of vividha. The other two aṅgas mentioned here were perhaps unique to this gītaka. We do not know the larger class to which they belonged.

Other minor gītakas

236B. *atrehānukitatālānām gītvayavasambhavah*

237A. *tālah śā(myeti pātā)¹ bhyām samsādhyo yuktitāḥ kvacit*

Now, of the tālas not described in detail, [those possibly] arising in the limb of a gīta, should, wherever [necessary], be suitably formed with a tāla or a śamyā.

NOTE :

There were many gītakas or gītas of the class of pāṇikā. Dattila does not describe these in detail but ordains their formation with a single verse.

Dattila's short indication for the rendering of the tālas not described in detail is too broad and general to be of value to us. Perhaps it was enough for contemporary students of gāndharva. Śārṅgadeva and others have described sāma, ṛk, kapāla etc. in detail. Their source is unknown.

The Trivandrum edition has again a few missing letters. Line 27A reads "tālah śā bhyām samsādhyo yuktitāḥ" etc. In describing the beat-structure of tāla-components in gītakas, Dattila names only the sounded beats (pātas); the rest of the structure follows from a general pattern. Of the three sounded beats, sannipāta was usually formed at the end and needed no specific injunction. The other two, tāla and śamyā, are separately enjoined in every new tāla-structure. Evidently, then, these are the two sounded beats that Dattila intends to refer to here. Tāla in fact is mentioned and the word śamyā seems to be logically implied. Hence our suggested reconstruction is : 'śamyeti pātābhyām'.

¹ T. ed. reads : शात्तत्त्वा शात्तत्त्वा. We discuss reasons for our suggested reconstruction in the note.

TOPIC 14

Gīti

- 237B. *gītayo'pi catasrastu māgadhyādyāḥ samāsataḥ*
 238A. *tatra syanmāgadhi citre padaiḥ samanivṛttakaiḥ*
 B. *ardhakālanivṛtttaistu varṇādhyā cārdhamāgadhi*
 239A. *vṛttau laghvakṣaraprāyā gītiḥ sambhāvitā smṛtā*
 B. *gurvakṣaraistu pṛthulā varṇādhyā dakṣiṇe sadā*
 240A. *mārgeṣu tā yathāyogam catasro gītayah smṛtāḥ*

The gītis are four: in short, māgadhi and others. Among these māgadhi should be [used] in citra [mārgā] with words repeated [in their] entirety (samanivṛttakaiḥ). On the other hand, [in] ardhamāgadhi, rich in sounds (varṇādhyā), repetitions are [effected in] half the time. The gīti sambhāvitā belongs to the vṛtti mārga [and] is known to abound in laghu letters. The [gīti] pṛthulā, rich in sounds, is on the other hand [rendered] with guru letters and is always in dakṣiṇa [mārga]. [Thus] these four gītis are said to belong to appropriate mārgas.

NOTE :

Gītis were four: māgadhi, ardhamāgadhi, sambhāvitā and pṛthulā. Gīti in gāndharva was a technical term pertaining to certain characteristic renderings of words and syllables in song.

Bharata's description of gītis corresponds in essence to that of Dattila.

The gītis māgadhi and ardhamāgadhi are named from the region of Magadha; this, says Abhinava, was due to the reason that the manner of singing they represented was popular in Magadha: "māgadhitī gītiḥ, magadheṣu tathā gānanirvāhopalambhāt" (A.B. on N.S. 29, 47).

For details of gīti see ch. V.

Other texts describe pṛthulā as abounding in laghu letters and sambhāvitā as abounding in guru (see N.S. 29, 48 ; S.R. 1, 8, 19-20 ; S. Raj. 2, 1, 4, 489). Dattila has reversed the definition. But perhaps the reading may be an error on the part of a scribe and the original reading of verse 239 may have been: "vṛttau gurvakṣa-
raprāyā gītiḥ sambhāvitā smṛtā/laghavakṣaraistu pṛthulā varṇādhyā dakṣiṇe sadā."

Each gīti has been described as belonging to a distinct mārga : māgadhi and ardhamāgadhi belonged to citra mārga, while the two other gītis, sambhāvitā and pṛthulā, were formed in vārtika and dakṣiṇa mārgas respectively.

Mārga was characterized by a number of different elements. The essential elements characteristic of each can thus be tabled :

Citra : druta tempo, ekakala mode, samā yati, avapāṇi, citra vṛtti, māgadhī and ardhamāgadhī gītis.

Vārtika : madhya tempo, dvikala mode, srotogatā yati, samapāṇi, vṛtti vṛtti, sambhāvitā gīti.

Dakṣiṇa : vilambita tempo, catuṣkala mode, gopucchā yati, uparipāṇi, dakṣiṇa vṛtti, pṛthulā gīti.

(S.R. 6, 165-170)

Laya or tempo appears to have been the main factor in mārgas. Gīti, too, formed a major distinguishing factor. How strict were the rules which restricted particular factors to a particular mārga are not known. Considering the well-defined character of gāndharva, it can be reasonably conjectured that the rules were not very flexible.

TOPIC 15

MĀRGĀ

- 240B. *atha mārgā ya uddiṣṭāsteśāṁ mūlam dhruvāḥ smṛtah*
 241A. *mātrikāḥ sa prayoktavyah suviktalayānvitah*
 B. *tataḥ syād dviguṇaścitraḥ uttarau dviguṇottarau*
 242A. *jñātvavivāṁ sarvagītāni sarvamārgeśu yojayed¹*

Now, dhruva is said to be the basis of the mārgas that have been named. It should be rendered with a single mātrā [forming] a well differentiated laya [tempo]. Citra is twice of this, [and] the latter two [mārgas are further] doubled in progression. Thus having known all the gītis one should utilize them in all the mārgas.

NOTE :

Mārga is the final topic in the *Dattilam*. Tempo was the chief basis for distinguishing mārgas. Different kālā-groupings, yathākṣara, dvikala and catuṣkala, were the basis for distinguishing tempos.

The kālā (=ten nimeśas) was for practical purposes the smallest measure of time in gāndharva. But for the purpose of reference or, it seems, purely to maintain a theoretical standard, a single mātrā (=five laghu syllables) was said to form the basic time-unit ; this was the dhruva—the ‘constant’. In citra mārga, the unit of tempo was twice the dhruva. In other words, the shortest time-unit which formed the basis of tempo (laya) contained two mātrās or one kālā. In this mārga, the mode of tāla formation was thus ekakala. The unit for tempo formation in vārtika mārgā was two times that of citra : it contained four mātrās (*i.e.*, two kālās or one dvikala pādabhāga). The mode of tāla was thus dvikala. Vārtika had a reduced tempo in comparison with citra. Dakṣiṇa, the third mārga, was twice the vārtika : in it the basis of tempo was eight mātrās (four kālās or one catuṣkala pādabhāga). The mode of tāla thus was catuṣkala, the tempo slow.

Earlier (in Datt. 116 and 117), Dattila had defined the measure of a mātrā and had recounted the number of mātrās constituting kālā in different mārgas. In citra, he had stated, kālā contained two, in vārtika four and in dakṣiṇa eight mātrās. Kālā in this sense evidently did not mean a fixed standard unit of time which uniformly remained equal to two mātrās; rather it implied a unit of time to be understood in terms of pādabhāgas. Here, in these concluding verses, there is a clear indication that one mātrā in dhruva mārga; two in citra, four in vārtika and eight in dakṣiṇa formed well-differentiated layas; in other words, the number of mātrās in a mārga was the measure in it of a single laya-unit.

Abhinava quotes Datt. 240 B with : दत्तिलादिभिः प्रथममार्गायोहिष्टमूलम् तेषां... A.B. on N.S. 31, 38.

CONCLUSION

- 242B. *pūrvācāryamatasyaitad diñmātram samudāhṛtam*
243A. *teśāṁ drṣṭim samālokya samādheyastu sādhubhiḥ*
243B. *ve.....ma.....*
244A. *akarod dattilah śāstram gītam dattilasmjñitam*
// iti dattilam samāptam //

All that [has foregone] is a mere pointer towards the system (mata) propounded by preceding teachers. Having grasped their doctrines, let the virtuous [reader] make amendments [if necessary, in my work]. [Thus has] Dattila composed the treatise known by the name of *Dattila[m]*.

Thus ends the *Dattilam*.

NOTE :

Of the other teachers, Dattila has mentioned only Kohala and Viśākhila by name, though he obviously must have had a long unbroken chain of teachers in mind.

Line 244A may have once been just a colophon which was later incorporated into the text.

PART IV

DATTILA
WHAT WE KNOW OF HIM

CHAPTER XI

DATTILA : WHAT WE KNOW OF HIM

The name Dattila is quite ancient. It was a popular name during the days of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. Dattila is a diminutive of 'Devadatta', a common Sanskrit name. Names such as Devadatta, where the person so named was supposed to have been born through the grace (anukampā) of a god (Devadatta=gift of god), could be shortened in various ways and rendered into such diminutives as Devika, Devila, Deviya (by dropping the latter part of the word, namely 'datta' and adding short suffixes indicative of affection to 'deva'), and also Dattika, Dattiya and Dattaka, besides Dattila (by dropping, the first part of the name and enlarging the latter part, 'datta').¹ A similar process can be seen in English, where names such as Edward are shortened to form Ted, Teddy, Ed, Eddy, etc. Viśākhila, another ancient ācārya on music, a predecessor of Dattila, had a similarly formed name; the full form of his name was evidently Viśākhadatta.

Curiously enough, ancient literature speaks of quite a few expert musicians who bore names similar in formation to Dattila. The Jātaka stories contain the tale of a Guttila (*Guttila Jātaka*, 243) who was a professional musician, the foremost viñā-player in the court of a powerful king. Guttila had learnt playing the viñā as a family art or śilpa and belonged to a professional musician-family (gandharva-kula) just as many experts do to this day. Another musician who came to perfect the art under the guidance of Guttila, and later wanted to compete with his own teacher, had a name with a similar suffix-ending; he was called Musila.

Such names seem to have been common among musician-families throughout the Gupta Age, too. Cārudatta, the hero of Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, praises the singing of one Rebhila, a friend of his, whose mastery over music seems to indicate an accomplished professional (*Mṛcchakaṭikam*, Act 3, verse 5). Vasudeva, the hero of *Vasudeva Hindī* assumes the name of Khandila when he proposes to pose as an apprentice musician (*Vasudeva Hindī*, p. 126-127).

The relevant sūtra in Pāṇini is : ठाजादावृष्ट्वं द्वितीयादचः:
Aṣṭādhyāyī 5, 3, 83.

Bhaṭṭoji, incorporating the vārtikas on this sūtra (in his *Siddhānta Kaumudi*, the sutra occurs as No. 2035) comments : अस्मिन् प्रकरणे यद्योऽजादिप्रत्ययश्च तस्मिन् प्रत्यये परे प्रकृतेद्वितीयादच ऊर्ध्वं सर्वं लूप्यते । अनुकम्पितो देवदत्तो देविकः, देवियः, देविलः, देवदत्तकः । अनुकम्पितो वायुदत्तो वायुकः । ठग्रहणमुको द्वितीयचे कविधानार्थम् । वायुकः । पितृकः । 'चतुर्थादच ऊर्ध्वंस्य लोपो वात्यः' (वा० ३२६६) । अनुकम्पितो बृहस्पतितत्तो वृहस्पतिकः । 'अनजादो च विभाषा लोपो वत्तव्यः' (वा० २३६७) देवदत्तकः देवकः । 'लोपः पूर्वपदस्य च' (वा० ३२६८) । दत्तिकः, दत्तियः, दत्तिलः, दत्तकः ।.....

A very interesting discussion of such names is to be found in *Pāṇini Kālina Bhārata* by V.S. Agrawal, see ch. 3, section 16, especially p. 196,

Actual names of musicians are rare in early Sanskrit literature and it is thus quite noticeable that so many names similar to that of Dattila are to be traced among their members. However, names of the likeness of Dattila, with an 'ila' ending, were very common till the end of the Gupta Age (after which their occurrence is rare) and to draw any sure inference will be futile. V.S. Agarwal has recorded a number of names with an 'ila' ending found at Sanchi and Bharhut. Literary evidence also abounds.

Dattila has been named as one of the sons of Bharata in the *Nātyaśāstra*. He was perhaps a member of the Bharata clan, a clan whose profession it was to arrange and present dramatic shows. Like other professional clans, the Bharata clan, too, largely maintained its expertise as a traditional skill within families belonging to the clan.

Dattila was, relatively speaking, a late expert on gāndharva. This is clear not only from his constant references to the authority of older teachers, but also from the fact that he could at all think of writing a 'digest' (*sankṣepa*) of the subject—a project which is undertaken only after a subject has been thoroughly and authoritatively covered in all aspects by many theorists of repute.

The ācāryas whom Dattila mentions by name are Nārada, Kohala and Viśakhila.

Dattila names Nārada twice. In the second verse of *Dattilam*, Nārada is mentioned as the very first ācārya of gāndharva; he is the sage who brought down gāndharva from heaven and propagated it in the world of men. This is a reference, evidently, to Nārada, the mythic ṛṣi, a musical Prometheus, so to say (except, of course, Nārada had not stolen gāndharva but received it as a gift).

The second reference to Nārada seems to refer to some definite work by him. The tānas, Dattila says, have been named 'agniṣṭoma' etc. by Nārada and others (Datt. 31). Which work of Nārada is Dattila here referring to? *Nāradī Śikṣā* seems to be a possible answer. But this work, as we have it, does not contain the names of the tānas.¹ Perhaps Dattila was referring not to a Śikṣā work by Nārada but to an early work on gāndharva ascribed to him. Nārada has been persistently associated with gāndharva in the traditions of the subject and it is not unlikely that an early work did exist in his name.

Dattila refers to Kohala in the section on tāla in connection with a certain matter of detailed structural formation (Datt. 128). Kohala was a famous ancient ācārya. He is listed in the *Nātyaśāstra*, along with Dattila, as one of the hundred sons of Bharata. He seems to have been a prominent ācārya in the nātyic tradition for the final chapter of the *Nātyaśāstra* describes him as the ācārya who shall bring

¹ Much of the *Nāradī Śikṣā* has been incorporated in the encyclopaedic *Nāradīya Purāṇa* (to be distinguished from the *Bṛhannāradīya* which is also sometimes called the *Nāradīya*). This Purāṇa has been dated to the latter part of the 9th century by Dr. R.C. Hazara (*Purāṇic Records*, p. 131) and an almost similar date has been suggested by Dr. Baladeva Upadhyaya (*Purāṇa Vimarsa*, p. 550). In the Purāṇic version, too, the tāna names are not to be found. Yet it is not absolutely unlikely that another version of the Śikṣā existed in the days of Dattila, in which the tāna names did occur.

to completion and fill in whatever has been left unsaid by Bharata.¹ Tradition, as Abhinava records, also had it that Kohala was an expert actor, one of the earliest and foremost practitioners of the art.²

Abhinava refers to Kohala or quotes him on practically every aspect concerning nātya.³ Bharata declares in *Nātyaśāstra*, 6, 10 that nātya consisted of eleven elements (aṅgas).⁴ This according to some predecessors of Abhinava—the Audbhāṭas or followers of Udbhaṭa—was a summing up of Kohala's doctrine and not that of Bharata, for Bharata according to these theorists regarded nātya as consisting of five elements.⁵ Kohala had, indeed, an independent and distinct stand on many matters regarding the doctrine and practice of nātya.

He believed, for example, that in rasas such as śringāra, hāsyā and karuṇā, the suitable vṛtti (style of acting) was kaiśikī (śringārahāsyakaruṇairiha kaiśikī syāt-iti kohalenoktam; A.B. on N.S. 18, 110) whereas Bharata believed karuṇā was best staged through the bhāratī vṛtti (tasmāt karunapradhānā bhāratī vṛttih paridevitabāhulyāt; A.B. on *ibid.*).

Abhinava has on many occasions referred to Kohala in commenting on dhruvā. It seems that Kohala had specified the names of particular rāgas to be used in different dramatic situations just like Kaśyapa (whom we have quoted) had done. Bharata himself gives no details in this matter beyond a general dictum relating particular rasas with the names of parent jātis and amṣa svaras. Rāgas born of these parent jātis were to be employed for expressing rasas. And in actual theatrical practice, says Abhinava, the specifications of Kohala and Kaśyapa, who had named the very rāgas to be employed, were the ones that were honoured. This, Abhinava declares, was in accordance with Bharata's own implicit instruction. Abhinava argued that the specifications noted by Kohala, Kaśyapa and others formed a continuation and completion of Bharata's own latent statements (for Kohala was his 'son'): this Bharata had himself anticipated in saying that Kohala will fill in the blanks left in his work (N.S. 37, 18). Moreover, Abhinava further argues, the specifications of Kohala concerning this aspect of nātya contained nothing inimical to Bharata's own doctrines and hence can be assumed as acceptable on the maxim that an opinion expressed by another which is not contradictory to one's own is quite admissible (paramatama pratiṣiddham abhimatam).⁶

¹ आप्तोपदेशसिद्धं हि नाट्यं प्रोक्तं स्वयंभुवा । शेषमुत्तरतन्त्रेण कोहलस्तु करिष्यति ॥
प्रयोगान् कारिकांशचेच निरुक्तानि तथैव च ।

—N.S. 37, 17-18.

² ब्रह्मेव कविः, शक्त इव प्रयोजयिता, भरत इव नाट्याचार्यः, कोहलादयः इव नटाः

—A.B. on N.S. 2, 1.

³ See appendices to the G.O.S. edition of the N.S., vols. I-IV for the references.

⁴ रसा भावा हृषभिनया: धर्मी वृत्प्रवृत्तयः । सिद्धि स्वरास्थातोद्यं गानं रञ्जन्त्वा संग्रहः ॥

—N.S. 6, 10.

⁵ संग्रह दर्शयति-रसभावा इत्यादिना । च शब्द इतिशब्दार्थः । अभिनयत्रयं गीतातोदये चेति पञ्चाङ्गं नाट्यम् । नटस्य हि रसभावयोर्गे मरणादौ तत्वावेशे लयादिभञ्जन्त्वा स्थात..... अनेन तु श्लोकेन कोहलमतेनैकादशाङ्गत्वमुच्यते ।

—A.B. on N.S. 6, 10.

⁶ For a discussion of this passage, see *Seven Words in Bharata* by R.M. Varma, pp. 36-38
कश्यपादिभिस्तावान् यो (वद्यो) विनियोग उक्तः सोऽप्यतः । अयमपि मुनिविनियुक्तोऽस्तु परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमभितमिति स्थित्या हिन्द्यायात् । वैकल्पिकत्वे को विरोधः । प्रत्युत कोहलरत्नदिध्यतीति (भ०ना० ३७-१८) सर्वमनुज्ञातमेव मुनिना एतत्प्रसिद्धये तत्र तत्त्वोक्तं रक्ख्यतिशययोगाच्च । लोके कोहलक श्यपादिमतमेव प्रसिद्धमुपगतमित्यलं बहुना ।

—A.B. on N.S. 29, 8.

The *Bhaktiratnākara* of Narahari, an 18th century Vaiṣṇava poet from Bengal, quotes some lines from a work called *Kohaliya*,¹ ascribed evidently to Kohala. The quotation concerns rāgas and the occasion and purpose of their employ and may have pertained to ancient theatre.² However, the authenticity of this late quotation in a non-musical work cannot, of course, be strictly vouchsafed for, since many spurious works, ascribed to ancient sages had, by then, come into existence. More authentic quotations from Kohala are to be found in the Vṛtti on the *Bṛhaddeśī* which gives us glimpses of his opinions on jāti, rāga, bhāṣā, etc.³

The Vṛtti on *Bṛhaddeśī* quotes a verse from Kohala pertaining to śruti which may have been a part of his treatise containing an exposition of gāndharva.⁴ But, surprisingly enough, Abhinava does not refer to Kohala on any of the topics in gāndharva. Yet he quotes two verses of Kohala on tāṇḍava dance, where an association of this dance (created by Śiva) with the gāndharva gītaka is clearly indicated.⁵

Viśākhila, the other ācārya mentioned by Dattila (again in connection with a certain detail of tāla formation ; Datt. 177) is, unlike Kohala, very often referred to by Abhinava in his discussion and explanation of gāndharva topics. But the *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not name Viśākhila, though it mentions no less than a hundred sons of Bharata, all supposedly accomplished ācāryas. One should, however, remember that the passages where the names occur have many variant readings, containing quite a few sets of entirely different names. Viśākhila's name might have

¹ Sri Ram Krishna Kavi in his *Bharata Kośa* reports that fragments of this work are found as quotations in works on saṅgīta.

— See *Bharata Kośa* under 'Kohala'.

² Swami Prajnanananda in his Bh. Sang. Iti (B) Vol. I, p. 277 has quoted the relevant lines and is of the opinion that they are indicative of the occult (ābhicārikā) use of rāgas, which, from the nature of the quotation, seems to be quite likely. Yet the types of situations described can occur also on stage and the lines may have pertained originally to the theatre :
 तथा हि कोहलीये—आयुधर्मी यशः कांतिवृद्धिसूख्यधनानि च । राज्याभिवृद्धि सन्तानं पूर्णरागेषु जायते ॥
 सङ्घामे वीरतारूपलावण्यगणकोत्तमम् । गाने धाडवरागाणां गदितं पूर्वसूरभिः ॥
 व्योधिनाशे शत्रु नाशे भयशोकविनाशने । बीवडास्तु प्रगातव्या ग्रहणान्तर्यकमर्मणि ॥

— See Bh. San. Iti (B) Vol. I, p. 277.

³ Svaras, says Kohala, 'are numberless as can be seen from their varied employ in jāti, bhāṣā etc.' Svaras are also connected with rasa (as expressed, evidently, in dramatic shows) : जातिभाषादिसंयोगादनन्तः कीर्तिः स्वरः । नादेयुक्तस्तालिमिति (क ? कृ) तो योज्यो रसेष्वति ॥

— Br. Vṛtti following 63.

Another verse, concerning mürchanā, reads :

योजनीये द्वयीनित्यं क्रमो लक्ष्यानुसारतः । संस्थाप्य मूर्ठना जातिरागभाषादिसिद्धये ॥

—ibid., 118.

"The wise should tune or fix the succession (of notes) according to actual practice after establishing the mürchanā for obtaining (the required) jāti, rāga or bhāṣā."

⁴ यथा चाह कोहलः—

द्वाविशति केचिदुदाहरन्ति (श्रुतीः) श्रुतिज्ञानविचारदक्षाः । पट्टषट्टभिन्नाः खलु केचिदासामानन्त्यमेवप्रतिपादयन्ति ॥

—ibid.

⁵ तदुक्तं कोहलेन—

संघ्याणं नृत्यतः शस्मीभक्त्याद्रो नारदः पुरा ।

गीतवान्स्त्रिप्रुरोन्मायं तच्चित्तस्त्वयगीतके ॥

चकाराभिनयं प्रीतस्ततस्तप्तः च सोऽव्रीत् । नाट्योवत्यभिनयेनेदं वत्स योजय ताण्डवम् ॥

—A.B. on N.S. 267.

occurred in one of the variations, not yet edited. Viśāla is one of the names recorded in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (N.S. 1, 32); it is not unlikely that the name originally was Viśākhila but a letter was dropped by a scribe and the mistake continued in subsequent copies. A shortfall of a letter in such cases could easily occur; the metric balance could be restored by adding another suitable syllable elsewhere and thus keeping the metre intact, which in this case was the easy-to-handle anuṣṭup (it is therefore likely that the 'caraṇa' which actually reads 'viśālam sabalam caiva, might have originally read 'viśākhilam balam caiva'; N.S. 1, 32).

But, we think, it is more likely that Viśākhila was never intended to be named in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as a son of Bharata, because unlike other ācāryas he was an authority solely on music and not on the whole gamut of nāṭya. We find that though Abhinava often refers to Viśākhila, all his references pertain to music alone and, in fact, only to gāndharva. Abhinava on dhruvā, does not refer to Viśākhila. This seems to reveal that Viśākhila had written a work limited to gāndharva. This work certainly contained an uddeśa listing gāndharva topics, for Abhinava gives us a fragmentary idea of the order followed in this uddeśa when he says that in Viśākhila's uddeśa the topic grāma came after the topic śruti (A.B. on N.S. 28, 21).

Abhinava's quotations and references also show that Viśākhila's work was much larger than that of Dattila for it appears to have discussed some matters at much greater length than the *Dattilam*. Abhinava has stray quotations from prose passages contained in Viśākhila's work on gāndharva which apparently were part of a detailed analysis of some topics.¹ Viśākhila's work also contained an exposition of viṇā and vamśa (flute).²

Damodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmatam* written in the 8th century associates Viśākhila with Bharata and Dattila as an ancient ācārya (*Kuṭṭanīmatam*, 123). Many later texts also refer to him, even those like the *Rasaratnapradipikā* (ca. 14th century A.D.) which have no direct bearing on music.³ Vāmana (ca. 8th century A.D.) in his *Kāvyālankārasūtravṛtti* refers to a Viśākhila who was an author on kalāśāstra.⁴ It is impossible to say if the two Viśākhilas were identical.

Viśākhila, like Dattila, had an independent stance on many matters of gāndharva where his views disagreed with those of Bharata. Also, his work contained details on some matters where Bharata is brief. Let us take an example. Minor

¹ Thus on śruti Abhinava quotes the following line :

तत्र विशाखिलाचार्यप्रभृतिभिः 'स्वसंवेदो परमे श्रुतिधास्ति समवधानं जयवद्वीयमानं विशिष्टादृष्टाय प्रयावतुमंवति' इति दण्डितम् ।

—A.B. on N.S. 28, 23.

Further Abhinava quotes more excerpts from Viśākhila's views on śruti :

विशाखिलाचार्यप्रभृतय ऊचुः "श्रुतयः स्वरान्तरगता" इति, "सप्ताश्रयतया स्वरगता" इति "अन्तरगतास्त्वन्या" इति । —ibid. 28, 26.

² Abhinava refers to Viśākhila four times in connection with viṇā—A.B. on N.S. 22, 50 (where Abhinava implies that Viśākhila had more sub-classes of the gāndharva topic 'dhātu' relating to instrumental technique than did Bharata); A.B. on N.S. 29, 84; A.B. on N.S. 29, 91-92 and A.B. on N.S. 29, 111. On vamśa Viśākhila is quoted once—A.B. on N.S. 30, 7.

³ For a good list of such references, see Bh. Sang. Iti, pp. 469-470.

⁴ ibid., p. 470.

gītakas such as pāṇikā etc. were accompanied by songs called the lāsyagāna (see A.B. on N.S. 31, 327). Bharata describes these very briefly in three verses (N.S. 31, 327-329). Abhinava comments that this brief description implies and encompasses all the various kinds of lāsyagāna described by Viśākhila.¹

The earliest mention of Dattila that we know of is to be found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Sri Ram Krishna Kavi speaks of another probable early reference: in a rock edict (*śilāśāsana*) of the first or second century A.D.² Sri Kavi has not cited the actual inscription which he has in mind. The *Epigraphica Indica* records only one early (1st-2nd century A.D.) epigraphical occurrence of the name Dattila. A Jain image of Vardhamāna found at the Kankali Tila, Mathura, records its dedication by a śrāvikā (a woman lay-worshipper) called Dinā, one of whose near relatives (probably her father) was a person called Dātila (*i.e.*, Dattila).³ The image was one of a group regarding which Bühler, who has recorded and translated the inscriptions, says that they probably belong to the first and second centuries A.D. (*Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. I, p. 392).

The Dattila referred to in this inscription obviously has nothing to do with Dattila the author of *Dattilam*. All that the inscription shows is that the name Dattila was current during the beginning of the Christian era. It seems very probable that Sri Kavi had this very inscription in mind when he spoke of the epigraphical occurrence of Dattila's name and that is why he qualified his statement concerning the edict by adding that "it was doubtful whether the person referred to was actually Dattila, the ācārya" (*tasmin mahānubhāva iti vaktumavakaśo'sti*). But if Sri Kavi had another, yet unpublished, inscription in mind (which is unlikely) then we have no clue regarding it.

More recently, two small clay sealings bearing the name Dattila were unearthed during excavations at Rajghat, near Varanasi. These sealings are worthy of notice, because they may, perhaps, have served as authorising tokens for a carāṇa—a teaching establishment—named after Dattila.

¹ अनया च विशाखिलादिलक्षितं सर्वमेव लास्यगानं स्वीकृतमुपलक्षितं च
—A.B. on N.S. 31, 328-29.

see also : मुनिश्चतुष्पदान्तम् तं लास्यगानमित्यादि भूयो भविष्यत एत्येव। विशाखिलादिप्रणीतं लास्यगानानन्तरं मुनिनाभिहितचतुष्पद एवसंग्रहीतस्वात्। सा च चतुष्पदा गीतकानामन्ते पाणिकान्ते वा प्रयोज्येति दर्शकम्।
—ibid., 4, 302.

² दत्तिलः—गानध्वरशास्त्रसंक्षेपकर्ता। क्र. प. १०० वर्षे एकस्मिन शिलाशासने अस्य नाम दृश्यते। तस्मिन् महानुभाव इति वक्तुमवकाशाऽस्ति।

—Bharata Kośa, p. 267 under Dattila.

³ The inscription reads :

A.L. I. सिद्ध स (20)⁵ गुमा—दि १०५ को॒ यातो गणतो (ठ) णियातो कुलता वेरितो शखतो शिरिकातो
B.L. I. गतो वाचकस्य अर्यंसिहस्य नित्तवर्तना दातिलस्य.. मतिलस्य कुठुबणिये जयवालस्य देवदासस्य नागदिनस्य
च नागदिनय च मातु

C.L. I. श्राविकाये दि 2 (ना) ये दानं 3 वदमान प्र 4 तिम

—*Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. I, p. 395 (inscription No. 28)

Bühler's translation : Success. The year 20. Summer month 1, day 15—at the request of the preacher (vāsaka) Ārya Saṅghasīla out of the koṭṭīya school (gāṇa) the Thāniya family (kula) the Veri (vajri) branch and the śrīka Sambhoga an image of Vardhamāna, the gift of the female lay-hearer (śrāvikā) Dinā (Dinnā) the.....of Dātila (*in fn.* Bühler notes : probably the wife of Dātila *i.e.* Dattila) the housewife of Mātiila, the mother of Jayavāla and Nāgadina (Nāgadatta).

One of the sealings bears the legend : dattilasya. This legend has been stamped twice on the face of the sealing. The upper imprint has the complete word : dattilasya. In the lower imprint, some letters are broken; it reads : dat (t)tilas (ya)—letters enclosed within brackets have been reconstructed. The lower imprint also carries the symbol of śrīvatsa.

The other sealing bears no symbol. It has a single, clearly embossed legend reading : dattilah.

From the legends alone, it cannot be inferred that the sealings have any connection with the Dattila of the *Dattilam*. But there are other circumstances which suggest such an inference, albeit a tentative one. These two sealings were discovered along with others which have clear associations with caraṇas. Some sealings, thus, bear the names of bahvṛca-caraṇa, ātharvanika-caraṇa and chāndoga-caraṇa. These clearly belong to teaching establishments specialising in teaching the *Rgveda*, the *Atharvaveda* and the *Sāmaveda* with its melodies. It is not unlikely that along with these caraṇas there was also a caraṇa associated with the name of Dattila. This caraṇa, if it existed, must have specialised in teaching gāndharva (and perhaps nātya) as taught by Dattila, for the name of Dattila is not associated with other disciplines. Caraṇas, specialising in particular disciplines, and bearing the names of famous ācāryas were not unknown. We hear of a caraṇa in the name of Pāṇini. Pāṇini himself refers to a carana in the name of Śilālin, an authority on the art of drama. Gāndharva needed specialised training. It also needed specialised schools to preserve and continue its tradition. The inference, then, that there may have been such a school is not entirely fanciful.

Another circumstance supports this inference, although negatively. Many sealings bear a string-mark at their back. This shows that they were used as stampings on packets, parcels, letters or pieces of goods dispatched by individual traders, guilds, government officials or public institutions. Caraṇa sealings do not bear such string-marks. They were used as tokens to be carried by individuals to show that they were authorised persons. They acted like identity cards. A student carrying a caraṇa sealing could, among other things, get free meals and lodgings at charitable establishments in which Varanasi abounded, as it still does.¹ The Dattila-sealings bear no string-marks at their back. They certainly served as tokens, perhaps caraṇa-tokens. But this conclusion remains tentative. The sealings may well have been issued by a rich merchant or a powerful prince or an official named Dattila. On paleographic and stratigraphic grounds, the excavators place the sealings in the early part of a period ranging from about 300 A.D. to 700 A.D.²

¹ C. the famous ancient saying about Varanasi : स्त्रेषु भेजनं मठेषु निदा.

² We are indebted to our friend Sri R. S. Misra for information regarding these sealings and also for the possible interpretation of this new data. Sri R. S. Misra is a co-author with Dr. A.K. Narain of *Report on Excavations at Rajghat : Seals and Sealings*. The book is soon to be published. The sealing with the legend 'dattilah' bears the serial number 82 in the press-copy of the book. Its accession number is 647. The seal is described as well-baked, dull red in colour with red polish; it is ovaloid on plan and plano-convex in cross-section. The semi circular seal impression reads : datt (i) lah—with a hard la. The other sealing bears the serial number 61. Its accession number is 650. This sealing is ash-coloured, well-baked and oval in shape. The reverse of the sealing has a prefring scratched cross mark,

We have already (in the first chapter) recorded the most prominent references to Dattila and quotations from him in saṅgīta and general literature. By medieval times, he had not only become famous as a great sage-like ācārya but, as is common with such personages, some semi-mythic legends had also grown around his name. As often happens in such legends, persons who flourished centuries apart were anachronistically associated together. One legend, recorded in the *Sthalapurāṇa*, of Śrīmuṣṇam (a shrine in South Arcot District) has it that Dattila and Kohala were sons of Mataṅga and were great experts in the science of music. They were married to two sisters, Śuklā and Kṛṣṇā, who transformed themselves into rivers so as to be able to serve Lord Yajñavarāha, the deity of the Śrīmuṣṇam shrine.

śuklā kṛṣṇeti nadyau dve vimānāduttare śubhe
jhillikātanaye puṇye mataṅgasya snuṣe ubhe
tayoh patī ca vikhyātau dattilah kohalo'pi ca
mataṅgasya muneḥ putrau gītaśātraviśāradau
tayoh patnyau ca tau nadyau jhillikātanaye ubhe
koladevasya pūjārtham nadīrūpamavāpatuḥ

(*Sthalapurāṇa* 8, 17-20)¹

"The two auspicious rivers Śuklā and Kṛṣṇā flow to the north of the vimāna (*i.e.*, the shrine). They are both the holy daughters of Jhillikā and daughters-in-law of Mataṅga. Their husbands are known as Dattila and Kohala, both experts in the science of music, and sons of the sage Mataṅga. Their wives, these two rivers, daughters both of Jhillikā, took the form of rivers in order to worship Lord Varāha."

Another Purāṇic legend is recorded in the *Skandapurāṇa*. Here again Mataṅga, Dattila and Kohala have been grouped together in the same family relationship as above, though, however, their connection with music is not referred to. Propounding the greatness of the summer month of Vaiśākha (vaiśākhamāhātmya) and the special merit occurring from good deeds done in this month, the Vaiśnavakhaṇḍa of the *Skandapurāṇa* (in the seventh section concerning vaiśākhamāhātmya of this khanda, chapter 17) records the following story :

A certain brāhmaṇa named Śaṅkha went in the month of Vaiśākha into a waterless jungle in order to do tapasyā (penance). At noon one day when the sun was exceedingly hot, Śaṅkha took shelter from the heat under a tree. Here a vyādh—a professional hunter—espied him and observed that Śaṅkha was wearing golden ear-rings and had some other small belongings which hermits usually carry, such as a kamandalu, a garland made of akṣa seeds and also a pair of shoes. The vyādh pounced upon Śaṅkha and robbed him of these things and then ordered him to run

¹ The passage has been quoted by M. Krisnamacariar in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, para 960 (p. 824). The probable date of the *Sthalapurāṇa* has not been mentioned. It seems, from the face of it, to be a late work of the kind which were composed to emulate many individual shrines and their deities in the South. Some old Northern shrines, too, have such Māhātmya-like Purāṇas; one such is the *Ekalingapurāṇa* which extols Śiva in the form of Ekalinga, enshrined near Udaipur.

away. Śāṅkha started walking away, but without shoes the burning sands of mid-day felt like scorching fire and he was forced to move extremely slowly. He kept trying to put his feet on such spots as had some grass left on them. The vyādha observed Śāṅkha's extreme discomfort and was moved to some pity. He gave Śāṅkha his own pair of tattered shoes (*upānaha*). At this, Śāṅkha profusely thanked him and said that this good deed will earn him exceedingly great merit, especially as it was done in the month of Vaiśākha. Vyādha then questioned Śāṅkha about the greatness of Vaiśākha and while Śāṅkha was answering him, a lion came out and attacked the vyādha. But suddenly an elephant appeared before the lion and the two animals engaged one another in a fight. The fight continued till they were exhausted and drew apart, yet they still kept glaring with anger at one another. As it happened, the Vaiśākha māhātmya, which Śāṅkha was propounding to vyādha, fell on their beastly ears and they were immediately freed from the bondage of their animal-state and became transformed into divine beings. Questioned, they explained that they were actually two brothers, Dattila and Kohala, sons of the sage Mataṅga. Their father had turned them into beasts when they disapproved of his setting up a watershed (*prapā*) for thirsty travellers in the month of Vaiśākha. (*Skandapurāṇa*, *vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa*, *vaiśākhamāhātmya*, ch. 17).

Skanda is a fairly late Purāṇa. It is so large and so varied that different sections are usually dated to different periods. Dr. Hazra is of the opinion that hardly any part of the Purāṇa is earlier than the 7th century and much of it is as late as the 13th century. Dr. Baldeva Upadhyaya says that a manuscript of this Purāṇa had been discovered by Haraprasada Sastri in the Nepal darbār library; it was written in the paleographic style of the seventh century.² By the time of this Purāṇa, Dattila had already become a legend.

Beyond the legendary references recorded above, nothing more is known in tradition regarding Dattila. This is not surprising, for the life-circumstances of hardly any old Master have come down to us except in a totally mythic form.

¹ *Purāṇic Records*, p. 165.

² *Purāṇa Vimarsa*, p. 560.

APPENDIX A

The Date of Dattila

In his *Bhāratīya Saṅgīta kā Itihāsa*, Dr. Paranjape has argued that Dattila was a comparatively late, post-Bharata theorist who wrote in the seventh century A.D. (see pp. 470-71 of his book). We think that his arguments are not convincing. We will take up his principal arguments and examine them critically, bearing the evidence already adduced in chapter I in our mind.

Dr. Paranjape posits that Dattila was, in his *Dattilam*, diligently following Bharata whom he implicitly recognised as his Master. Dr. Paranjape reasons that though Dattila has mentioned by name only Nārada, Viśākhila and Kohala, he has certainly referred to other authorities through the use of words like 'kecit', 'manīṣināḥ', 'ācāryāḥ', 'pūrvācāryāḥ', 'guravāḥ' and 'āptaiḥ'. He maintains that Dattila uses words like 'kecit' and 'manīṣināḥ', to point at writers who were his contemporary while his use of the more honorific epithets like 'pūrvācāryāḥ', 'guravāḥ', and 'āptaiḥ' was meant to denote Masters of the past. The contexts in which these honorific epithets are used, says Dr. Paranjape, reveal that Dattila here had none but Bharata in mind. He then quotes and discusses some kārikas from Dattila to establish this point.

Dattila announces in verse 44 that he will refrain from delineating details concerning viṇā and other instruments as has been described by ācāryas ('ācāryaiḥ'). According to Dr. Paranjape, Dattila could here be referring to Bharata alone—addressing him in the plural, as is often done in Sanskrit, to show reverence to a person—for no other work except the *Nātyaśāstra* contains details on instrumental technique (*op. cit.* p. 472; see especially footnote 2).

Dr. Paranjape's argument, however, does not carry much weight. We have seen that Viśākhila, too, had written on instrumental techniques. Abhinava has referred to Viśākhila's opinions and statements concerning viṇā as well as vāṇī. Abhinava has also spoken of Nārada as the propagator of a well-known school of flute-playing.¹ Even if we were to imagine that Dattila was referring to a single Master it would be more cogent to think of Viśākhila, who has been actually named in the *Dattilam* rather than of Bharata whose name is absent. To reason that 'ācāryaiḥ' in *Dattilam* refers to Bharata alone is to beg the question. Other ācāryas surely dealt with instrumental technique in their works; the present non-availability of these works cannot be the basis for inferring their non-existence.

¹ वंश इति नारदादिग्रन्थसन्तानानुयायीति...(...A.B. on N.S. 29, 9-10). The extant *Nāradī Śikṣā* contains some matter on vāṇī (See 1,5,1-2). Other works by Nārada or ascribed to him may have been current in ancient times. Bharata, in describing instrumental playing during the staging of plays, names three ancient ācāryas whom, he says, he was following :

ततवाचविद्यान् तु यत् मयाभिहितं पुरा । अवनद्वगतस्यापि तस्य वक्ष्यामि लक्षणम् ॥

यथोक्तं मुनिभिः पूर्वं स्वातिनारदपुष्करैः ।

—N.S. 34, 1-2,

Before moving on to the next point, we must also note that Dr. Paranjape himself refers to Nānyadeva as having quoted Viśākhila's views on the technique of playing wind-instruments (*op. cit.* p. 460). He forgets this fact when he describes the *Nātyaśāstra* as the sole ancient authority on instrumental music.

Dattila twice refers to the authority of the 'āptas' (āptaiḥ) in order to stamp his statement with the seal of authenticity (Datt. 17 and 30). Dr. Paranjape asserts that the 'āpta' Dattila had in mind was Bharata (*op. cit.* p. 474). The reason he gives is that the statements of Dattila in both cases are nothing but verse paraphrases of Bharata's lengthier prose descriptions. Verse 17 in *Dattilam* concerns the two sādharaṇas, kākali-niṣāda and antara-gāndhāra. These two notes were not given the status of 'svaras' because they never became amṛas: thus had the āptas spoken. Dr. Paranjape here quotes Bharata's description—from the Asiatic edition of the *Nātyaśāstra*—in order to show its parallelism with Dattila. Bharata and Dattila do indeed convey the same idea. But if, in this context, we look up the readings of the *Nātyaśāstra* which Abhinava had accepted, we find revealing words: "kalatvācca kākalisamjñō bhavati, vikṛtattvāccānamśah āptopadesāccasaptabhyo nānyo niṣādavāneva" (N.S. 28, 34). There is no reason to give lesser credence to Abhinava's reading of the *Nātyaśāstra*. The conclusion is clear: Bharata, too, had reverence for the views of the āptas; he, too, refers to older, well-established authorities. Dattila in recalling the āptas could have had the same hoary authorities in mind as Bharata himself.

True, Bharata does not name any older authority in his delineation of gāndharva, yet he gives clear indication of the fact that he was writing within a tradition of established musical codes and texts. Describing the structural properties of musical forms—the jātis and gītakas—he often appends his outlines with words or phrases that show his moorings in an already existing body of musical prescriptions. Thus, in giving details of many jātis, he adds 'smṛtā', 'matā', 'kīrtitā' and the like to his descriptions, indicating that he was writing in accordance with opinion or material handed down in tradition. Some samples will illustrate the point.

Nātyaśāstra 28, 79-93 lists the amṛas and grahas of various jātis. Almost every detail is appended with expressions like 'kīrtitah', 'prakīrtitah' ('this is how the matter has been described')—or their equivalent. Speaking of the jāti kaiśikī, Bharata says: 'kaisikyāscārṣabham hitvā grāhāṁśah ṣaṭ svaraḥ smṛtāḥ' (N.S. 28, 90).¹ Again in outlining the melodic structures of the jātis, Bharata profusely uses similar phrases. Describing the apanyāsa of the jāti gāndhāri he says: "śadjaśca pañcamaścaiva hyapanyāsau prakīrtitau" (N.S. 28, 114); and regarding the amṛa of the jāti gāndhārapañcamī, he states: "atha gāndhārapañcamyāḥ pañcamo'mśah prakīrtitah" (N.S. 28, 127). Similar statements abound in his delineation of the jātis.²

Later, in describing the seven gītakas and other gāndharva tāla-structures, Bharata recognises his debt to older authorities in still clearer terms. A limb

¹ See also verses 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 92.

² See N.S. 28, 98, 100, 116, 127, 128, 132, 133; See also N.S. (Asiatic Society Edition) 28, 62, 75, 80, 84, 86, 88, 89, 92, etc., where similar language is used.

named sunandā was part of the complex structure called vardhamāna. In sunandā the caccatpuṭa tāla was to be applied in its catuṣkala mode—this, says Bharata, was how the wise had described its formation : “caccatpuṭāśca dvikalāḥ saṅgatāyā api smṛtah/catuṣkalaḥ sunandāyāḥ sa eva gadito budhaiḥ” (N.S. 31, 145).¹ Bharata qualifies his description of the tāla udghaṭṭa with a similar phrase; he acknowledges his elders with the words: “śamyādvayam tatastveṣa udghaṭṭaḥ kathito budhaiḥ” (N.S. 31, 22).² Describing another limb of vardhamāna, Bharata criticizes the description of this structure given by some other theorists; their opinion, he says, went against the authority of the śāstra : “bālam navakalam yeṣām na teṣām sādhu sammatam/sannipātāṅgavinyāso ghaṭate na hi śāstrataḥ” (N.S. 31, 99). In this verse Bharata quite explicitly acknowledges an existing body of authoritative works on the subject.³ Besides these markedly suggestive verses, there are plentiful descriptions of tāla-formations in the chapter on tāla (ch. 31) which are appended with ‘smṛtah’ ‘kīrtitah’ ‘samudhṛtaḥ’ and other such phrases.⁴

Dr. Paranjape makes too great a capital out of the fact that there are remarkable similarities between the descriptions of Dattila and Bharata. This, he says, proves that Dattila was echoing Bharata. Such a conclusion is too hasty. Similarities are only to be expected when two authorities write on an identical subject which has a well-defined, well-coded character within an established theoretical and technical framework. What is significant is that there are many matters on which Dattila and Bharata disagree—a fact which was, as we have shown, quite well-known in saṅgīta tradition. This, in conjunction with the rest of our reasoning, certainly justifies us in holding that there is a strong case in favour of the earliness of Dattila.

Let us now examine another major stand taken by Dr. Paranjape regarding Dattila. He believes that the lower limit of Dattila's age cannot be pushed beyond the 7th century A.D. He reasons as follows : Kohala has quoted a verse from Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī* (first half of the 7th century); Kohala, therefore, is post-Harṣa. Dattila has quoted Kohala; therefore, Dattila cannot be placed earlier than the 7th century A.D.

Kohala's work is not now extant. Dr. Paranjape's ground for believing that Kohala had quoted from the *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa is a statement in the *Abhinava*

¹ N.S. (Asiatic Society edition) 31, 151 has an identical reading : चतुष्कलः सुनन्दायाः स एव गदितो वृथः

² cf. N.S. (Asiatic Society edition) 31, 25 which likewise ends with ‘kathito budhaiḥ’. Verse 31, 17 in this edition is also worthy of notice. It reads : शम्यादिकस्तु विज्ञे यस्तज्जरासारितदिषु । तालादिकस्तथा प्रोक्तो विद्वदभिः पाणिकादिषु ।

³ The Asiatic Society edition of the N.S. verse 31, 107 has an identical reading for the first line of this verse. The second line differs. But even the recognition by Bharata of theorists whose prescription he criticizes, implies the existence of a tradition antedating him.

⁴ See verses 2, 3, 7, 16, 20, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 49, 52, 54, 58, 66, 67, 68, 76, 78, 79, 106, 109, 114, 115, 118, 119, 120, 126, 134, 140, 144, 180, 182, 185, 192, 194, 197, 198, 203, 204, 206, 207, 210, 211, 212, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 221, 224, 226, 232, 234, 245, 247, 249, 255, 256, 257, 259, etc.

Also N.S. (Asiatic Society edition) ch. 31; 12, 14, 20, 23, 27, 30, 32, 38, 39, 40, 44, etc.

Bhāratī. Dr. Paranjape quotes and discusses this statement on pages 462-63 of his work. It is a short, rather enigmatic statement. Abhinava cites the well-known nāndī from *Ratnāvalī* which begins with 'jitamuḍupatinā' and comments : 'iti bhāratīyatvena prasiddhā kohalapradarśitā nāndyupapannā bhavati' (A.B. on N.S. 1, 57). Dr. Paranjape argues that Abhinava is here referring to the fact that Kohala had quoted Harṣa's nāndī ; hence Kohala is post-Harṣa. This interpretation of Abhinava's words is, however, not unquestionable. To us Abhinava's contention seems to be that the nāndī in *Ratnāvalī*, though known as a bhāratīya nāndī—that is, a nāndī composed according to the specifications of Bharata—was in truth a nāndī composed on the model exhibited by Kohala. Abhinava's passage can also be interpreted on the lines taken by Ācārya Viśveśvara in his *Abhinava Bhāratī ke Tīn Adhyāya* (see pp. 137-38). Ācārya Viśveśvara translates the passage to mean that the nāndī in question was known as a nāndī occurring in a work by Bharata, and this fact was revealed by Kohala. Ācārya's comments on his interpretation deserve notice. He remarks that Kohala was a contemporary of Bharata (he has been called Bharata's son) and preceded Harṣa by a millennium ; the nāndī could not thus have been quoted by him from the *Ratnāvalī*. Ācārya Viśveśvara thinks it possible that the nāndī may have been adapted by Harṣa from an earlier work either by Bharata or by another author quoting Bharata.

We point this out to show the uncertain nature of Dr. Paranjape's grounds in determining Kohala's age and thereby that of Dattila.¹

In the final analysis it must be admitted that the real state of things can only be discovered when and if the work of Kohala which Abhinava had in mind is discovered. Yet there are other evidences that strongly suggest that Kohala was a pre-Harṣa Ācārya. The first chapter of the *Nātyaśāstra* records a legend where Kohala is named as one of the hundred sons of Bharata. It seems that Kohala was considered as one of the more prominent sons of the muni, for his name along with that of Dattila and Śāṇḍilya is again repeated at the end of the *Nātyaśāstra* where the other sons are not mentioned. This legend may be a comparatively later appendage to Bharata's work, but it certainly ante-dates Harṣa, because it was known to Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti (and Dāmodara Gupta).² Moreover, Kohala—as we have pointed out in chapter IX of our thesis—had an independent stance on nātya in many important matters ; this fact bespeaks of an early period, for later writers held Bharata's work in an almost canonic esteem and rarely differed from him.

Another point is worth mentioning in this context. The *Bṛhaddeśī* of Maṭāṅga is usually placed in the 7th-8th century A.D.—Dr. Paranjape agrees with the general view of scholars on this point (*op. cit.* p. 468). Dattila and Kohala are both quoted

¹ P.V. Kane also takes notice of Abhinava's passage in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (p. 24). His comments deserve consideration : "It appears", he says, "that Kohala's work influenced the redactors of the *Nātyaśāstra*.....The A.B. very frequently mentions Kohala and in some places regards him as coeval with Bharata. Vide A.B. Vol. I, pp. 25 (where Bharata and Kohala are both brought together in relation to the Nāndī in *Ratnāvalī*)..." Kane is indeed suggesting that Kohala's work predated the *Nātyaśāstra* in its extant form.

² P.V. Kane, *ibid.*, pp. 20 and 43,

in the *Bṛhaddeśī* as authorities to be reckoned with. The *Dattilam* has also been quoted in the *Bṛhaddeśī*. It is, consequently, a pre-seventh-century work. Dattila in turn quotes Kohala as an authority. Hence Kohala must have flourished considerably earlier than the 7th century. How then could he quote a passage from the *Ratnāvalī*? The whole argument of Dr. Paranjape hangs on an unwarranted and palpably groundless assumption.

APPENDIX B

The Dual Meaning of The Word Nataka

The word *gāndharva*, says Abhinava, was used in both a general as well as a specific sense : it denoted music in general but it also stood for a specific form of music. To elucidate the nature of this peculiar usage, Abhinava gives the example of another word which was used in an analogous manner. The word he cites is *nāṭaka* (*nāṭaka-śabdavat*). *Nāṭaka* is a word which is more familiar to us than *gāndharva*; its connotations are more clearly set out in ancient literature. Our understanding of the nature of the dual meaning of *gāndharva* will be clarified if we analyse the similar use of the word *nāṭaka*.

Any student of ancient theatre knows that *nāṭaka* signified a specific form of drama. Ancient theatre was rich in dramatic forms; Bharata names and describes ten distinct types. *Nāṭaka* was one of these ten forms. Some other popular forms were: *prakaraṇa*, *nāṭikā*, *prahasana*, *bhāṇa* and *vyāyoga* – to judge popularity on the basis of extant works. Plays of the *nāṭaka* form had, as a type, quite well-defined characteristics of structure, ethos, tone, narrative and action. Bharata has specified the norms which made it a distinct form of drama.¹

But, besides this specific use, *nāṭaka* was also employed in a general sense to mean all dramatic spectacles – this is the usage it still retains in modern vernaculars. This usage has a long history, which perhaps antedates the use of the word in a specific sense.

The *Amarakośa* does not list the word, yet many ancient Sanskrit works testify to its usage in the general sense. Such usage is found not only in general works of literature but also in specific treatises from the field of dramatics and poetics. These treatises belong to a discipline in which the specific connotation of the word *nāṭaka* was carefully defined and explained. Thus in these works the use of *nāṭaka* in a general sense is surely the best testimony in favour of the dual usage of the word.

The specific connotation of *nāṭaka* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* needs no comment; but meaningfully enough the word has also been used quite often in an unmistakably general sense, signifying all drama. In commenting on the passage where Bharata describes the distinct features of *nāṭaka* as a specific form of drama, Abhinava has etymologically analysed the word *nāṭaka* as denoting all drama. He remarks: ‘a performance is called *nāṭaka* because it makes the heart of a [spectator] dance (*nartayati*, *naṭanṭau* *nṛtta*) with pleasure and delight—imparting [movement] also to the body [of the actors] through the means of stage-action (*upāya*) and poetic design (*vyutpatti*).² Discussing the word further, Abhinava pointedly comments that the

¹ N.S. 18, 7-44. See also similar definitions of *nāṭaka* in works such as *Nāṭyadarpana*, *Daśarūpaka*, *Sāhityadarpana*, etc.

² हृदयानुप्रवेशरंजनोल्लसनया हृदयं शरीरं चौपायभ्युत्पत्तिपरिषट्टतया चेष्टया नतंयति नटनूतो नृत्ये इत्युभयथा हि स्मरन्ति । तदिति तस्माद्वेतोः नामास्य नाटकमिति ।

— A.B. on N.S. 18, 12.

meaning of *nāṭaka* in its derivative sense could apply generally to all forms of drama though it had been restricted to a specific form. Interestingly enough, he notes that Bharata has himself used the word in a general sense, and cites the following phrase as an example : 'karyotpannāni nāṭake'.¹ We have not been able to trace this phrase in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Perhaps the quotation in the *Abhinava Bhāratī* has an incorrect reading. This, in view of the often corrupt state of the work, would not be surprising. Yet Abhinava's statement is borne out by the occurrence of a number of other similarly phrased examples of the word *nāṭaka* where Bharata has used it to mean drama in general. We give a few of the more striking instances :

1. In delineating figures of speech employed in dramatic diction, Bharata clearly used the word *nāṭaka* to mean all drama. His delineation of the 'dramatic' upamā thus contains the phrase 'sā syād upamā nāṭakāśrayā' (N.S. 16, 45) where all drama is covered by the word *nāṭaka*. Regarding the alaṅkāra dīpaka he says: 'prasṛtam madhuram cāpi guṇaiḥ sarvairalaṅktam/kāvye yannāṭake vīprāstaddīpakamiti smṛtam' (N.S. 16, 54). Concluding the chapter on alaṅkāras, Bharata states: 'bahukṛta rasamārgam sandhisandhānayuktam/bhavati jagatiyogyam nāṭakam preksakānām' (N.S. 16, 128). *Nāṭaka* in these usages clearly means all drama.
2. In dividing all plays into two broad categories : sukumāra (gentle, graceful) and āviddhā or uddhata (vigorous, virile) on the basis of their general ethos, Bharata uses the words: 'prayogo dvividhaścaiva vijñeyo nāṭakāśrayah/sukumārastathāviddhoh nāṭayayuktisamāśrayah' (N.S. 13, 59). Bharata repeats this statement in chapter 26 (Verse 24-25)² adding that *nāṭaka*, *prakaraṇa*, *bhāṇa*, *vīthi* and *utsṛṣṭāṅka* are sukumāra-nāṭakas; the rest are āviddhā (uddhata) (N.S. 26, 25-26). Here the general sense of *nāṭaka* stands out in contrast with its specific sense.
3. Describing the kind of speech (Sanskrit or Prakrit) to be used by different types of dramatic characters in any drama, Bharata lays down : "nāṭake samskṛtam vācaḥ/āmnāyasiddham sarvāsām" (N.S. 17, 43-44). Later, in the same context he makes the general remark : "athavā chandatāḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktibhiḥ/nānādeśasamutthām hi kāvyaṁ bhavati nāṭake" (N.S. 17, 48). Further, he states : śakārābhīracāṇḍālaśabaradramilāndhrajāḥ/hinavanecarāṇām ca vibhāṣā nāṭake smṛtā' (N.S. 17, 50). Introducing the mode of address to be adopted by different people for characters in various stations of life, Bharata begins : 'uttamair madhyamairnicairye sambhāṣyā yathā narāḥ/samānotkṛṣṭahināśca nāṭake tanni-bodhata' (N.S. 17, 66). Later he notes some general rules for giving

¹ यद्यपि सर्वरूपकाणामर्थो हृदये प्रविष्टो विनेयंश्च विनीतान् करोति । तत एव नाटकशब्दः सामान्यवचने इति "कार्योत्पन्नानि नाटके" इत्यादिषु स्थानेषु दर्शितः । तथापि हृदयश्यामृतादयो राजानो यद्व्युपत्तिद्वारेण विश्वं व्युपन्न तेन तदीय हृदयसंवादयोग्यनृपतिचरित प्रदर्शनेन प्रधानतया प्रधानेऽर्थं व्युत्पाद्यते...

— *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

² Here the last phrase of the second line reads : 'nāpābhāvarasāśrayah'. Otherwise the words are identical.

- names to characters from different walks of life with the words : 'autpat-tikāni yāni syuraprakhyātāni nāṭake.. (N.S. 17, 95). All these rules clearly apply to nāṭaka in general, not a specific form of drama.
4. Of naturalism in drama Bharata says : 'lokasvabhāvam samprekṣya narāṇām ca balābalam/sambhogam caiva yuktīm ca tataḥ kāryam tu nāṭakam' (N.S. 19, 149).¹ Dramatic diction, too, he says, should be close to the speech of the people : 'tadevam lokabhāṣāṇam prasamikṣya balābalam/mṛduśabdām sukhārthām ca kaviḥ kuryātu nāṭakam.' (N.S. 19, 152).² When he speaks here of nāṭaka, he obviously means all drama.
 5. Bharata makes prescriptions about how different characters should be dressed. He speaks of all drama, though he uses the word nāṭaka. In N.S. 21, 127, he states : 'viprakṣatryavaiśyānām sthānīyā ye ca mānavāḥ/ śuddho vastravidhisteśām kartavyo nāṭakāśrayaḥ'. He concludes the matter of dress with : "evam vastravidhilī kāryaḥ prayoge nāṭakāśraye" (N.S. 21, 138). He has described artificial weapons used in plays and the material with which they were constructed; the word used is nāṭaka again : "tathā praharaṇāni syuṣṭraṇeṇudalādibhiḥ/jatubhāṇḍakriyābhiśca nānārūpāṇi nāṭake." (N.S. 21, 209).
 6. After describing how different types of women act when in love, Bharata remarks : "kūṭāṅganānāmevāyām noktaḥ³ kāmāśrayo vidhiḥ/sarvāvasthānubhāvyaṁ hi yasmādbhavati nāṭakam" (N.S. 22, 232). Abhinava here pointedly remarks that the word nāṭaka has been used in a general sense : "nāṭakamiti nāṭya iti yāvat." Bharata says that in a drama serving maids and serving men attending upon lovers, should be graciously appalled : "presyādīnām ca nārīnām narāṇām vāpi nāṭake/bhūṣaṇagrahaṇam kāryam puṣpagrahṇameva ca" (see N.S. 22, 243-45). This is an instruction meant for all drama though the word used is nāṭaka.
 7. Indecent or embarrassing actions, says Bharata, should not be presented on the stage; the reason being that plays are attended by the whole family including father, son, daughter, daughter-in-law : "pitāputrasnuśāśvaśrūḍīśyam yasmāttu nāṭakam" (N.S. 22, 299). For the same reason he advises : "vākyaiḥ sātiśayaiḥ śravyair madhurair nāṭinīṣthuraiḥ/hitopadeśasāmyuktaistajñāḥ kuryātu nāṭakam" (N.S. 22, 300). A nāṭaka, meaning all plays, should use pleasant speech and have a didactic purpose.
 8. Dances were often an integral part of dramatic action. Bharata has spoken of a number of love situations where female dancers played an

¹ Also : अवस्था या तु लक्ष्यस्य सुखदुःखसंमुदभवा । नानापुरुषसंचारा नाटकेऽसौ विद्धीयते ॥
—N.S. 19, 142.

² Also : सुप्रिलब्टसन्ति॒संयोगं सुप्रयोगं सुखाश्रयम् । मूदुशब्दाभिधानं च कविः कुर्यात् नाटकम् ॥
—N.S. 19, 141.

³ Another reading has 'proktah'; see editor's footnote on this verse.

- important role; he then adds as a general remark : 'nartakīsaṁśritāḥ kāryā bahavo 'nye' pi nāṭake' (N.S. 22, 320). Men, too, could be called upon to play similar roles : 'yadvā puruṣasambandham kāryam bhavati nāṭake/ sīṅgārarasasamyuktaṁ tatrāpyeṣa kramo bhavet' (N.S. 22, 322-23). Nāṭaka again clearly stands for all drama.
9. Many devices peculiar to play-acting were adopted on the stage; these included words spoken as an 'aside' (janāntikam), words spoken to one's self (ātmagatam), words spoken to some one not present on the stage (ākāśavacanam etc). These were devices common to all plays. Bharata lists them saying that they are characteristic of nāṭaka : "iti gūḍhārthayuktāni vacanāniha nāṭake" (N.S. 25, 91).
 10. In the last verse of chapter 25, Bharata again uses the word nāṭaka in an obviously general sense : 'evamete hyabhinayā vāññe pathyāṅgasam-bhavāḥ/prayogajñena kartavyā nāṭake siddhimicchatā' (N.S. 25, 125).
 11. Though sometimes men played the role of women in ancient theatre, this was thought ill advised except on special occasions. Bharata advises the nāṭyācārya (the drama-teacher) to use women as female characters in plays—nāṭakas : 'upadeṣṭavyamācāryaiḥ prayatnenāṅganājane/na svayaṁ bhūmikābhyo budhaiḥ kāryastu nāṭake' (N.S. 26, 21-22).
 12. People staging a drama aim at effective production. This was called 'siddhi' (attainment). There were different siddhis connected with different aspects of the production. Introducing the idea generally, Bharata begins : 'siddhināṁ tu pravakṣyāmi lakṣaṇam nāṭakāśryam' (N.S. 27, 1). Speaking of certain effective usage of words, Bharata says : 'tas-mādgambhirārthāḥ śabdā ya lokavedasaṁsiddhāḥ sarvajanena grāhyāste yojñā nāṭake vidhivat' (N.S. 27, 46). A good production will have good actors, good staging, attractive dresses and effective stage-props ; Bharata speaks of these with 'tathā samuditāścaiva vijñeyā nāṭakāśritāḥ/pātrāṁ prayogamṛddhiśca vijñeyāstu trayo guṇāḥ' (N.S. 27, 98). When he says nāṭaka in these passages, he means all plays.
 13. In the geyādhikāra section of his work, Bharata has again used the word nāṭaka in the general sense of 'all drama'. Verse 2, chapter 28 describes the various categories of musical instruments. Bharata proposes to describe their use in drama with : 'prayogastrividho hyeṣāṁ vijñeyo nāṭakāśrayaḥ' (N.S. 28, 3). In chapter 35 Bharata describes some criteria for choosing different people for different roles ; he begins with 'vinyāsaṁ bhūmikānāṁ ca sampravakṣyāmi nāṭake' (N.S. 35, 1). He ends the matter thus : 'evam nāṭakavidhau jātiरnaṭasamśrayā budhairjñeyā' (N.S. 35, 40).¹

Other examples of the usage of the word nāṭaka in a general sense are : N.S. 32, 343; 32, 385; 35, 34, etc.

We thus find that the word *nāṭaka* has often been used in a general sense in the *Nāṭyeśāstra*. Naturally then subsequent works on poetics have made a similar use of the word. We take a few illustrative examples. Bhāmaha (6th century A.D.) in his *Kāvyālaikāra* uses the word *nāṭaka* to distinguish plays in general from other spectacles dominated by song and dance. He remarks that he will not discuss *nāṭaka* and other performed works involving abhinaya as this has been done by others : 'nāṭakam dvipadiśamyārāsakaskandhakādi yat/uktam tadabhineyārthamukto'nyais-tasya vistarah' (*Kāvyālaikāra* of Bhāmaha, I, 24). Śilameghasena, a Buddhist writer on poetics probably of the 7th century A.D., distinguishes *nāṭaka* as a species of writing which like campū employs a mixture of prose and verse : 'padyam tu buddha-caritā vṛttacaritātta gadyakam/jñeyam nāṭakacampūbhyaṁ miśram kāvyamathoc-yate' (*Svabhāṣālaikāra* I, 20).¹ Another Buddhist writer (of the 13th century A.D.), Saṅgharakṣita, uses the word *nāṭaka* to denote drama as a genre of imaginative writing, distinguished from *kāvya* : 'kavvanāṭakanikkhittanettacittā kavijanā/yam kiṃci-racayante tam na vimhayakaram param' (*Subodhālaikāra*, I, 6).²

In post-Bharata works on dramatics also, the word *nāṭaka* is used in the sense of drama in general. In a number of works the very name of the treatise evinces such a use. The well-known work on dramatics by Guṇacandra and Rāmacandra (12th century A.D.) is known as *Nāṭakadarpaṇa* (as well as *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*).³ The extensive treatise on the subject by Sāgaranandin (13th century A.D.) is known as *Nāṭakalakṣa-naratnakoṣa*. Ruyyaka, the author of *Alaikārasarvasva*, had composed a work on dramatics, now lost, called *Nāṭakamīmāṃśa*.⁴ Other works, similarly named, abound.⁵

The word *nāṭaka* is often used in a general sense in non-technical literature also. The Sanskrit *Worterbuch* of Bottling and Roth illustrates some usages from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Harivāṇa*, the *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* and other early works.⁶ An interesting instance is found in the early bhāṇa, *Pādatāḍitakam*, ascribed to Śūdraka. An episode pictures the haetara Devasenā reading a palm-leaf on which is written her 'nāṭaka-bhūmikā' : the script of the role she is to play in a *nāṭaka*. The 'nāṭaka' she was to act in, we are told, was a drama not of the *nāṭaka* but the *prakaraṇa* type; it was called *Kumudiyatī*.⁷ Bāṇa, too, has used the word in a general sense in his *Kādambarī* : among the arts mastered by Candrāpiḍa are *nāṭakas* (*nāṭakeṣu*).⁸

¹ Printed in *Baudhālaikāraśāstram* pub. by Lal Bahadur Sastri Kendriya Sanskr̥ta Vidyāpīṭha, Delhi. For the date of Śilameghasena, see introduction to the text.

² Printed in *Baudhālaikāraśāstram*.

³ P.V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 423 (Fourth edition, 1971).

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 285.

⁵ For a list see *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama* by Montgomery Schuyler, Colombia University Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. III.

⁶ See under the word 'nāṭaka'.

⁷ प्रियवादिके किमिदं तालपते इभिलिखितम् । कि ब्रवीषि नाटकभूमिका इति । पश्यामस्तावत् । (गृहीत्वा वाचयति) कुमुदतीप्रकरणे शूर्पकस्तां राजदारिकां धात्रौ रहस्युपालभते ...

—*Caturbhāṇi*, Dr. Motichandra, p. 54.

⁸ *Kādambarī* (Nirnayasāgara edition), p. 169.

The word nāṭaka, denoting all drama, finds a place in lexicons also, though belatedly. The *Sāradīyākhyā Nāmamālā* of Harṣakīrti (16th century A.D.), includes nāṭaka with generic terms like nātya and tāṇḍava : 'nartanaṁ nāṭakam nr̥tyam lāsyam nātyam ca tāṇḍavam'.¹ King Sahaji of Tanjore in his *Śabdaratnasamanvayakōśa* gives nāṭaka as one synonym of rūpaka (the generic word for all forms of drama) : 'rūpakam nāṭake mūrte kāvyālaṅkaraṇe'pi ca'.²

¹ Saṅgitavarga, verse 104. The work has been published by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona, 1951.

² See p. 26, verse 1 of the Gaekwad Oriental Series edition of the work.

APPENDIX C

The use of drum in gāndharva

The phrase ‘ātodyayogamaṅgāṅgibhāvavyavarudhyamānah’ in Abhinava may in the context be understood in two ways : (1) It may be taken to mean that ātodyayoga—*i.e.*, the application of ātodya instruments as well as aṅgāṅgibhāva, *i.e.*, subservience of tāla to svara as of a limb to the body—are both inapplicable to gāndharva tāla ; (2) It may be also interpreted to [imply that the use of ātodya—ātodyayoga—in such a manner that its playing is subservient to svara, as limb to body, is to be rejected in gāndharva. Drum playing in the latter sense perhaps would not be proscribed in gāndharva.

Abhinava seems to have had the second sense in mind. Let us explain.

The first verse of the 31st chapter of the *Nātyaśāstra* squarely connects ghana instruments—*instruments of the cymbal type*—with tāla. As this chapter has to do with gāndharva topics relating to tāla, it is not unreasonable to think that Bharata is here associating ghana with the rendering of tāla in gāndharva.¹ Abhinava indeed quotes in this context the opinion of Viśākhila, the ancient authority on gāndharva, who had made an explicit connection between cymbals and gāndharva.

Another fact is significant. Bharata has a great deal to say on percussion instruments—their technique of playing, the rich variety of distinct sounds they were capable of, their place and function on the stage and so on—but he speaks of them at quite another place in his text. He speaks of them in chapter 34 in dealing with dhruvā. It appears that Bharata, in adopting this textual arrangement, was deliberately dissociating percussion instruments from gāndharva.

However, the truth seems to be that though cymbal playing was the dominant and distinctive feature of gāndharva tāla, yet percussion playing was not absent from it. In the 34th chapter of the *Nātyaśāstra*, Bharata makes a passing reference to the percussion accompaniment of saptarūpa and related gāndharva forms. Bharata has in this chapter noted technical details of percussion playing. He speaks of various sounds or ‘bols’ and then remarks : ‘evametena vidhinā kartavyam vādanam budhaiḥ/ gatipracāre gīte ca daśarūpe viśeṣataḥ’ (N. S. 34, 170)—‘the instruments should be played in the manner outlined during songs and dance-movements (gatipracāra) in all types of plays’. In the next verse, Bharata states : ‘saptarūpavidhānena chandakāśāritēṣu ca/tattvam cānugatam caiva tadaugho vādyamiṣyate’ (N.S. 34, 171)—‘In saptarūpa (or ‘according to the code of saptarūpa’) and in chandaka and the āśāritas, all the three manner of instrumental accompaniment, tattva, anugata and ogha, are desirable’.

¹ Dr. M.N. Ghose, in translating the same verse as it occurs in the Asiatic Society edition of the N.S. (edited by himself) has also distinctly associated ghana—metallic instruments—with tāla in this context : N.S. (Asiatic Society edition), 33,1.

Abhinava's comments are interesting. He connects percussion playing in gāndharva with the dance performed as pūjā during pūrvvaraṅga. He remarks : "on occasions when the seven gītakas are prescribed and employed and also in rendering chandaka and āśarita, [drums] should be played ; especially during dance-movements. Again the (first) half-verse (of N. S. 34, 170) should be connected with the contention (of verse 171) to imply that the three modes of playing [namely] tattva etc., should be employed independently with the gītakas (or, at the commencement of the gītaka). This playing can assume a dominant form to serve a special purpose. As has been stated [by Bharata] in the fourth chapter : 'gatyā vādyānusāriṇyā' (N. S. 4, 274)— purporting that in nātya, [drum]-playing depends upon gati (dance-movement)."¹

Abhinava's reference here to Bharata's prescription recorded in N. S. 4, 274 is meaningful. The verse he has cited occurs as part of Bharata's delineation of dance movements during pūrvvaraṅga and the way these movements were to be moulded to the gāndharva gītaka called vardhamānaka. In the pūrvvaraṅga, we have noted, gāndharva played a pre-eminent role. Abhinava seems to be implying that outside its use in the pūrvvaraṅga, where it accompanied dance, gāndharva made a very restricted use of percussion instruments.

¹ गीतकसप्तकस्य विधाने प्रयोगे च छन्दकासारितप्रयोगे च वादनं कर्तव्यम् । विशेषतो गतिप्रचार इति । पुनरेवाद्य-
श्लोकमावृत्य गीतकादी तत्त्वादित्यरूपं स्वातन्त्र्येण वाचमित्यत । इति सम्बन्धनीयम् । तत्र हि वाचस्यापि प्राधान्यं
प्रयोज्यत्वेन भवति । यथोक्तं तुर्याद्याये—गत्या वाचानुसारिण्येति (भ० ना० 4, 274) नाट्ये गत्यपेत्या नियतं
वाद्य ।

— A.B. on N.S. 34, 171.

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